Debate

As you read Unit 5, pay attention to arguments on either side of a political issue. Work with a group to stage a debate. Write a proposition, such as “Resolved: The U.S. has a responsibility to end its isolationism and enter World War II.” Choose teams to argue either for or against the resolution.

*Dawn Patrol Launching* by Paul Sample
How did the rise of dictators contribute to the outbreak of World War II?

What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will learn about the events that led to the outbreak of World War II.

SECTION 1: Dictators Threaten World Peace

Main Idea The rise of rulers with total power in Europe and Asia led to World War II.

SECTION 2: War in Europe

Main Idea Using the sudden mass attack called blitzkrieg, Germany invaded and quickly conquered many European countries.

SECTION 3: The Holocaust

Main Idea During the Holocaust, the Nazis systematically executed 6 million Jews and 5 million other "non-Aryans."

SECTION 4: America Moves Toward War

Main Idea In response to the fighting in Europe, the United States provided economic and military aid to help the Allies achieve victory.

Flanked by storm troopers, Adolf Hitler arrives at a Nazi rally in September 1934.
In the summer of 1939, President Franklin Roosevelt addresses an anxious nation in response to atrocities in Europe committed by Hitler’s Nazi Germany. Roosevelt declares in his broadcast that the United States “will remain a neutral nation.” He acknowledges, however, that he “cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought.”

**Explore the Issues**

- How might involvement in a large scale war influence the United States?
- How can neutral countries participate in the affairs of warring countries?
Dictators Threaten World Peace

Main Idea
The rise of rulers with total power in Europe and Asia led to World War II. Dictators of the 1930s and 1940s changed the course of history, making world leaders especially watchful for the actions of dictators today.

Why It Matters Now

Terms & Names
• Joseph Stalin
• totalitarian
• Benito Mussolini
• fascism
• Adolf Hitler
• Nazism
• Francisco Franco
• Neutrality Acts

Martha Gellhorn arrived in Madrid in 1937 to cover the brutal civil war that had broken out in Spain the year before. Hired as a special correspondent for Collier’s Weekly, she had come with very little money and no special protection. On assignment there, she met the writer Ernest Hemingway, whom she later married. To Gellhorn, a young American writer, the Spanish Civil War was a deadly struggle between tyranny and democracy. For the people of Madrid, it was also a daily struggle for survival.

A Personal Voice Martha Gellhorn

“You would be walking down a street, hearing only the city noises of streetcars and automobiles and people calling to one another, and suddenly, crushing it all out, would be the huge stony deep booming of a falling shell, at the corner. There was no place to run, because how did you know that the next shell would not be behind you, or ahead, or to the left or right?”

—The Face of War

Less than two decades after the end of World War I—“the war to end all wars”—fighting erupted again in Europe and in Asia. As Americans read about distant battles, they hoped the conflicts would remain on the other side of the world.

Nationalism Grips Europe and Asia

The seeds of new conflicts had been sown in World War I. For many nations, peace had brought not prosperity but revolution fueled by economic depression and struggle. The postwar years also brought the rise of powerful dictators driven by the belief in nationalism—loyalty to one’s country above all else—and dreams of territorial expansion.
Germany was expected to pay off huge debts while dealing with widespread poverty. By 1923, an inflating economy made a five-million German mark worth less than a penny. Here children build blocks with stacks of useless German marks.

FAILURES OF THE WORLD WAR I PEACE SETTLEMENT Instead of securing a “just and secure peace,” the Treaty of Versailles caused anger and resentment. Germans saw nothing fair in a treaty that blamed them for starting the war. Nor did they find security in a settlement that stripped them of their overseas colonies and border territories. These problems overwhelmed the Weimar Republic, the democratic government set up in Germany after World War I. Similarly, the Soviets resented the carving up of parts of Russia. (See map, Chapter 11, p. 400.)

The peace settlement had not fulfilled President Wilson’s hope of a world “safe for democracy.” New democratic governments that emerged in Europe after the war floundered. Without a democratic tradition, people turned to authoritarian leaders to solve their economic and social problems. The new democracies collapsed, and dictators were able to seize power. Some had great ambitions.

JOSEPH STALIN TRANSFORMS THE SOVIET UNION In Russia, hopes for democracy gave way to civil war, resulting in the establishment of a communist state, officially called the Soviet Union, in 1922. After V. I. Lenin died in 1924, Joseph Stalin, whose last name means “man of steel,” took control of the country. Stalin focused on creating a model communist state. In so doing, he made both agricultural and industrial growth the prime economic goals of the Soviet Union. Stalin abolished all privately owned farms and replaced them with collectives—large government-owned farms, each worked by hundreds of families.

Stalin moved to transform the Soviet Union from a backward rural nation into a great industrial power. In 1928, the Soviet dictator outlined the first of several “five-year plans,” to direct the industrialization. All economic activity was placed under state management. By 1937, the Soviet Union had become the world’s second-largest industrial power, surpassed in overall production only by the United States. The human costs of this transformation, however, were enormous.

In his drive to purge, or eliminate, anyone who threatened his power, Stalin did not spare even his most faithful supporters. While the final toll will never be known, historians estimate that Stalin was responsible for the deaths of 8 million to 13 million people. Millions more died in famines caused by the restructuring of Soviet society.

By 1939, Stalin had firmly established a totalitarian government that tried to exert complete control over its citizens. In a totalitarian state, individuals have no rights, and the government suppresses all opposition.
THE RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY  While Stalin was consolidating his power in the Soviet Union, Benito Mussolini was establishing a totalitarian regime in Italy, where unemployment and inflation produced bitter strikes, some communist-led. Alarmed by these threats, the middle and upper classes demanded stronger leadership. Mussolini took advantage of this situation. A powerful speaker, Mussolini knew how to appeal to Italy’s wounded national pride. He played on the fears of economic collapse and communism. In this way, he won the support of many discontented Italians.

“Italy wants peace, work, and calm. I will give these things with love if possible, with force if necessary.”

BENITO MUSSOLINI

By 1921, Mussolini had established the Fascist Party. Fascism (fash’iz’am) stressed nationalism and placed the interests of the state above those of individuals. To strengthen the nation, Fascists argued, power must rest with a single strong leader and a small group of devoted party members. (The Latin fasces—a bundle of rods tied around an ax handle—had been a symbol of unity and authority in ancient Rome.)

In October 1922, Mussolini marched on Rome with thousands of his followers, whose black uniforms gave them the name “Black Shirts.” When important government officials, the army, and the police sided with the Fascists, the Italian king appointed Mussolini head of the government.

Calling himself Il Duce, or “the leader,” Mussolini gradually extended Fascist control to every aspect of Italian life. Tourists marveled that Il Duce had even “made the trains run on time.” Mussolini achieved this efficiency, however, by crushing all opposition and by making Italy a totalitarian state.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

What factors led to the rise of Fascism in Italy?
The Faces of Totalitarianism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fascist Italy</th>
<th>Nazi Germany</th>
<th>Communist Soviet Union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Extreme nationalism
• Charismatic expansionism
• Forceful leader
• Private property with strong government controls
• Anticommunist |
| • Extreme nationalism and racism
• Charismatic expansionism
• Forceful leader
• Private property with strong government controls
• Anticommunist |
| • Create a sound communist state and wait for world revolution
• Revolution by workers
• Eventual rule by working class
• State ownership of property |

THE NAZIS TAKE OVER GERMANY  In Germany, Adolf Hitler had followed a path to power similar to Mussolini’s. At the end of World War I, Hitler had been a jobless soldier drifting around Germany. In 1919, he joined a struggling group called the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, better known as the Nazi Party. Despite its name, this party had no ties to socialism.

Hitler proved to be such a powerful public speaker and organizer that he quickly became the party’s leader. Calling himself Der Führer—“the Leader”—he promised to bring Germany out of chaos.

In his book Mein Kampf [My Struggle], Hitler set forth the basic beliefs of Nazism that became the plan of action for the Nazi Party. Nazism (nā’zĭz̩əm), the German brand of fascism, was based on extreme nationalism. Hitler, who had been born in Austria, dreamed of uniting all German-speaking people in a great German empire.

Hitler also wanted to enforce racial “purification” at home. In his view, Germans—especially blue-eyed, blond-haired “Aryans”—formed a “master race” that was destined to rule the world. “Inferior races,” such as Jews, Slavs, and all nonwhites, were deemed fit only to serve the Aryans.

A third element of Nazism was national expansion. Hitler believed that for Germany to thrive, it needed more lebensraum, or living space. One of the Nazis’ aims, as Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf, was “to secure for the German people the land and soil to which they are entitled on this earth,” even if this could be accomplished only by “the might of a victorious sword.”

The Great Depression helped the Nazis come to power. Because of war debts and dependence on American loans and investments, Germany’s economy was hit hard. By 1932, some 6 million Germans were unemployed. Many men who were out of work joined Hitler’s private army, the storm troopers (or Brown Shirts). The German people were desperate and turned to Hitler as their last hope.

By mid 1932, the Nazis had become the strongest political party in Germany. In January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor (prime minister). Once in power, Hitler quickly dismantled Germany’s democratic Weimar Republic. In its place he established the Third Reich, or Third German Empire. According to Hitler, the Third Reich would be a “Thousand-Year Reich”—it would last for a thousand years.
MILITARISTS GAIN CONTROL IN JAPAN  Halfway around the world, nationalist military leaders were trying to take control of the imperial government of Japan. These leaders shared in common with Hitler a belief in the need for more living space for a growing population. Ignoring the protests of more moderate Japanese officials, the militarists launched a surprise attack and seized control of the Chinese province of Manchuria in 1931. Within several months, Japanese troops controlled the entire province, a large region about twice the size of Texas, that was rich in natural resources.

The watchful League of Nations had been established after World War I to prevent just such aggressive acts. In this greatest test of the League’s power, representatives were sent to Manchuria to investigate the situation. Their report condemned Japan, who in turn simply quit the League. Meanwhile, the success of the Manchurian invasion put the militarists firmly in control of Japan’s government.

AGGRESSION IN EUROPE AND AFRICA  The failure of the League of Nations to take action against Japan did not escape the notice of Europe’s dictators. In 1933, Hitler pulled Germany out of the League. In 1935, he began a military buildup in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. A year later, he sent troops into the Rhineland, a German region bordering France and Belgium that was demilitarized as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. The League did nothing to stop Hitler.
Meanwhile, Mussolini began building his new Roman Empire. His first target was Ethiopia, one of Africa’s few remaining independent countries. By the fall of 1935, tens of thousands of Italian soldiers stood ready to advance on Ethiopia. The League of Nations reacted with brave talk of “collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression.”

When the invasion began, however, the League’s response was an ineffectual economic boycott—little more than a slap on Italy’s wrist. By May 1936, Ethiopia had fallen. In desperation, Haile Selassie, the ousted Ethiopian emperor, appealed to the League for assistance. Nothing was done. “It is us today,” he told them. “It will be you tomorrow.”

CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT IN SPAIN In 1936, a group of Spanish army officers led by General Francisco Franco, rebelled against the Spanish republic. Revolts broke out all over Spain, and the Spanish Civil War began. The war aroused passions not only in Spain but throughout the world. About 3,000 Americans formed the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and traveled to Spain to fight against Franco. “We knew, we just knew,” recalled Martha Gellhorn, “that Spain was the place to stop fascism.” Among the volunteers were African Americans still bitter about Mussolini’s invasion of Ethiopia the year before.

Such limited aid was not sufficient to stop the spread of fascism, however. The Western democracies remained neutral. Although the Soviet Union sent equipment and advisers, Hitler and Mussolini backed Franco’s forces with troops, weapons, tanks, and fighter planes. The war forged a close relationship between the German and Italian dictators, who signed a formal alliance known as the Rome-Berlin Axis. After a loss of almost 500,000 lives, Franco’s victory in 1939 established him as Spain’s fascist dictator. Once again a totalitarian government ruled in Europe.

A French journalist escapes from Spain to France with a child he rescued from a street battle. Fighting would soon engulf not only France but the rest of Europe and parts of Asia.
The United States Responds Cautiously

Most Americans were alarmed by the international conflicts of the mid-1930s but believed that the United States should not get involved. In 1928, the United States had signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The treaty was signed by 62 countries and declared that war would not be used “as an instrument of national policy.” Yet it did not include a plan to deal with countries that broke their pledge. The Pact was, therefore, only a small step toward peace.

**AMERICANS CLING TO ISOLATIONISM** In the early 1930s, a flood of books argued that the United States had been dragged into World War I by greedy bankers and arms dealers. Public outrage led to the creation of a congressional committee, chaired by North Dakota Senator Gerald Nye, that held hearings on these charges. The Nye committee fueled the controversy by documenting the large profits that banks and manufacturers made during the war. As the furor grew over these “merchants of death,” Americans became more determined than ever to avoid war. Antiwar feeling was so strong that the Girl Scouts of America changed the color of its uniforms from khaki to green to appear less militaristic.

Americans’ growing isolationism eventually had an impact on President Roosevelt’s foreign policy. When he had first taken office in 1933, Roosevelt felt comfortable reaching out to the world in several ways. He officially recognized the Soviet Union in 1933 and agreed to exchange ambassadors with Moscow. He continued the policy of nonintervention in Latin America—begun by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover—with his Good Neighbor Policy and withdrew armed forces stationed there. In 1934, Roosevelt pushed the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act through Congress. This act lowered trade barriers by giving the president the power to make trade agreements with other nations and was aimed at reducing...

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**Analyzing Political Cartoons**

**“THE ONLY WAY WE CAN SAVE HER”**

During the late 1930s, Americans watched events in Europe with growing alarm. Dictators were destroying democratic systems of government throughout Europe and dragging the continent into war. These political events overseas divided American public opinion. Some Americans felt that the United States should help European democracies. However, isolationists—people who believed that the United States should not interfere in other nations’ affairs—strictly opposed getting involved in the disputes of “war-mad Europe.”

**SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons**

1. Why is America labeled “The last refuge of democracy”?
2. What does the kneeling figure fear will happen to America if Uncle Sam gets involved?
3. What U.S. policy does the cartoon support?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.
tariffs by as much as 50 percent. In an effort to keep the United States out of future wars, beginning in 1935, Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts. The first two acts outlawed arms sales or loans to nations at war. The third act was passed in response to the fighting in Spain. This act extended the ban on arms sales and loans to nations engaged in civil wars.

**NEUTRALITY BREAKS DOWN** Despite congressional efforts to legislate neutrality, Roosevelt found it impossible to remain neutral. When Japan launched a new attack on China in July 1937, Roosevelt found a way around the Neutrality Acts. Because Japan had not formally declared war against China, the president claimed there was no need to enforce the Neutrality Acts. The United States continued sending arms and supplies to China. A few months later, Roosevelt spoke out strongly against isolationism in a speech delivered in Chicago. He called on peace-loving nations to “quarantine,” or isolate, aggressor nations in order to stop the spread of war.

**A PERSONAL VOICE  FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT**

“The peace, the freedom, and the security of 90 percent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 percent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the 90 percent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way . . . to preserve peace.”

—“Quarantine Speech,” October 5, 1937

At last Roosevelt seemed ready to take a stand against aggression—that is, until isolationist newspapers exploded in protest, accusing the president of leading the nation into war. Roosevelt backed off in the face of criticism, but his speech did begin to shift the debate. For the moment the conflicts remained “over there.”

**MAIN IDEA**

**TAKING NOTES**

Using a web diagram like the one below, fill it in with the main ambition of each dictator.

![Dictator's Ambitions Diagram]

What ambitions did the dictators have in common?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**ANALYZING CAUSES**

How did the Treaty of Versailles sow the seeds of instability in Europe?

Think About:

- effects of the treaty on Germany and the Soviet Union
- effects of the treaty on national pride
- the economic legacy of the war

**DRAWING CONCLUSIONS**

Why do you think Hitler found widespread support among the German people? Support your answer with details from the text.

**FORMING GENERALIZATIONS**

Would powerful nations or weak nations be more likely to follow an isolationist policy? Explain.
In 1940, CBS correspondent William Shirer stood in the forest near Compiègne, where 22 years earlier defeated German generals had signed the armistice ending World War I. Shirer was now waiting for Adolf Hitler to deliver his armistice terms to a defeated France. He watched as Hitler walked up to the monument and slowly read the inscription: “Here on the eleventh of November 1918 succumbed the criminal pride of the German empire . . . vanquished by the free peoples which it tried to enslave.” Later that day, Shirer wrote a diary entry describing the führer’s reaction.

A PERSONAL VOICE  WILLIAM SHIRER

“I have seen that face many times at the great moments of his life. But today! It is afire with scorn, anger, hate, revenge, triumph. He steps off the monument and contrives to make even this gesture a masterpiece of contempt. . . . He glances slowly around the clearing, and now, as his eyes meet ours, you grasp the depth of his hatred. But there is triumph there too—vengeful, triumphant hate.”

—Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934–1941

Again and again Shirer had heard Hitler proclaim that “Germany needs peace. . . . Germany wants peace.” The hatred and vengefulness that drove the dictator’s every action, however, drew Germany ever closer to war.

Austria and Czechoslovakia Fall

On November 5, 1937, Hitler met secretly with his top military advisers. He boldly declared that to grow and prosper Germany needed the land of its neighbors. His plan was to absorb Austria and Czechoslovakia into the Third Reich. When one of his advisors protested that annexing those countries could provoke war, Hitler replied, “‘The German Question’ can be solved only by means of force, and this is never without risk.”
UNION WITH AUSTRIA Austria was Hitler’s first target. The Paris Peace Conference following World War I had created the relatively small nation of Austria out of what was left of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The majority of Austria’s 6 million people were Germans who favored unification with Germany. On March 12, 1938, German troops marched into Austria unopposed. A day later, Germany announced that its Anschluss, or “union,” with Austria was complete. The United States and the rest of the world did nothing.

BARGAINING FOR THE SUDETENLAND Hitler then turned to Czechoslovakia. About 3 million German-speaking people lived in the western border regions of Czechoslovakia called the Sudetenland. The mountainous region formed Czechoslovakia’s main defense against German attack. (See map, p. 538.) Hitler wanted to annex Czechoslovakia in order to provide more living space for Germany as well as to control its important natural resources.

Hitler charged that the Czechs were abusing the Sudeten Germans, and he began massing troops on the Czech border. The U.S. correspondent William Shirer, then stationed in Berlin, wrote in his diary: “The Nazi press [is] full of hysterical headlines. All lies. Some examples: ‘Women and Children Mowed Down by Czech Armored Cars,’ or ‘Bloody Regime—New Czech Murders of Germans.’”

Early in the crisis, both France and Great Britain promised to protect Czechoslovakia. Then, just when war seemed inevitable, Hitler invited French premier Édouard Daladier and British prime minister Neville Chamberlain to meet with him in Munich. When they arrived, the führer declared that the annexation of the Sudetenland would be his “last territorial demand.” In their eagerness to avoid war, Daladier and Chamberlain chose to believe him. On September 30, 1938, they signed the Munich Agreement, which turned the Sudetenland over to Germany without a single shot being fired.

Chamberlain returned home and proclaimed: “My friends, there has come back from Germany peace with honor. I believe it is peace in our time.”
Chamberlain’s satisfaction was not shared by Winston Churchill, Chamberlain’s political rival in Great Britain. In Churchill’s view, by signing the Munich Agreement, Daladier and Chamberlain had adopted a shameful policy of appeasement—or giving up principles to pacify an aggressor. As Churchill bluntly put it, “Britain and France had to choose between war and dishonor. They chose dishonor. They will have war.” Nonetheless, the House of Commons approved Chamberlain’s policy toward Germany and Churchill responded with a warning.

A PERSONAL VOICE  WINSTON CHURCHILL

“[W]e have passed an awful milestone in our history. . . . And do not suppose that this is the end. . . . This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigor, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time.”

—speech to the House of Commons, quoted in The Gathering Storm

The German Offensive Begins

As Churchill had warned, Hitler was not finished expanding the Third Reich. As dawn broke on March 15, 1939, German troops poured into what remained of Czechoslovakia. At nightfall Hitler gloated, “Czechoslovakia has ceased to exist.” After that, the German dictator turned his land-hungry gaze toward Germany’s eastern neighbor, Poland.
THE SOVIET UNION DECLARES NEUTRALITY Like Czechoslovakia, Poland had a sizable German-speaking population. In the spring of 1939, Hitler began his familiar routine, charging that Germans in Poland were mistreated by the Poles and needed his protection. Some people thought that this time Hitler must be bluffing. After all, an attack on Poland might bring Germany into conflict with the Soviet Union, Poland’s eastern neighbor. At the same time, such an attack would most likely provoke a declaration of war from France and Britain—both of whom had promised military aid to Poland. The result would be a two-front war. Fighting on two fronts had exhausted Germany in World War I. Surely, many thought, Hitler would not be foolish enough to repeat that mistake.

As tensions rose over Poland, Stalin surprised everyone by signing a nonaggression pact with Hitler. Once bitter enemies, on August 23, 1939 fascist Germany and communist Russia now committed never to attack each other. Germany and the Soviet Union also signed a second, secret pact, agreeing to divide Poland between them. With the danger of a two-front war eliminated, the fate of Poland was sealed.

BLITZKRIEG IN POLAND As day broke on September 1, 1939, the German Luftwaffe, or German air force, roared over Poland, raining bombs on military bases, airfields, railroads, and cities. At the same time, German tanks raced across the Polish countryside, spreading terror and confusion. This invasion was the first test of Germany’s newest military strategy, the blitzkrieg, or lightning war. Blitzkrieg made use of advances in military technology—such as fast tanks and more powerful aircraft—to take the enemy by surprise and then quickly crush all opposition with overwhelming force. On September 3, two days following the terror in Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany. The blitzkrieg tactics worked perfectly. Major fighting was over in three weeks, long before France, Britain, and their allies could mount a defense. In the last week of fighting, the Soviet Union attacked Poland from the east, grabbing some of its territory. The portion Germany annexed in western Poland contained almost two-thirds of Poland’s population. By the end of the month, Poland had ceased to exist—and World War II had begun.
**THE PHONY WAR** For the next several months after the fall of Poland, French and British troops on the Maginot Line, a system of fortifications built along France’s eastern border (see map on p. 538), sat staring into Germany, waiting for something to happen. On the Siegfried Line a few miles away German troops stared back. The blitzkrieg had given way to what the Germans called the *sitzkrieg* (“sitting war”), and what some newspapers referred to as the phony war.

After occupying eastern Poland, Stalin began annexing the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Late in 1939, Stalin sent his Soviet army into Finland. After three months of fighting, the outnumbered Finns surrendered.

Suddenly, on April 9, 1940, Hitler launched a surprise invasion of Denmark and Norway in order “to protect [those countries’] freedom and independence.” But in truth, Hitler planned to build bases along the coasts to strike at Great Britain. Next, Hitler turned against the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, which were overrun by the end of May. The phony war had ended.

**France and Britain Fight On**

France’s Maginot Line proved to be ineffective; the German army threatened to bypass the line during its invasion of Belgium. Hitler’s generals sent their tanks through the Ardennes, a region of wooded ravines in northeast France, thereby avoiding British and French troops who thought the Ardennes were impassable. The Germans continued to march toward Paris.

**THE FALL OF FRANCE** The German offensive trapped almost 400,000 British and French soldiers as they fled to the beaches of Dunkirk on the French side of the English Channel. In less than a week, a makeshift fleet of fishing trawlers, tugboats, river barges, pleasure craft—more than 800 vessels in all—ferried about 330,000 British, French, and Belgian troops to safety across the Channel.

A few days later, Italy entered the war on the side of Germany and invaded France from the south as the Germans closed in on Paris from the north. On June 22, 1940, at Compiègne, as William Shirer and the rest of the world watched, Hitler handed French officers his terms of surrender. Germans would occupy the northern part of France, and a Nazi-controlled puppet government, headed by Marshal Philippe Pétain, would be set up at Vichy, in southern France.

After France fell, a French general named Charles de Gaulle fled to England, where he set up a government-in-exile. De Gaulle proclaimed defiantly, “France has lost a battle, but France has not lost the war.”

**THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN** In the summer of 1940, the Germans began to assemble an invasion fleet along the French coast. Because its naval power could not compete with that of Britain, Germany also launched an air war at the same time. The Luftwaffe began making bombing
runs over Britain. Its goal was to gain total control of the skies by destroying Britain’s Royal Air Force (RAF). Hitler had 2,600 planes at his disposal. On a single day—August 15—approximately 2,000 German planes ranged over Britain. Every night for two solid months, bombers pounded London.

The Battle of Britain raged on through the summer and fall. Night after night, German planes pounded British targets. At first the Luftwaffe concentrated on airfields and aircraft. Next it targeted cities. Londoner Len Jones was just 18 years old when bombs fell on his East End neighborhood.

**A PERSONAL VOICE LEN JONES**

“After an explosion of a nearby bomb, you could actually feel your eyeballs being sucked out. I was holding my eyes to try and stop them going. And the suction was so vast, it ripped my shirt away, and ripped my trousers. Then I couldn’t get my breath, the smoke was like acid and everything round me was black and yellow.”

—quoted in London at War

The RAF fought back brilliantly. With the help of a new technological device called radar, British pilots accurately plotted the flight paths of German planes, even in darkness. On September 15, 1940 the RAF shot down over 185 German planes; at the same time, they lost only 26 aircraft. Six weeks later, Hitler called off the invasion of Britain indefinitely. “Never in the field of human conflict,” said Churchill in praise of the RAF pilots, “was so much owed by so many to so few.”

Still, German bombers continued to pound Britain’s cities trying to disrupt production and break civilian morale. British pilots also bombed German cities. Civilians in both countries unrelentingly carried on.

**MAIN IDEA**

2. **TERMS & NAMES**
   - Neville Chamberlain
   - Winston Churchill
   - appeasement
   - nonaggression pact
   - blitzkrieg
   - Charles de Gaulle

**CRITICAL THINKING**

3. **ANALYZING MOTIVES**
   To what extent do you think lies and deception played a role in Hitler’s tactics? Support your answer with examples. Think About:
   - William Shirer’s diary entry about headlines in the Nazi newspapers
   - Soviet-German relations
   - Hitler’s justifications for military aggression

4. **EVALUATING DECISIONS**
   If you had been a member of the British House of Commons in 1938, would you have voted for or against the Munich Agreement? Support your decision.

5. **DRAWING CONCLUSIONS**
   Review Germany’s aggressive actions between 1938 and 1945. At what point do you think Hitler concluded that he could take any territory without being stopped? Why?
Gerda Weissmann was a carefree girl of 15 when, in September 1939, invading German troops shattered her world. Because the Weissmanns were Jews, they were forced to give up their home to a German family. In 1942, Gerda, her parents, and most of Poland’s 3,000,000 Jews were sent to labor camps. Gerda recalls when members of Hitler’s elite Schutzstaffel, or “security squadron” (SS), came to round up the Jews.

“A PERSONAL VOICE  GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN

“We had to form a line and an SS man stood there with a little stick. I was holding hands with my mother and . . . he looked at me and said, ‘How old?’ And I said, ‘eighteen,’ and he sort of pushed me to one side and my mother to the other side. . . . And shortly thereafter, some trucks arrived . . . and we were loaded onto the trucks. I heard my mother’s voice from very far off ask, ‘Where to?’ and I shouted back, ‘I don’t know.’”

—quoted in the film One Survivor Remembers

When the American lieutenant Kurt Klein, who would later become Gerda’s husband, liberated her from the Nazis in 1945—just one day before her 21st birthday—she weighed 68 pounds and her hair had turned white. Even so, of all her family and friends, she alone had survived the Nazis’ campaign to exterminate Europe’s Jews.

The Persecution Begins

On April 7, 1933, shortly after Hitler took power in Germany, he ordered all “non-Aryans” to be removed from government jobs. This order was one of the first moves in a campaign for racial purity that eventually led to the Holocaust—the systematic murder of 6 million Jews across Europe. The Nazis also murdered 5 million other people.
On November 17, 1938, two passersby examine the shattered window of a Jewish-owned store in the aftermath of Kristallnacht.

Jewish men holding a “star of David” are rounded up and marched through the streets on their way to a concentration camp.

JEWS TARGETED Although Jews were not the only victims of the Holocaust, they were the center of the Nazis’ targets. Anti-Semitism, or hatred of the Jews, had a long history in many European countries. For decades many Germans looking for a scapegoat had blamed the Jews as the cause of their failures. Hitler found that a majority of Germans were willing to support his belief that Jews were responsible for Germany’s economic problems and defeat in World War I.

As the Nazis tightened their hold on Germany, their persecution of the Jews increased. In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws stripped Jews of their German citizenship, jobs, and property. To make it easier for the Nazis to identify them, Jews had to wear a bright yellow Star of David attached to their clothing. Worse was yet to come.

KRISTALLNACHT November 9–10, 1938, became known as Kristallnacht (krē’stəl’nācht’), or “Night of Broken Glass.” Nazi storm troopers attacked Jewish homes, businesses, and synagogues across Germany and Austria. An American who witnessed the violence wrote, “Jewish shop windows by the hundreds were systematically and wantonly smashed. . . . The main streets of the city were a positive litter of shattered plate glass.” Around 100 Jews were killed, and hundreds more were injured. Some 30,000 Jews were arrested and hundreds of synagogues were burned. Afterward, the Nazis blamed the Jews for the destruction.

A FLOOD OF JEWISH REFUGEES Kristallnacht marked a step-up in the Nazi policy of Jewish persecution. Nazis tried to speed Jewish emigration but encountered difficulty. Jews fleeing Germany had trouble finding nations that would accept them. France already had 40,000 Jewish refugees and did not want more. The British worried about fueling anti-Semitism and refused to admit more than 80,000 Jewish refugees. They also controlled the Palestine Mandate (part of which later became Israel) and allowed 30,000 refugees to settle there. Late in 1938, Germany’s foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, observed, “We all want to get rid of our Jews. The difficulty is that no country wishes to receive them.”
Although the average Jew had little chance of reaching the United States, “persons of exceptional merit,” including physicist Albert Einstein, author Thomas Mann, architect Walter Gropius, and theologian Paul Tillich were among 100,000 refugees the United States accepted.

Many Americans wanted the door closed. Americans were concerned that letting in more refugees during the Great Depression would deny U.S. citizens jobs and threaten economic recovery. Among Americans, there was widespread anti-Semitism and fear that “enemy agents” would be allowed to enter the country. President Roosevelt said that while he sympathized with the Jews, he would not “do anything which would conceivably hurt the future of present American citizens.”

THE PLIGHT OF THE ST. LOUIS Official indifference to the plight of Germany’s Jews was in evidence in the case of the ship St. Louis. This German ocean liner passed Miami in 1939. Although 740 of the liner’s 943 passengers had U.S. immigration papers, the Coast Guard followed the ship to prevent anyone from disembarking in America. The ship was forced to return to Europe. “The cruise of the St. Louis,” wrote the New York Times, “cries to high heaven of man’s inhumanity to man.” Passenger Liane Reif-Lehrer recalls her childhood experiences.

A PERSONAL VOICE LIANE REIF-LEHRER

“My mother and brother and I were among the passengers who survived. . . . We were sent back to Europe and given haven in France, only to find the Nazis on our doorstep again a few months later.”

—Liane Reif-Lehrer

More than half of the passengers were later killed in the Holocaust.

Hitler’s “Final Solution”

By 1939 only about a quarter million Jews remained in Germany. But other nations that Hitler occupied had millions more. Obsessed with a desire to rid Europe of its Jews, Hitler imposed what he called the “Final Solution”—a policy of genocide, the deliberate and systematic killing of an entire population.
THE CONDEMNED Hitler’s Final Solution rested on the belief that Aryans were a superior people and that the strength and purity of this “master race” must be preserved. To accomplish this, the Nazis condemned to slavery and death not only the Jews but other groups that they viewed as inferior or unworthy or as “enemies of the state.”

After taking power in 1933, the Nazis had concentrated on silencing their political opponents—communists, socialists, liberals, and anyone else who spoke out against the government. Once the Nazis had eliminated these enemies, they turned against other groups in Germany. In addition to Jews, these groups included the following:

- **Gypsies**—whom the Nazis believed to be an “inferior race”
- **Freemasons**—whom the Nazis charged as supporters of the “Jewish conspiracy” to rule the world
- **Jehovah’s Witnesses**—who refused to join the army or salute Hitler

The Nazis also targeted other Germans whom they found unfit to be part of the “master race.” Such victims included homosexuals, the mentally deficient, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, and the incurably ill.

Hitler began implementing his Final Solution in Poland with special Nazi death squads. Hitler’s elite Nazi “security squadrons” (or SS), rounded up Jews—men, women, children, and babies—and shot them on the spot.

FORCED RELOCATION Jews also were ordered into dismal, overcrowded ghettos, segregated Jewish areas in certain Polish cities. The Nazis sealed off the ghettos with barbed wire and stone walls.

Life inside the ghetto was miserable. The bodies of victims piled up in the streets faster than they could be removed. Factories were built alongside ghettos where people were forced to work for German industry. In spite of the impossible living conditions, the Jews hung on. While some formed resistance movements inside the ghettos, others resisted by other means. They published and distributed underground newspapers. Secret schools were set up to educate Jewish children. Even theater and music groups continued to operate.

### Background
The first person to use the term Final Solution was General George Custer. He was referring to the execution of Native Americans.
CONCENTRATION CAMPS Finally, Jews in communities not reached by the killing squads were dragged from their homes and herded onto trains or trucks for shipment to concentration camps, or labor camps. Families were often separated, sometimes—like the Weissmanns—forever.

Nazi concentration camps were originally set up to imprison political opponents and protesters. The camps were later turned over to the SS, who expanded the concentration camp and used it to warehouse other “undesirables.” Life in the camps was a cycle of hunger, humiliation, and work that almost always ended in death.

The prisoners were crammed into crude wooden barracks that held up to a thousand people each. They shared their crowded quarters, as well as their meager meals, with hordes of rats and fleas. Hunger was so intense, recalled one survivor, “that if a bit of soup spilled over, prisoners would converge on the spot, dig their spoons into the mud and stuff the mess into their mouths.”

Inmates in the camps worked from dawn to dusk, seven days a week, until they collapsed. Those too weak to work were killed. Some, like Rudolf Reder, endured. He was one of only two Jews to survive the camp at Belzec, Poland.

A PERSONAL VOICE RUDOLF REDer

“The brute Schmidt was our guard; he beat and kicked us if he thought we were not working fast enough. He ordered his victims to lie down and gave them 25 lashes with a whip, ordering them to count out loud. If the victim made a mistake, he was given 50 lashes. . . . Thirty or 40 of us were shot every day. A doctor usually prepared a daily list of the weakest men. During the lunch break they were taken to a nearby grave and shot. They were replaced the following morning by new arrivals from the transport of the day. . . . It was a miracle if anyone survived for five or six months in Belzec.”

—quoted in The Holocaust
Prisoners were required to wear color-coded triangles on their uniforms. The categories of prisoners include communists, socialists, criminals, emigrants, Jehovah’s Witnesses, homosexuals, Germans “shy of work,” and other nationalities “shy of work.” The vertical categories show a variation. One for repeat offenders, one for prisoners assigned to punish other prisoners, and double triangles for Jews. Letters on top of a patch indicate nationality.

The Final Stage

The Final Solution reached its final stage in early 1942. At a meeting held in Wannsee, a lakeside suburb near Berlin, Hitler’s top officials agreed to begin a new phase of the mass murder of Jews. To mass slaughter and starvation they would add a third method of killing—murder by poison gas.

**MASS EXTERMINATIONS** As deadly as overwork, starvation, beatings, and bullets were, they did not kill fast enough to satisfy the Nazis. The Germans built six death camps in Poland. The first, Chelmno, began operating in 1941—before the meeting at Wannsee. Each camp had several huge gas chambers in which as many as 12,000 people could be killed a day.

When prisoners arrived at Auschwitz, the largest of the death camps, they had to parade by several SS doctors. With a wave of the hand, the doctors separated those strong enough to work from those who would die that day. Both groups were told to leave all their belongings behind, with a promise that they would be returned later. Those destined to die were then led into a room outside the gas chamber and were told to undress for a shower. To complete the deception, the prisoners were even
given pieces of soap. Finally, they were led into the chamber and poisoned with cyanide gas that spewed from vents in the walls. This orderly mass extermination was sometimes carried out to the accompaniment of cheerful music played by an orchestra of camp inmates who had temporarily been spared execution.

At first the bodies were buried in huge pits. At Belzec, Rudolf Reder was part of a 500-man death brigade that labored all day, he said, “either at grave digging or emptying the gas chambers.” But the decaying corpses gave off a stench that could be smelled for miles around. Worse yet, mass graves left evidence of the mass murder. Lilli Kopecky recalls her arrival at Auschwitz.

A PERSONAL VOICE LILLI KOPECKY

“When we came to Auschwitz, we smelt the sweet smell. They said to us: ‘There the people are gassed, three kilometers over there.’ We didn’t believe it.”

—quoted in Never Again

At some camps, to try to cover up the evidence of their slaughter, the Nazis installed huge crematoriums, or ovens, in which to burn the dead. At other camps, the bodies were simply thrown into a pit and set on fire.

Gassing was not the only method of extermination used in the camps. Prisoners were also shot, hanged, or injected with poison.

Still others died as a result of horrible medical experiments carried out by camp doctors. Some of these victims were injected with deadly germs in order to study the effect of disease on different groups of people. Many more were used to test methods of sterilization, a subject of great interest to some Nazi doctors in their search for ways to improve the “master race.”
**THE SURVIVORS** An estimated six million Jews died in the death camps and in the Nazi massacres. But some miraculously escaped the worst of the Holocaust. Many had help from ordinary people who were appalled by the Nazis’ treatment of Jews. Some Jews even survived the horrors of the concentration camps.

In Gerda Weissmann Klein’s view, survival depended as much on one’s spirit as on getting enough to eat. “I do believe that if you were blessed with imagination, you could work through it,” she wrote. “If, unfortunately, you were a person that faced reality, I think you didn’t have much of a chance.” Those who did come out of the camps alive were forever changed by what they had witnessed. For survivor Elie Wiesel, who entered Auschwitz in 1944 at the age of 14, the sun had set forever.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** **ELIE WIESEL**

“Never shall I forget that night, the first night in the camp, which has turned my life into one long night. . . . Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever. Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live. Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. Never shall I forget these things, even if I am condemned to live as long as God Himself. Never.”

“Survival is both an exalted privilege and a painful burden.”

GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN

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**MAIN IDEA**

4. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Why do you think the Nazi system of systematic genocide was so brutally effective? Support your answer with details from the text.

5. **ANALYZING MOTIVES**

How might concentration camp doctors and guards have justified to themselves the death and suffering they caused other human beings?
Two days after Hitler invaded Poland, President Roosevelt spoke reassuringly to Americans about the outbreak of war in Europe.

**A Personal Voice** FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

“This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well. . . . Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience. . . . I have said not once, but many times, that I have seen war and I hate war. . . . As long as it is my power to prevent, there will be no black out of peace in the U.S.”

—radio speech, September 3, 1939

Although Roosevelt knew that Americans were still deeply committed to staying out of war, he also believed that there could be no peace in a world controlled by dictators.

The United States Musters Its Forces

As German tanks thundered across Poland, Roosevelt revised the Neutrality Act of 1935. At the same time, he began to prepare the nation for the struggle he feared lay just ahead.

**Moving Cautiously Away from Neutrality** In September of 1939, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass a “cash-and-carry” provision that allowed warring nations to buy U.S. arms as long as they paid cash and transported them in their own ships. Providing the arms, Roosevelt argued, would help France and Britain defeat Hitler and keep the United States out of the war. Isolationists attacked Roosevelt for his actions. However, after six weeks of heated debate, Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1939, and a cash-and-carry policy went into effect.
THE AXIS THREAT  The United States cash-and-carry policy began to look like too little, too late. By summer 1940, France had fallen and Britain was under siege. Roosevelt scrambled to provide the British with “all aid short of war.” By June he had sent Britain 500,000 rifles and 80,000 machine guns, and in early September the United States traded 50 old destroyers for leases on British military bases in the Caribbean and Newfoundland. British prime minister Winston Churchill would later recall this move with affection as “a decidedly unneutral act.”

On September 27 Americans were jolted by the news that Germany, Italy, and Japan had signed a mutual defense treaty, the Tripartite Pact. The three nations became known as the **Axis Powers**.

The Tripartite Pact was aimed at keeping the United States out of the war. Under the treaty, each Axis nation agreed to come to the defense of the others in case of attack. This meant that if the United States were to declare war on any one of the Axis powers, it would face its worst military nightmare—a two-ocean war, with fighting in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

BUILDING U.S DEFENSES  Meanwhile, Roosevelt asked Congress to increase spending for national defense. In spite of years of isolationism, Nazi victories in 1940 changed U.S. thinking, and Congress boosted defense spending. Congress also passed the nation’s first peacetime military draft—the Selective Training and Service Act. Under this law 16 million men between the ages of 21 and 35 were registered. Of these, 1 million were to be drafted for one year but were only allowed to serve in the Western Hemisphere. Roosevelt himself drew the first draft numbers as he told a national radio audience, “This is a most solemn ceremony.”

ROOSEVELT RUNS FOR A THIRD TERM  That same year, Roosevelt decided to break the tradition of a two-term presidency, begun by George Washington, and run for reelection. To the great disappointment of isolationists, Roosevelt’s Republican opponent, a public utilities executive named Wendell Willkie, supported Roosevelt’s policy of aiding Britain. At the same time, both Willkie and Roosevelt promised to keep the nation out of war. Because there was so little difference between the candidates, the majority of voters chose the one they knew best. Roosevelt was reelected with nearly 55 percent of the votes cast.
**The United States must protect democracies throughout the world.**

As the conflict in Europe deepened, interventionists embraced President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s declaration that “when peace has been broken anywhere, peace of all countries everywhere is in danger.” Roosevelt emphasized the global character of 20th-century commerce and communication by noting, “Every word that comes through the air, every ship that sails the sea, every battle that is fought does affect the American future.”

Roosevelt and other political leaders also appealed to the nation’s conscience. Secretary of State Cordell Hull noted that the world was “face to face . . . with an organized, ruthless, and implacable movement of steadily expanding conquest.” In the same vein, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles called Hitler “a sinister and pitiless conqueror [who] has reduced more than half of Europe to abject serfdom.”

After the war expanded into the Atlantic, Roosevelt declared, “It is time for all Americans . . . to stop being deluded by the romantic notion that the Americas can go on living happily and peacefully in a Nazi-dominated world.” He added, “Let us not ask ourselves whether the Americas should begin to defend themselves after the first attack . . . or the twentieth attack. The time for active defense is now.”

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**POINT**

“The United States should not become involved in European wars.”

Still recovering from World War I and struggling with the Great Depression, many Americans believed their country should remain strictly neutral in the war in Europe. Representative James F. O’Connor voiced the country’s reservations when he asked, “Dare we set America up and commit her as the financial and military blood bank of the rest of the world?” O’Connor maintained that the United States could not “right every wrong” or “police [the] world.”

The aviator Charles Lindbergh stated his hope that “the future of America . . . not be tied to these eternal wars in Europe.” Lindbergh asserted that “Americans [should] fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere.” However, he went on to say, “Our safety does not lie in fighting European wars. It lies in our own internal strength, in the character of the American people and American institutions.” Like many isolationists, Lindbergh believed that democracy would not be saved “by the forceful imposition of our ideals abroad, but by example of their successful operation at home.”

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**COUNTERPOINT**

“The United States must protect democracies throughout the world.”

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**THINKING CRITICALLY**

1. **CONNECT TO TODAY** Making Inferences After World War I, many Americans became isolationists. Do you recommend that the United States practice isolationism today? Why or why not?

2. **CONNECT TO HISTORY** Researching and Reporting Do research to find out more about Charles Lindbergh’s antiwar activities. Present your findings in an editorial.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R34.
SUPPORTING STALIN  Britain was not the only nation to receive lend-lease aid. In June 1941, Hitler broke the agreement he had made in 1939 with Stalin not to go to war and invaded the Soviet Union. Acting on the principle that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend,” Roosevelt began sending lend-lease supplies to the Soviet Union. Some Americans opposed providing aid to Stalin; Roosevelt, however, agreed with Winston Churchill, who had said “if Hitler invaded Hell,” the British would be prepared to work with the devil himself.

GERMAN WOLF PACKS  Providing lend-lease aid was one thing, but to ensure the safe delivery of goods to Britain and to the Soviet Union, supply lines had to be kept open across the Atlantic Ocean. To prevent delivery of lend-lease shipments, Hitler deployed hundreds of German submarines—U-boats—to attack supply ships.

From the spring through the fall of 1941, individual surface attacks by individual U-boats gave way to what became known as the wolf pack attack. At night groups of up to 40 submarines patrolled areas in the North Atlantic where convoys could be expected. Wolf packs were successful in sinking as much as 350,000 tons of shipments in a single month. In June 1941, President Roosevelt granted the navy permission for U.S. warships to attack German U-boats in self-defense. By late 1943, the submarine menace was contained by electronic detection techniques (especially radar), and by airborne antisubmarine patrols operating from small escort aircraft carriers.
FDR Plans for War

Although Roosevelt was popular, his foreign policy was under constant attack. American forces were seriously underarmed. Roosevelt’s August 1941 proposal to extend the term of draftees passed in the House of Representatives by only one vote. With the army provided for, Roosevelt began planning for the war he was certain would come.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER While Congress voted on the extension of the draft, Roosevelt and Churchill met secretly at a summit aboard the battleship USS Augusta. Although Churchill hoped for a military commitment, he settled for a joint declaration of war aims, called the Atlantic Charter. Both countries pledged the following: collective security, disarmament, self-determination, economic cooperation, and freedom of the seas. Roosevelt disclosed to Churchill that he couldn’t ask Congress for a declaration of war against Germany, but “he would wage war” and do “everything” to “force an incident.”

The Atlantic Charter became the basis of a new document called “A Declaration of the United Nations.” The term United Nations was suggested by Roosevelt to express the common purpose of the Allies, those nations that had fought the Axis powers. The declaration was signed by 26 nations, “four-fifths of the human race” observed Churchill.

SHOOT ON SIGHT After a German submarine fired on the U.S. destroyer Greer in the Atlantic on September 4, 1941, Roosevelt ordered navy commanders to respond. “When you see a rattlesnake poised to strike,” the president explained, “you crush him.” Roosevelt ordered the navy to shoot the German submarines on sight.

Two weeks later, the Pink Star, an American merchant ship, was sunk off Greenland. In mid-October, a U-boat torpedoed the U.S. destroyer Kearny, and 11 lives were lost.

Days later, German U-boats sank the U.S. destroyer Reuben James, killing more than 100 sailors. “America has been attacked,” Roosevelt announced grimly. “The shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot.” As the death toll mounted, the Senate finally repealed the ban against arming merchant ships. A formal declaration of a full-scale war seemed inevitable.

Japan Attacks the United States

The United States was now involved in an undeclared naval war with Hitler. However, the attack that brought the United States into the war came from Japan.

JAPAN’S AMBITIONS IN THE PACIFIC Germany’s European victories created new opportunities for Japanese expansionists. Japan was already in control of Manchuria. In July 1937, Hideki Tojo (hē’d-kē tō’jō’), chief of staff of Japan’s Kwantung Army, launched the invasion into China. As French, Dutch, and British colonies lay unprotected in Asia, Japanese leaders leapfrogged at the opportunity to unite East Asia under Japanese control by seizing the colonial lands. By 1941, the British were too busy fighting Hitler to block Japanese expansion. Only the U.S. and its Pacific islands remained in Japan’s way.
The Japanese began their southward push in July 1941 by taking over French military bases in Indochina (now Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). The United States protested this new act of aggression by cutting off trade with Japan. The embargoed goods included one Japan could not live without—oil to fuel its war machine. Japanese military leaders warned that without oil, Japan could be defeated without its enemies ever striking a blow. The leaders declared that Japan must either persuade the United States to end its oil embargo or seize the oil fields in the Dutch East Indies. This would mean war.

PEACE TALKS ARE QUESTIONED Shortly after becoming the prime minister of Japan, Hideki Tojo met with emperor Hirohito. Tojo promised the emperor that the Japanese government would attempt to preserve peace with the Americans. But on November 5, 1941, Tojo ordered the Japanese navy to prepare for an attack on the United States.

The U.S. military had broken Japan's secret communication codes and learned that Japan was preparing for a strike. What it didn't know was where the attack would come. Late in November, Roosevelt sent out a “war warning” to military commanders in Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines. If war could not be avoided, the warning said, “the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act.” And the nation waited.

The peace talks went on for a month. Then on December 6, 1941, Roosevelt received a decoded message that instructed Japan’s peace envoy to reject all American peace proposals. “This means war,” Roosevelt declared.

THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR Early the next morning, a Japanese dive-bomber swooped low over Pearl Harbor—the largest U.S. naval base in the Pacific. The bomber was followed by more than 180 Japanese warplanes launched from six aircraft carriers. As the first Japanese bombs found their targets, a radio operator flashed this message: “Air raid on Pearl Harbor. This is not a drill.”

For an hour and a half, the Japanese planes were barely disturbed by U.S. antiaircraft guns and blasted target after target. By the time the last plane soared off around 9:30 A.M., the devastation was appalling. John Garcia, a pipe fitter’s apprentice, was there.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN GARCIA

“It was a mess. I was working on the U.S.S. Shaw. It was on a floating dry dock. It was in flames. I started to go down into the pipe fitter’s shop to get my toolbox when another wave of Japanese came in. I got under a set of concrete steps at the dry dock where the battleship Pennsylvania was. An officer came by and asked me to go into the Pennsylvania and try to get the fires out. A bomb had penetrated the marine deck, and . . . three decks below. Under that was the magazines: ammunition, powder, shells. I said “There ain’t no way I’m gonna go down there.” It could blow up any minute. I was young and 16, not stupid.”

—quoted in The Good War
Japanese Aggression, 1931–1941

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

1. Region Which countries had Japan invaded by 1941?
2. Movement Notice the placement of the U.S. ships in Pearl Harbor—on the lower inset map. What might the navy have done differently to minimize damage from a surprise attack?

At Pearl Harbor, American sailors are rescued by motorboat after their battleships, the USS West Virginia and the USS Tennessee, were bombed.
In less than two hours, the Japanese had killed 2,403 Americans and wounded 1,178 more. The surprise raid had sunk or damaged 21 ships, including 8 battleships—nearly the whole U.S. Pacific fleet. More than 300 aircraft were severely damaged or destroyed. These losses constituted greater damage than the U.S. Navy had suffered in all of World War I. By chance, three aircraft carriers at sea escaped the disaster. Their survival would prove crucial to the war’s outcome.

**REACTION TO PEARL HARBOR** In Washington, the mood ranged from outrage to panic. At the White House, Eleanor Roosevelt watched closely as her husband absorbed the news from Hawaii, “each report more terrible than the last.” Beneath the president’s calm, Eleanor could see how worried he was. “I never wanted to have to fight this war on two fronts,” Roosevelt told his wife. “We haven’t the Navy to fight in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. . . . so we will have to build up the Navy and the Air Force and that will mean that we will have to take a good many defeats before we can have a victory.”

The next day, President Roosevelt addressed Congress. “Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy,” he said, “[the Japanese launched] an unprovoked and dastardly attack.” Congress quickly approved Roosevelt’s request for a declaration of war against Japan. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

For all the damage done at Pearl Harbor, perhaps the greatest was to the cause of isolationism. Many who had been former isolationists now supported an all-out American effort. After the surprise attack, isolationist senator Burton Wheeler proclaimed, “The only thing now to do is to lick the hell out of them.”

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**1. TERMS & NAMES**

For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Axis powers**
- **Lend-Lease Act**
- **Atlantic Charter**
- **Allies**
- **Hideki Tojo**

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**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Create a time line of key events leading to America’s entry into World War II. Use the dates below as a guide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>1941</td>
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<td>August</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which of the events that you listed was most influential in bringing the United States into the war? Why?

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**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. EVALUATING DECISIONS**

Do you think that the United States should have waited to be attacked before declaring war? **Think About:**

- the reputation of the United States
- the influence of isolationists
- the events at Pearl Harbor

**4. PREDICTING EFFECTS**

What problem would the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor solve for Roosevelt? What new problems would it create?

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**5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES**

Although the U.S. Congress was still unwilling to declare war early in 1941, Churchill told his war cabinet,

> “We must have patience and trust to the tide which is flowing our way, and to events.”

What do you think Churchill meant by this remark? Support your answer.
VISUAL SUMMARY

WORLD WAR LOOMS

1931
Japan invades Manchuria.

1932
Nazi Party becomes the most powerful in Germany.

Mar. 1933
First concentration camp opens at Oranienburg. Adolf Hitler becomes dictator of Germany.

1934

1935
Sept. 1935 Nuremberg Laws instituted against Jews in Germany.

Mar. 1936

1937
1938

Nov. 1938
Kristallnacht, Night of Broken Glass, Nazis destroy property and arrest over 20,000 Jews.

Jun. 1940
France surrenders. Sept. 1940 Japan signs tripartite pact with Germany and Italy.

1939
Mar. 1939
Germany seizes all of Czechoslovakia. Sept. 1939 Germany invades Poland. Britain and France declare war on Germany and World War II begins.

1940

Mar. 1941

1941

TERMS & NAMES
For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance in U.S. foreign affairs between 1931 and 1941.

1. fascism
2. Adolf Hitler
3. Nazism
4. Winston Churchill
5. appeasement
6. Charles de Gaulle
7. Holocaust
8. genocide
9. Axis powers
10. Allies

MAIN IDEAS
Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions about the early years of World War II.

Dictators Threaten World Peace (pages 528–535)
1. What were Stalin’s goals and what steps did he take to achieve them?
2. How did Germany’s and Italy’s involvement affect the outcome of the Spanish Civil War?

War in Europe (pages 536–541)
3. Why was the blitzkrieg effective?
4. What terms of surrender did Hitler demand of the French after the fall of France in 1940? What was General Charles de Gaulle’s reaction?

The Holocaust (pages 542–549)
5. What groups did Nazis deem unfit to belong to the Aryan “master race”?
6. How did some Europeans show their resistance to Nazi persecution of the Jews?

America Moves Toward War (pages 550–557)
7. What congressional measures paved the way for the U.S. entry into World War II?
8. Why did the United States enter World War II?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES In a chart like the one shown, identify the effects of each of these early events of World War II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First blitzkrieg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allies stranded at Dunkirk</td>
<td></td>
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<td>British radar detects German aircraft</td>
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<td>Lend-Lease Act</td>
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2. COMPARING Compare the ways in which Hitler, Churchill, and Roosevelt used their powers as gifted speakers to accomplish their political aims during World War II. Use details from the chapter text.

3. INTERPRETING MAPS Look at the map of German advances on page 538. How might Poland’s location have influenced the secret pact that Germany and the Soviet Union signed on August 23, 1939?
INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Imagine that you are a political cartoonist whose work is seen by millions of Americans. Draw a political cartoon that supports or opposes the policy of neutrality.

COLLABORATIVE LEARNING

In a small group read and discuss The “One American’s Story” at the beginning of Section 3. Collect quotations and historical data about the Holocaust. Then write a book introduction about the Holocaust that incorporates quotations and the importance of the first-person accounts of survivors, such as Gerda Weissmann Klein.

FOCUS ON WRITING

The preparations for World War II brought many changes to life in the United States. Imagine that you are an American citizen at this time. Write a journal entry that describes the changes going on around you.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1 and 2.

1. All of the following are true of F.D.R.’s neutrality policy except —
   A Roosevelt found it hard to keep the United States neutral.
   B Roosevelt did not always enforce the Neutrality Acts.
   C Roosevelt promoted the Neutrality Policy of the United States throughout the war.
   D Roosevelt spoke out against isolationism.

2. President Wilson’s image rises above President Roosevelt to wish him luck for —
   F helping to pass the bill he is signing.
   G keeping the United States out of a war.
   H winning the next presidential election.
   J gaining greater revenues from Europe.

Use the quotation and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 3.

“In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression. —everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way. —everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want. . . . The fourth is freedom from fear.”

—Franklin Roosevelt, Address to Congress, 1941

3. The “four freedoms” speech helped gain widespread support in the United States for —
   A increasing aid to the Allies.
   B decreasing immigration.
   C a military and arms buildup.
   D a presidential election.
How did the United States use its resources to win World War II?

In this chapter you will discover the military campaigns, political decisions, and home front sacrifices that led to victory in World War II.

**SECTION 1: Mobilizing for Defense**
Main Idea Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States mobilized for war.

**SECTION 2: The War for Europe and North Africa**
Main Idea Allied forces, led by the United States and Great Britain, battled Axis powers for control of Europe and North Africa.

**SECTION 3: The War in the Pacific**
Main Idea In order to defeat Japan and end the war in the Pacific, the United States unleashed a terrible new weapon, the atomic bomb.

**SECTION 4: The Home Front**
Main Idea After World War II, Americans adjusted to new economic opportunities and harsh social tensions.

The raid on Pearl Harbor disabled the bulk of the U.S. fleet, including the *Tennessee* (left) and the *Arizona* (right).

- 1941 The Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor.
- 1941 A. Philip Randolph demands that war industries hire African Americans.
- 1942 Roosevelt creates the War Production Board to coordinate mobilization.
- 1942 Japanese Americans are sent to relocation centers.
- 1942 In the Pacific, the Battle of Midway turns the tide in favor of the Allies.
- 1942 Nazis develop the “final solution” for exterminating Jews.
It is December of 1941. After Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, the U.S. has entered the war. As a citizen, you and millions like you must mobilize a depressed peacetime country for war. The United States must produce the workers, soldiers, weapons, and equipment that will help to win the war.

**Explore the Issues**

- How can the government encourage businesses to convert to wartime production?
- What sacrifices will you and your family be willing to make?
- How can the military attract recruits?
Mobilizing for Defense

MAIN IDEA
Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States mobilized for war.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW
Military industries in the United States today are a major part of the American economy.

Terms & Names
• George Marshall
• Women’s Auxiliary Army Corp (WAAC)
• A. Philip Randolph
• Manhattan Project
• Office of Price Administration (OPA)
• War Production Board (WPB)
• rationing

One American’s Story

Charles Swanson looked all over his army base for a tape recorder on which to play the tape his wife had sent him for Christmas. “In desperation,” he later recalled, “I had it played over the public-address system. It was a little embarrassing to have the whole company hear it, but it made everyone long for home.”

A PERSONAL VOICE MRS. CHARLES SWANSON

“I Merry Christmas, honey. Surprised? I’m so glad I have a chance to say hello to you this way on our first Christmas apart. . . . About our little girl. . . . She is just big enough to fill my heart and strong enough to help Mommy bear this ache of loneliness. . . . Her dearest treasure is her daddy’s picture. It’s all marked with tiny handprints, and the glass is always cloudy from so much loving and kissing. I’m hoping you’ll be listening to this on Christmas Eve, somewhere over there, your heart full of hope, faith and courage, knowing each day will bring that next Christmas together one day nearer.”

—quoted in We Pulled Together . . . and Won!

As the United States began to mobilize for war, the Swansons, like most Americans, had few illusions as to what lay ahead. It would be a time filled with hard work, hope, sacrifice, and sorrow.

Americans Join the War Effort

The Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor with the expectation that once Americans had experienced Japan’s power, they would shrink from further conflict. The day after the raid, the Japan Times boasted that the United States, now reduced to a third-rate power, was “trembling in her shoes.” But if Americans were trembling, it was with rage, not fear. Unitig under the battle cry “Remember Pearl Harbor!” they set out to prove Japan wrong.
WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

A few weeks after the bill to establish the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) had become law, Oveta Culp Hobby (shown, far right), a Texas newspaper executive and the first director of the WAAC, put out a call for recruits. More than 13,000 women applied on the first day. In all, some 350,000 women served in this and other auxiliary branches during the war.

The WAC remained a separate unit of the army until 1978 when male and female forces were integrated. In 2006, more than 200,000 women served in the United States armed forces.

SELECTIVE SERVICE AND THE GI

After Pearl Harbor, eager young Americans jammed recruiting offices. “I wanted to be a hero, let’s face it,” admitted Roger Tuttrup. “I was havin’ trouble in school. . . . The war’d been goin’ on for two years. I didn’t wanna miss it. . . . I was an American. I was seventeen.”

Even the 5 million who volunteered for military service, however, were not enough to face the challenge of an all-out war on two global fronts—Europe and the Pacific. The Selective Service System expanded the draft and eventually provided another 10 million soldiers to meet the armed forces’ needs.

The volunteers and draftees reported to military bases around the country for eight weeks of basic training. In this short period, seasoned sergeants did their best to turn raw recruits into disciplined, battle-ready GIs.

According to Sergeant Debs Myers, however, there was more to basic training than teaching a recruit how to stand at attention, march in step, handle a rifle, and follow orders.

A PERSONAL VOICE  SERGEANT DEBS MYERS
“...The civilian went before the Army doctors, took off his clothes, feeling silly; jigged, stooped, squatted, wet into a bottle; became a soldier. He learned how to sleep in the mud, tie a knot, kill a man. He learned the ache of loneliness, the ache of exhaustion, the kinship of misery. He learned that men make the same queasy noises in the morning, feel the same longings at night; that every man is alike and that each man is different.”

—quoted in The GI War: 1941–1945

EXPANDING THE MILITARY

The military’s work force needs were so great that Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall pushed for the formation of a Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC). “There are innumerable duties now being performed by soldiers that can be done better by women,” Marshall said in support of a bill to establish the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps. Under this bill, women volunteers would serve in noncombat positions.

Despite opposition from some members of Congress who scorned the bill as “the silliest piece of legislation” they had ever seen, the bill establishing the WAAC became law on May 15, 1942. The law gave the WAACs an official status and salary but few of the benefits granted to male soldiers. In July 1943, after thousands of women had enlisted, the U.S. Army dropped the “auxiliary” status, and granted WACs full U.S. Army benefits. WACs worked as nurses, ambulance drivers, radio operators, electricians, and pilots—nearly every duty not involving direct combat.

Background
The initials GI originally stood for “galvanized iron” but were later reinterpreted as “government issue,” meaning uniforms and supplies. In time, the abbreviation came to stand for American soldiers.
RECRUITING AND DISCRIMINATION For many minority groups—especially African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans—the war created new dilemmas. Restricted to racially segregated neighborhoods and reservations and denied basic citizenship rights, some members of these groups questioned whether this was their war to fight. “Why die for democracy for some foreign country when we don’t even have it here?” asked an editorial in an African-American newspaper. On receiving his draft notice, an African American responded unhappily, “Just carve on my tombstone, ‘Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man.’”

DRAMATIC CONTRIBUTIONS Despite discrimination in the military, more than 300,000 Mexican Americans joined the armed forces. While Mexican Americans in Los Angeles made up only a tenth of the city’s population, they suffered a fifth of the city’s wartime casualties.

About one million African Americans also served in the military. African-American soldiers lived and worked in segregated units and were limited mostly to noncombat roles. After much protest, African Americans did finally see combat beginning in April 1943.

Asian Americans took part in the struggle as well. More than 13,000 Chinese Americans, or about one of every five adult males, joined the armed forces. In addition, 33,000 Japanese Americans put on uniforms. Of these, several thousand volunteered to serve as spies and interpreters in the Pacific war. “During battles,” wrote an admiring officer, “they crawled up close enough to be able to hear [Japanese] officers’ commands and to make verbal translations to our soldiers.”

Some 25,000 Native Americans enlisted in the armed services, too, including 800 women. Their willingness to serve led The Saturday Evening Post to comment, “We would not need the Selective Service if all volunteered like Indians.”

A Production Miracle

Early in February 1942, American newspapers reported the end of automobile production for private use. The last car to roll off an automaker’s assembly line was a gray sedan with “victory trim,”—that is, without chrome-plated parts. This was just one more sign that the war would affect almost every aspect of life.

THE INDUSTRIAL RESPONSE Within weeks of the shutdown in production, the nation’s automobile plants had been retooled to produce tanks, planes, boats, and
command cars. They were not alone. Across the nation, factories were quickly converted to war production. A maker of mechanical pencils turned out bomb parts. A bedspread manufacturer made mosquito netting. A soft-drink company converted from filling bottles with liquid to filling shells with explosives.

Meanwhile, shipyards and defense plants expanded with dizzying speed. By the end of 1942, industrialist Henry J. Kaiser had built seven massive new shipyards that turned out Liberty ships (cargo carriers), tankers, troop transports, and “baby” aircraft carriers at an astonishing rate. Late that year, Kaiser invited reporters to Way One in his Richmond, California, shipyard to watch as his workers assembled Hull 440, a Liberty ship, in a record-breaking four days. Writer Alyce Mano Kramer described the first day and night of construction.

A PERSONAL VOICE  ALYCE MANO KRAMER

“At the stroke of 12, Way One exploded into life. Crews of workers, like a champion football team, swarmed into their places in the line. Within 60 seconds, the keel was swinging into position. . . . Hull 440 was going up. The speed of [production] was unbelievable. At midnight, Saturday, an empty way—at midnight Sunday, a full-grown hull met the eyes of graveyard workers as they came on shift.”

—quoted in Home Front, U.S.A.

Before the fourth day was up, 25,000 amazed spectators watched as Hull 440 slid into the water. How could such a ship be built so fast? Kaiser used prefabricated, or factory-made, parts that could be quickly assembled at his shipyards. Equally important were his workers, who worked at record speeds.

LABOR’S CONTRIBUTION When the war began, defense contractors warned the Selective Service System that the nation did not have enough workers to meet both its military and its industrial needs. They were wrong. By 1944, despite the draft, nearly 18 million workers were laboring in war industries, three times as many as in 1941.

More than 6 million of these new workers were women. At first, war industries feared that most women lacked the necessary stamina for factory work and were reluctant to hire them. But once women proved they could operate welding torches or riveting guns as well as men, employers could not hire enough of them—especially since women earned only about 60 percent as much as men doing the same jobs.

Defense plants also hired more than 2 million minority workers during the war years. Like women, minorities faced strong prejudice at first. Before the war, 75 percent of defense contractors simply refused to hire African Americans, while another 15 percent employed them only in menial jobs. “Negroes will be considered only as janitors,” declared the general manager of North American Aviation. “It is the company policy not to employ them as mechanics and aircraft workers.”

During the war, women took many jobs previously held by men. In this 1943 photo, a young woman is seen operating a hand drill in Nashville, Tennessee.
To protest such discrimination both in the military and in industry, **A. Philip Randolph**, president and founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the nation’s most respected African-American labor leader, organized a march on Washington. Randolph called on African Americans everywhere to come to the capital on July 1, 1941, and to march under the banner “We Loyal Colored Americans Demand the Right to Work and Fight for Our Country.”

Fearing that the march might provoke white resentment or violence, President Roosevelt called Randolph to the White House and asked him to back down. “I’m sorry Mr. President,” the labor leader said, “the march cannot be called off.” Roosevelt then asked, “How many people do you plan to bring?” Randolph replied, “One hundred thousand, Mr. President.” Roosevelt was stunned. Even half that number of African-American protesters would be far more than Washington—still a very segregated city—could feed, house, and transport.

In the end it was Roosevelt, not Randolph, who backed down. In return for Randolph’s promise to cancel the march, the president issued an executive order calling on employers and labor unions “to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.”

Moviemakers also turned out informational films. The most important of these films—the *Why We Fight* series—were made by the great director Frank Capra. Capra is shown (right) consulting with Colonel Hugh Stewart (commander of the British Army film unit) in a joint effort in the making of *Tunisian Victory*, the first official film record of the campaign that expelled Germany from North Africa.

**HOLLYWOOD HELPS MOBILIZATION**

In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, Hollywood churned out war-oriented propaganda films. Heroic movies like *Mission to Moscow* and *Song of Russia* glorified America’s new wartime ally, the Soviet Union. On the other hand, “hiss-and-boo” films stirred up hatred against the Nazis. In this way, movies energized people to join the war effort.

As the war dragged on, people grew tired of propaganda and war themes. Hollywood responded with musicals, romances, and other escapist fare designed to take filmgoers away from the grim realities of war, if only for an hour or two.

**SKILLBUILDER** Interpreting Visual Sources

1. How does the image from *Hitler, Beast of Berlin*, produced in 1939, portray the Nazis?
2. How might audiences have responded to propaganda films?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.
MOBILIZATION OF SCIENTISTS That same year, in 1941, Roosevelt created the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) to bring scientists into the war effort. The OSRD spurred improvements in radar and sonar, new technologies for locating submarines underwater. It encouraged the use of pesticides like DDT to fight insects. As a result, U.S. soldiers were probably the first in history to be relatively free from body lice. The OSRD also pushed the development of “miracle drugs,” such as penicillin, that saved countless lives on and off the battlefield.

The most significant achievement of the OSRD, however, was the secret development of a new weapon, the atomic bomb. Interest in such a weapon began in 1939, after German scientists succeeded in splitting uranium atoms, releasing an enormous amount of energy. This news prompted physicist and German refugee Albert Einstein to write a letter to President Roosevelt, warning that the Germans could use their discovery to construct a weapon of enormous destructive power.

Roosevelt responded by creating an Advisory Committee on Uranium to study the new discovery. In 1941, the committee reported that it would take from three to five years to build an atomic bomb. Hoping to shorten that time, the OSRD set up an intensive program in 1942 to develop a bomb as quickly as possible. Because much of the early research was performed at Columbia University in Manhattan, the Manhattan Project became the code name for research work that extended across the country.

The Federal Government Takes Control

As war production increased, there were fewer consumer products available for purchase. Much factory production was earmarked for the war. With demand increasing and supplies dropping, prices seemed likely to shoot upwards.

ECONOMIC CONTROLS Roosevelt responded to this threat by creating the Office of Price Administration (OPA). The OPA fought inflation by freezing prices on most goods. Congress also raised income tax rates and extended the tax to millions of people who had never paid it before. The higher taxes reduced consumer demand on scarce goods by leaving workers with less to spend. In addition,
the government encouraged Americans to use their extra cash to buy war bonds. As a result of these measures, inflation remained below 30 percent—about half that of World War I—for the entire period of World War II.

Besides controlling inflation, the government needed to ensure that the armed forces and war industries received the resources they needed to win the war. The War Production Board (WPB) assumed that responsibility. The WPB decided which companies would convert from peacetime to wartime production and allocated raw materials to key industries. The WPB also organized drives to collect scrap iron, tin cans, paper, rags, and cooking fat for recycling into war goods. Across America, children scoured attics, cellars, garages, vacant lots, and back alleys, looking for useful junk. During one five-month-long paper drive in Chicago, schoolchildren collected 36 million pounds of old paper—about 65 pounds per child.

**RATIONING** In addition, the OPA set up a system for rationing, or establishing fixed allotments of goods deemed essential for the military. Under this system, households received ration books with coupons to be used for buying such scarce goods as meat, shoes, sugar, coffee, and gasoline. Gas rationing was particularly hard on those who lived in western regions, where driving was the only way to get around. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt sympathized with their complaints. “To tell the people in the West not to use their cars,” she observed, “means that these people may never see another soul for weeks and weeks nor have a way of getting a sick person to a doctor.”

Most Americans accepted rationing as a personal contribution to the war effort. Workers carpooled or rode bicycles. Families coped with shortages of everything from tires to toys. Inevitably, some cheated by hoarding scarce goods or by purchasing them through the “black market,” where rationed items could be bought illegally without coupons at inflated prices.

While people tightened their belts at home, millions of other Americans put their lives on the line in air, sea, and land battles on the other side of the world.
It was 1951, and John Patrick McGrath was just finishing his second year in drama school. For an acting class, his final exam was to be a performance of a death scene. McGrath knew his lines perfectly. But as he began the final farewell, he broke out in a sweat and bolted off the stage. Suddenly he had a flashback to a frozen meadow in Belgium during the Battle of the Bulge in 1945. Three German tanks were spraying his platoon with machine-gun fire.

**A Personal Voice**

JOHN PATRICK MCGRATH

"Only a few feet away, one of the men in my platoon falls. . . . He calls out to me. ‘Don’t leave me. Don’t. . . .’ The tanks advance, one straight for me. I grab my buddy by the wrist and pull him across the snow. . . . The tank nearest to us is on a track to run us down. . . . When the German tank is but 15 yards away, I grab my buddy by the wrist and feign a lurch to my right. The tank follows the move. Then I lurch back to my left. The German tank clamors by, only inches away. . . . In their wake the meadow is strewn with casualties. I turn to tend my fallen comrade. He is dead."

—A Cue for Passion

Like countless other soldiers, McGrath would never forget both the heroism and the horrors he witnessed while fighting to free Europe.

**The United States and Britain Join Forces**

“Now that we are, as you say, ‘in the same boat,’” British Prime Minister Winston Churchill wired President Roosevelt two days after the Pearl Harbor attack, “would it not be wise for us to have another conference . . . . and the sooner the better.” Roosevelt responded with an invitation for Churchill to come at once. So began a remarkable alliance between the two nations.
WAR PLANS  Prime Minister Churchill arrived at the White House on December 22, 1941, and spent the next three weeks working out war plans with President Roosevelt and his advisors. Believing that Germany and Italy posed a greater threat than Japan, Churchill convinced Roosevelt to strike first against Hitler. Once the Allies had gained an upper hand in Europe, they could pour more resources into the Pacific War.

By the end of their meeting, Roosevelt and Churchill had formed, in Churchill’s words, “a very strong affection, which grew with our years of com-radeship.” When Churchill reached London, he found a message from the president waiting for him. “It is fun,” Roosevelt wrote in the message, “to be in the same decade with you.”

THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC  After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hitler ordered submarine raids against ships along America’s east coast. The German aim in the Battle of the Atlantic was to prevent food and war materials from reaching Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Britain depended on supplies from the sea. The 3,000-mile-long shipping lanes from North America were her lifeline. Hitler knew that if he cut that lifeline, Britain would be starved into submission.

For a long time, it looked as though Hitler might succeed in his mission. Unprotected American ships proved to be easy targets for the Germans. In the first four months of 1942, the Germans sank 87 ships off the Atlantic shore. Seven months into the year, German wolf packs had destroyed a total of 681 Allied ships in the Atlantic. Something had to be done or the war at sea would be lost.

The Allies responded by organizing their cargo ships into convoys. Convoys were groups of ships traveling together for mutual protection, as they had done in the First World War. The convoys were escorted across the Atlantic by destroyers equipped with sonar for detecting submarines underwater. They were also accompanied by airplanes that used radar to spot U-boats on the ocean’s surface. With this improved tracking, the Allies were able to find and destroy German U-boats faster than the Germans could build them. In late spring of 1943, Admiral Karl Doenitz, the commander of the German U-boat offensive, reported that his losses had “reached an unbearable height.”

At the same time, the United States launched a crash shipbuilding program. By early 1943, 140 Liberty ships were produced each month. Launchings of Allied ships began to outnumber sinkings.

By mid-1943, the tide of the Battle of the Atlantic had turned. A happy Churchill reported to the House of Commons that June “was the best month [at sea] from every point of view we have ever known in the whole 46 months of the war.”
By the winter of 1943, the Allies began to see victories on land as well as sea. The first great turning point came in the Battle of Stalingrad.

**THE BATTLE OF STALINGRAD** The Germans had been fighting in the Soviet Union since June 1941. In November 1941, the bitter cold had stopped them in their tracks outside the Soviet cities of Moscow and Leningrad. When spring came, the German tanks were ready to roll.

In the summer of 1942, the Germans took the offensive in the southern Soviet Union. Hitler hoped to capture Soviet oil fields in the Caucasus Mountains. He also wanted to wipe out Stalingrad, a major industrial center on the Volga River. (See map, page 572.)

The German army confidently approached Stalingrad in August 1942. “To reach the Volga and take Stalingrad is not so difficult for us,” one German soldier wrote home. “Victory is not far away.” The Luftwaffe—the German air force—prepared the way with nightly bombing raids over the city. Nearly every wooden building in Stalingrad was set ablaze. The situation looked so desperate that Soviet officers in Stalingrad recommended blowing up the city’s factories and abandoning the city. A furious Stalin ordered them to defend his namesake city no matter what the cost.

For weeks the Germans pressed in on Stalingrad, conquering it house by house in brutal hand-to-hand combat. By the end of September, they controlled nine-tenths of the city—or what was left of it. Then another winter set in. The Soviets saw the cold as an opportunity to roll fresh tanks across the frozen landscape and begin a massive counterattack. The Soviet army closed around Stalingrad, trapping the Germans in and around the city and cutting off their supplies. The Germans’ situation was hopeless, but Hitler’s orders came: “Stay and fight! I won’t go back from the Volga.”

The fighting continued as winter turned Stalingrad into a frozen wasteland. “We just lay in our holes and froze, knowing that 24 hours later and 48 hours later we should be shivering precisely as we were now,” wrote a German soldier, Benno Zieser. “But there was now no hope whatsoever of relief, and that was the worst thing of all.” The German commander surrendered on January 31, 1943. Two days later, his starving troops also surrendered.

In defending Stalingrad, the Soviets lost a total of 1,100,000 soldiers—more than all American deaths during the entire war. Despite the staggering death toll, the Soviet victory marked a turning point in the war. From that point on, the Soviet army began to move westward toward Germany.

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**MAIN IDEA**

### Synthesizing

What two key decisions determined the final outcome at Stalingrad?
THE NORTH AFRICAN FRONT  While the Battle of Stalingrad raged, Stalin pressured Britain and America to open a “second front” in Western Europe. He argued that an invasion across the English Channel would force Hitler to divert troops from the Soviet front. Churchill and Roosevelt didn’t think the Allies had enough troops to attempt an invasion on European soil. Instead, they launched Operation Torch, an invasion of Axis-controlled North Africa, commanded by American General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In November 1942, some 107,000 Allied troops, the great majority of them Americans, landed in Casablanca, Oran, and Algiers in North Africa. From there they sped eastward, chasing the Afrika Korps led by General Erwin Rommel, the legendary Desert Fox. After months of heavy fighting, the last of the Afrika Korps surrendered in May 1943. British general Harold Alexander sent a message to Churchill, reporting that “All enemy resistance has ceased. We are masters of the North African shores.” American war correspondent Ernie Pyle caught the mood of the victorious troops. 

A PERSONAL VOICE  ERNIE PYLE

“This colossal German surrender has done more for American morale here than anything that could possibly have happened. Winning in battle is like winning at poker or catching lots of fish. . . . As a result, the hundreds of thousands of Americans in North Africa now are happy men.”

—Ernie’s War: The Best of Ernie Pyle’s World War II Dispatches

American journalist Ernie Pyle, shown here in 1944, was one of the most famous war correspondents of World War II.
THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN  Even before the battle in North Africa was won, Roosevelt, Churchill, and their commanders met in Casablanca. At this meeting, the two leaders agreed to accept only the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers. That is, enemy nations would have to accept whatever terms of peace the Allies dictated. The two leaders also discussed where to strike next. The Americans argued that the best approach to victory was to assemble a massive invasion fleet in Britain and to launch it across the English Channel, through France, and into the heart of Germany. Churchill, however, thought it would be safer to first attack Italy.

The Italian campaign got off to a good start with the capture of Sicily in the summer of 1943. Stunned by their army’s collapse in Sicily, the Italian government forced dictator Benito Mussolini to resign. On July 25, 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III summoned Il Duce (Italian for “the leader”) to his palace, stripped him of power, and had him arrested. “At this moment,” the king told Mussolini, “you are the most hated man in Italy.” Italians began celebrating the end of the war.

Their cheers were premature. Hitler was determined to stop the Allies in Italy rather than fight on German soil. One of the hardest battles the Allies encountered in Europe was fought less than 40 miles from Rome. This battle, “Bloody Anzio,” lasted four months—until the end of May 1944—and left about 25,000 Allied and 30,000 Axis casualties. During the year after Anzio, German armies continued to put up strong resistance. The effort to free Italy did not succeed until 1945, when Germany itself was close to collapse.

HEROES IN COMBAT  Among the brave men who fought in Italy were pilots of the all-black 99th Pursuit Squadron—the Tuskegee Airmen. In Sicily, the squadron registered its first victory against an enemy aircraft and went on to more impressive strategic strikes against the German forces throughout Italy. The Tuskegee Airmen won two Distinguished Unit Citations (the military’s highest commendation) for their outstanding aerial combat against the German Luftwaffe.

Another African-American unit to distinguish itself was the famous 92nd Infantry Division, nicknamed the Buffaloes. In just six months of fighting in Europe, the Buffaloes won 7 Legion of Merit awards, 65 Silver Stars, and 162 Bronze Stars for courage under fire.

Like African Americans, most Mexican Americans served in segregated units. Seventeen Mexican-American soldiers were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. An all-Chicano unit—Company E of the 141st Regiment, 36th Division became one of the most decorated of the war.

Japanese Americans also served in Italy and North Africa. At the urging of General Delos Emmons, the army created the 100th Battalion, which consisted of 1,300 Hawaiian Nisei. (The word Nisei refers to American citizens whose parents had emigrated from Japan.) The 100th saw brutal combat and became known as the Purple Heart Battalion. Later the 100th was merged into the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team. It became the most decorated unit in U.S. history.
The Allies Liberate Europe

Even as the Allies were battling for Italy in 1943, they had begun work on a dramatic plan to invade France and free Western Europe from the Nazis. The task of commanding Operation Overlord, as it was called, fell to American General Dwight D. (“Ike”) Eisenhower.

**D-DAY** Under Eisenhower’s direction in England, the Allies gathered a force of nearly 3 million British, American, and Canadian troops, together with mountains of military equipment and supplies. Eisenhower planned to attack Normandy in northern France. To keep their plans secret, the Allies set up a huge phantom army with its own headquarters and equipment. In radio messages they knew the Germans could read, Allied commanders sent orders to this make-believe army to attack the French port of Calais—150 miles away—where the English Channel is narrowest. As a result, Hitler ordered his generals to keep a large army at Calais.

The Allied invasion, code-named Operation Overlord, was originally set for June 5, but bad weather forced a delay. Banking on a forecast for clearing skies, Eisenhower gave the go-ahead for **D-Day**—June 6, 1944, the first day of the invasion. Shortly after midnight, three divisions parachuted down behind German lines. They were followed in the early morning hours by thousands upon thousands of seaborne soldiers—the largest land-sea-air operation in army history.

Despite the massive air and sea bombardment by the Allies, German retaliation was brutal, particularly at Omaha Beach. “People were yelling, screaming, dying, running on the beach, equipment was flying everywhere, men were bleeding to death, crawling, lying everywhere, firing coming from all directions,” soldier Felix Branham wrote of the scene there. “We dropped down behind anything that was the size of a golf ball.”

THE ALLIES GAIN GROUND Despite heavy casualties, the Allies held the beachheads. After seven days of fighting, the Allies held an 80-mile strip of France. Within a month, they had landed a million troops, 567,000 tons of supplies, and 170,000 vehicles in France. On July 25, General Omar Bradley unleashed massive air and land bombardment against the enemy at St. Lô, providing a gap in the German line of defense through which General George Patton and his Third Army could advance. On August 23, Patton and the Third Army reached the Seine River south of Paris. Two days later, French resistance forces and American troops liberated the French capital from four years of German occupation. Parisians were delirious with joy. Patton announced this joyous event to his commander in a message that read, “Dear Ike: Today I spat in the Seine.”

By September 1944, the Allies had freed France, Belgium, and Luxembourg. This good news—and the American people’s desire not to “change horses in mid-stream”—helped elect Franklin Roosevelt to an unprecedented fourth term in November, along with his running mate, Senator Harry S. Truman.
On D-Day morning, a platoon of American infantry wade ashore to Omaha Beach.

Mulberry Harbor
In order to accommodate the vast number of invading ships, the Allies built two enormous concrete ports and towed them to Gold Beach on the French coast on D-Day. They sank 70 old ships to create a breakwater for the artificial harbor.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER
1. **Place** How does the inset map at the top of the page help explain why Hitler was expecting the invasion to cross from Dover to Calais over the Strait of Dover?
2. **Human-Environment Interaction** Was D-Day a simple or complex operation? How can you tell?
THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE In October 1944, Americans captured their first German town, Aachen. Hitler responded with a desperate last-gasp offensive. He ordered his troops to break through the Allied lines and to recapture the Belgian port of Antwerp. This bold move, the Führer hoped, would disrupt the enemy’s supply lines and demoralize the Allies.

On December 16, under cover of dense fog, eight German tank divisions broke through weak American defenses along an 80-mile front. Hitler hoped that a victory would split American and British forces and break up Allied supply lines. Tanks drove 60 miles into Allied territory, creating a bulge in the lines that gave this desperate last-ditch offensive its name, the Battle of the Bulge. As the Germans swept westward, they captured 120 American GIs near Malmedy. Elite German troops—the SS troopers—herded the prisoners into a large field and mowed them down with machine guns and pistols.

The battle raged for a month. When it was over, the Germans had been pushed back, and little seemed to have changed. But, in fact, events had taken a decisive turn. The Germans had lost 120,000 troops, 600 tanks and assault guns, and 1,600 planes in the Battle of the Bulge—soldiers and weapons they could not replace. From that point on, the Nazis could do little but retreat.

LIBERATION OF THE DEATH CAMPS Meanwhile, Allied troops pressed eastward into the German heartland, and the Soviet army pushed westward across Poland toward Berlin. Soviet troops were the first to come upon one of the Nazi death camps, in July 1944. As the Soviets drew near a camp called Majdanek in Poland, SS guards worked feverishly to bury and burn all evidence of their hideous crimes. But they ran out of time. When the Soviets entered Majdanek, they found a thousand starving prisoners barely alive, the world’s largest crematorium, and a storehouse containing 800,000 shoes. “This is not a concentration camp,” reported a stunned Soviet war correspondent, “it is a gigantic murder plant.” The Americans who later liberated Nazi death camps in Germany were equally horrified.

A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT T. JOHNSON

“We started smelling a terrible odor and suddenly we were at the concentration camp at Landsberg. Forced the gate and faced hundreds of starving prisoners. . . . We saw emaciated men whose thighs were smaller than wrists, many had bones sticking out thru their skin. . . . Also we saw hundreds of burned and naked bodies. . . . That evening I wrote my wife that ‘For the first time I truly realized the evil of Hitler and why this war had to be waged.’”

—quoted in Voices: Letters from World War II

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER By April 25, 1945, the Soviet army had stormed Berlin. As Soviet shells burst overhead, the city panicked. “Hordes of soldiers stationed in Berlin deserted and were shot on the spot or hanged from the nearest tree,” wrote Claus Fuhrmann, a Berlin clerk. “On their chests they had placards reading, ‘We betrayed the Führer.’”

Vocabulary

elite: a small and privileged group

MAIN IDEA

Why was the Battle of the Bulge important?
In his underground headquarters in Berlin, Hitler prepared for the end. On April 29, he married Eva Braun, his longtime companion. The same day, he wrote out his last address to the German people. In it he blamed the Jews for starting the war and his generals for losing it. “I die with a happy heart aware of the immeasurable deeds of our soldiers at the front. I myself and my wife choose to die in order to escape the disgrace of . . . capitulation,” he said. The next day Hitler shot himself while his new wife swallowed poison. In accordance with Hitler’s orders, the two bodies were carried outside, soaked with gasoline, and burned.

A week later, General Eisenhower accepted the unconditional surrender of the Third Reich. On May 8, 1945, the Allies celebrated V-E Day—Victory in Europe Day. The war in Europe was finally over.

**ROOSEVELT’S DEATH** President Roosevelt did not live to see V-E Day. On April 12, 1945, while posing for a portrait in Warm Springs, Georgia, the president had a stroke and died. That night, Vice President Harry S. Truman became the nation’s 33rd president.

**New Yorkers celebrate V-E Day with a massive party that began in Times Square and went on for days at sites throughout the city.**
The War in the Pacific

One American's Story

The writer William Manchester left college after Pearl Harbor to join the marines. Manchester says that, as a child, his “horror of violence had been so deep-seated that I had been unable to trade punches with other boys.” On a Pacific island, he would have to confront that horror the first time he killed a man in face-to-face combat. Manchester’s target was a Japanese sniper firing on Manchester’s buddies from a fisherman’s shack.

A PERSONAL VOICE  WILLIAM MANCHESTER

“My mouth was dry, my legs quaking, and my eyes out of focus. Then my vision cleared. I... kicked the door with my right foot, and leapt inside... I... saw him as a blur to my right... My first shot missed him, embedding itself in the straw wall, but the second caught him dead-on... A wave of blood gushed from the wound... He dipped a hand in it and listlessly smeared his cheek red... Almost immediately a fly landed on his left eyeball... A feeling of disgust and self-hatred clotted darkly in my throat, gagging me.”

—-from Goodbye Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War

The Pacific War was a savage conflict fought with raw courage. Few who took part in that fearsome struggle would return home unchanged.

The Allies Stem the Japanese Tide

While the Allies agreed that the defeat of the Nazis was their first priority, the United States did not wait until V-E Day to move against Japan. Fortunately, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 had missed the Pacific Fleet’s submarines. Even more importantly, the attack had missed the fleet’s aircraft carriers, which were out at sea at the time.
JAPANESE ADVANCES  In the first six months after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese conquered an empire that dwarfed Hitler’s Third Reich. On the Asian mainland, Japanese troops overran Hong Kong, French Indochina, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, and much of China. They also swept south and east across the Pacific, conquering the Dutch East Indies, Guam, Wake Island, the Solomon Islands, and countless other outposts in the ocean, including two islands in the Aleutian chain, which were part of Alaska.

In the Philippines, 80,000 American and Filipino troops battled the Japanese for control. At the time of the Japanese invasion in December 1941, General Douglas MacArthur was in command of Allied forces on the islands. When American and Filipino forces found themselves with their backs to the wall on Bataan, President Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to leave. On March 11, 1942, MacArthur left the Philippines with his wife, his son, and his staff. As he left, he pledged to the many thousands of men who did not make it out, “I shall return.”

DOOLITTLE’S RAID  In the spring of 1942, the Allies began to turn the tide against the Japanese. The push began on April 18 with a daring raid on Tokyo and other Japanese cities. Lieutenant Colonel James Doolittle led 16 bombers in the attack. The next day, Americans awoke to headlines that read “Tokyo Bombed! Doolittle Did It.” Pulling off a Pearl Harbor–style air raid over Japan lifted America’s sunken spirits. At the same time, it dampened spirits in Japan.

BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA  The main Allied forces in the Pacific were Americans and Australians. In May 1942 they succeeded in stopping the Japanese drive toward Australia in the five-day Battle of the Coral Sea. During this battle, the fighting was done by airplanes that took off from enormous aircraft carriers. Not a single shot was fired by surface ships. For the first time since Pearl Harbor, a Japanese invasion had been stopped and turned back.

THE BATTLE OF MIDWAY  Japan’s next thrust was toward Midway, a strategic island which lies northwest of Hawaii. Here again the Allies succeeded in stopping the Japanese. Americans had broken the Japanese code and knew that Midway was to be their next target.

Admiral Chester Nimitz, the commander of American naval forces in the Pacific, moved to defend the island. On June 3, 1942, his scout planes found the Japanese fleet. The Americans sent torpedo planes and dive bombers to the attack. The Japanese were caught with their planes still on the decks of their carriers. The results were devastating. By the end of the Battle of Midway, the Japanese had lost four aircraft carriers, a cruiser, and 250 planes. In the words of a Japanese official, at Midway the Americans had “avenged Pearl Harbor.”

The Battle of Midway was a turning point in the Pacific War. Soon the Allies began “island hopping.” Island by island they won territory back from the Japanese. With each island, Allied forces moved closer to Japan.

**Background**

Allied forces held out against 200,000 invading Japanese troops for four months on the Bataan Peninsula. Hunger, disease, and bombardments killed 14,000 Allied troops and wounded 48,000.

**Comparing**

In what ways were the American victory at Midway and the Japanese triumph at Pearl Harbor alike?

**NAVAJO CODE TALKERS**

On each of the Pacific islands that American troops stormed in World War II, the Japanese heard a “strange language gurgling” in their radio headsets. The code seemed to have Asian overtones, but it baffled everyone who heard it. In fact, the language was Navajo, which was spoken only in the American Southwest and traditionally had no alphabet or other written symbols. Its “hiddenness” made it a perfect candidate for a code language.

Though the Navajo had no words for combat terms, they developed terms such as *chicken hawk* for *divebomber* and *war chief* for *commanding general*. Throughout the Pacific campaign—from Midway to Iwo Jima—the code talkers were considered indispensable to the war effort. They finally received national recognition in 1969.
GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

1. Movement Which island served as a jumping-off point for several Pacific battles?

2. Human-Environment Interaction How do you think the distances between the Pacific islands affected U.S. naval strategy?
The Allies Go on the Offensive

The first Allied offensive began in August 1942 when 19,000 troops stormed Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. By the time the Japanese abandoned Guadalcanal six months later, they called it the Island of Death. To war correspondent Ralph Martin and the troops who fought there, it was simply “hell.”

A PERSONAL VOICE RALPH G. MARTIN

“Hell was red furry spiders as big as your fist, giant lizards as long as your leg, leeches falling from trees to suck blood, armies of white ants with a bite of fire, scurrying scorpions infaming any flesh they touched, enormous rats and bats everywhere, and rivers with waiting crocodiles. Hell was the sour, foul smell of the squishy jungle, humidity that rotted a body within hours, . . . stinking wet heat of dripping rain forests that sapped the strength of any man.”

—The GI War

Guadalcanal marked Japan’s first defeat on land, but not its last. The Americans continued leapfrogging across the Pacific toward Japan, and in October 1944, some 178,000 Allied troops and 738 ships converged on Leyte Island in the Philippines. General MacArthur, who had left the Philippines two years earlier, waded ashore and announced, “People of the Philippines: I have returned.”

THE JAPANESE DEFENSE The Japanese threw their entire fleet into the Battle of Leyte Gulf. They also tested a new tactic, the kamikaze (kā’mīkā’zē), or suicide-plane, attack in which Japanese pilots crashed their bomb-laden planes into Allied ships. (Kamikaze means “divine wind” and refers to a legendary typhoon that saved Japan in 1281 by destroying a Mongol invasion.) In the Philippines, 424 kamikaze pilots embarked on suicide missions, sinking 16 ships and damaging another 80.

Americans watched these terrifying attacks with “a strange mixture of respect and pity” according to Vice Admiral Charles Brown. “You have to admire the devotion to country demonstrated by those pilots,” recalled Seaman George Marse. “Yet, when they were shot down, rescued and brought aboard our ship, we were surprised to find the pilots looked like ordinary, scared young men, not the wide-eyed fanatical ‘devils’ we imagined them to be.”

Despite the damage done by the kamikazes, the Battle of Leyte Gulf was a disaster for Japan. In three days of battle, it lost 3 battleships, 4 aircraft carriers, 13 cruisers, and almost 500 planes. From then on, the Imperial Navy played only a minor role in the defense of Japan.
RAISING THE FLAG ON IWO JIMA

On February 19, 1945, the war in Europe was nearing its end, but in the Pacific one of the fiercest battles of World War II was about to erupt. On that day, 70,000 marines converged on the tiny, Japanese-controlled island of Iwo Jima. Four days later, they had captured Mount Suribachi, the island’s highest point, but the battle for Iwo Jima would rage on for four more weeks.

Photographer Lou Lowery documented the men of “Easy Company” hoisting an American flag on a makeshift pole atop Mount Suribachi. But the original flag was soon taken down to be kept as a souvenir by the commanding officer.

Six marines were sent to replace the flag with an even larger one. Joe Rosenthal, a wire-service photographer, saw the second flag raising, grabbed his camera, and clicked off a frame without even looking through his viewfinder. Rosenthal’s photo appeared the next morning on the front pages of American newspapers. In the minds of Americans, it immediately replaced the gloomy, blurred images of Pearl Harbor going up in flames.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources

1. One of the Mount Suribachi images became one of the most recognized, most reproduced images of World War II. Study the details and point of view in each photo. Explain why you think Rosenthal’s image, rather than Lowery’s, became important.

2. What human qualities or events do you think Rosenthal’s photograph symbolizes?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.
IWO JIMA  After retaking much of the Philippines and liberating the American prisoners of war there, the Allies turned to Iwo Jima, an island that writer William Manchester later described as “an ugly, smelly glob of cold lava squatting in a surly ocean.” Iwo Jima (which means “sulfur island” in Japanese) was critical to the United States as a base from which heavily loaded bombers might reach Japan. It was also perhaps the most heavily defended spot on earth, with 20,700 Japanese troops entrenched in tunnels and caves. More than 6,000 marines died taking this desolate island, the greatest number in any battle in the Pacific to that point. Only 200 Japanese survived. Just one obstacle now stood between the Allies and a final assault on Japan—the island of Okinawa.

THE BATTLE FOR OKINAWA  In April 1945, U.S. Marines invaded Okinawa. The Japanese unleashed more than 1,900 kamikaze attacks on the Allies during the Okinawa campaign, sinking 30 ships, damaging more than 300 more, and killing almost 5,000 seamen.

Once ashore, the Allies faced even fiercer opposition than on Iwo Jima. By the time the fighting ended on June 21, 1945, more than 7,600 Americans had died. But the Japanese paid an even ghastlier price—110,000 lives—in defending Okinawa. This total included two generals who chose ritual suicide over the shame of surrender. A witness to this ceremony described their end: “A simultaneous shout and a flash of the sword . . . and both generals had nobly accomplished their last duty to their Emperor.”

The Battle for Okinawa was a chilling foretaste of what the Allies imagined the invasion of Japan’s home islands would be. Churchill predicted the cost would be a million American lives and half that number of British lives.

Douglas MacArthur was too arrogant and prickly to be considered a “regular guy” by his troops. But he was arguably the most brilliant Allied strategist of World War II. For every American soldier killed in his campaigns, the Japanese lost ten.

He was considered a real hero of the war, both by the military and by the prisoners on the Philippines, whom he freed. “MacArthur took more territory with less loss of life,” observed journalist John Gunther, “than any military commander since Darius the Great [king of Persia, 522–486 B.C.]”

The Atomic Bomb Ends the War

The taking of Iwo Jima and Okinawa opened the way for an invasion of Japan. However, Allied leaders knew that such an invasion would become a desperate struggle. Japan still had a huge army that would defend every inch of homeland. President Truman saw only one way to avoid an invasion of Japan. He decided to use a powerful new weapon that had been developed by scientists working on the Manhattan Project—the atomic bomb.

THE MANHATTAN PROJECT  Led by General Leslie Groves with research directed by American scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, the development of the atomic bomb was not only the most ambitious scientific enterprise in history, it was also the best-kept secret of the war. At its peak, more than 600,000 Americans were involved in the project, although few knew its ultimate purpose. Even Truman did not learn about it until he became president.

The first test of the new bomb took place on the morning of July 16, 1945, in an empty expanse of desert near Alamogordo, New Mexico. A blinding flash, which was visible 180 miles away, was followed by a deafening roar as a tremendous shock wave rolled across the trembling desert. Otto Frisch, a scientist on the project, described the huge mushroom cloud that rose over the desert as “a red-hot elephant standing balanced on its trunk.” The bomb worked!
President Truman now faced a difficult decision. Should the Allies use the bomb to bring an end to the war? Truman did not hesitate. On July 25, 1945, he ordered the military to make final plans for dropping two atomic bombs on Japanese targets. A day later, the United States warned Japan that it faced “prompt and utter destruction” unless it surrendered at once. Japan refused. Truman later wrote, “The final decision of where and when to use the atomic bomb was up to me. Let there be no mistake about it. I regarded the bomb as a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used.”

**HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI** On August 6, a B-29 bomber named *Enola Gay* released an atomic bomb, code-named Little Boy, over Hiroshima, an important Japanese military center. Forty-three seconds later, almost every building in the city collapsed into dust from the force of the blast. Hiroshima had ceased to exist. Still, Japan’s leaders hesitated to surrender. Three days later, a second bomb, code-named Fat Man, was dropped on Nagasaki, leveling half the city. By the end of the year, an estimated 200,000 people had died as a result of injuries and radiation poisoning caused by the atomic blasts. Yamaoka Michiko was 15 years old and living near the center of Hiroshima when the first bomb hit.

“A PERSONAL VOICE  YAMAOKA MICHIKO

“They say temperatures of 7,000 degrees centigrade hit me. . . . Nobody there looked like human beings. . . . Humans had lost the ability to speak. People couldn’t scream, ‘It hurts!’ even when they were on fire. . . . People with their legs wrenched off. Without heads. Or with faces burned and swollen out of shape. The scene I saw was a living hell.”

—quoted in *Japan at War: An Oral History*

Emperor Hirohito was horrified by the destruction wrought by the bomb. “I cannot bear to see my innocent people suffer any longer,” he told Japan’s leaders tearfully. Then he ordered them to draw up papers “to end the war.” On September 2, formal surrender ceremonies took place on the U.S. battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. “Today the guns are silent,” said General MacArthur in a speech marking this historic moment. “The skies no longer rain death—the seas bear only commerce—men everywhere walk upright in the sunlight. The entire world is quietly at peace.”

Hiroshima in ruins following the atomic bomb blast on August 6, 1945
The United States in World War II

“The only way to end the war against Japan was to bomb the Japanese mainland.”

Many advisors to President Truman, including Secretary of War Henry Stimson, had this point of view. They felt the bomb would end the war and save American lives. Stimson said, “The face of war is the face of death.”

Some scientists working on the bomb agreed—even more so as the casualty figures from Iwo Jima and Okinawa sank in. “Are we to go on shedding American blood when we have available a means to a steady victory?” they petitioned. “No! If we can save even a handful of American lives, then let us use this weapon—now!”

Two other concerns pushed Americans to use the bomb. Some people feared that if the bomb were not dropped, the project might be viewed as a gigantic waste of money.

The second consideration involved the Soviet Union. Tension and distrust were already developing between the Western Allies and the Soviets. Some American officials believed that a successful use of the atomic bomb would give the United States a powerful advantage over the Soviets in shaping the postwar world.

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. CONNECT TO HISTORY Summarizing What were the main arguments for and against dropping the atomic bomb on Japan?

   SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R4.

2. CONNECT TO TODAY Evaluating Decisions Do you think the United States was justified in using the bomb against the Japanese? In a paragraph, explain why or why not.

“Japan’s staggering losses were enough to force Japan’s surrender.”

Many of the scientists who had worked on the bomb, as well as military leaders and civilian policymakers, had doubts about using it. Dr. Leo Szilard, a Hungarian-born physicist who had helped President Roosevelt launch the project and who had a major role in developing the bomb, was a key figure opposing its use.

A petition drawn up by Szilard and signed by 70 other scientists argued that it would be immoral to drop an atomic bomb on Japan without fair warning. Many supported staging a demonstration of the bomb for Japanese leaders, perhaps by exploding one on a deserted island near Japan, to convince the Japanese to surrender.

Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower agreed. He maintained that “dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary” to save American lives and that Japan was already defeated. Ike told Secretary of War Henry Stimson, “I was against it [the bomb] on two counts. First the Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn’t necessary to hit them with that awful thing. Second, I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon.”

Rebuilding Begins

With Japan’s surrender, the Allies turned to the challenge of rebuilding war-torn nations. Even before the last guns fell silent, they began thinking about principles that would govern the postwar world.

THE YALTA CONFERENCE In February 1945, as the Allies pushed toward victory in Europe, an ailing Roosevelt had met with Churchill and Stalin at the Black Sea resort city of Yalta in the Soviet Union. Stalin graciously welcomed the president and the prime minister, and the Big Three, as they were called, toasted the defeat of Germany that now seemed certain.

For eight grueling days, the three leaders discussed the fate of Germany and the postwar world. Stalin, his country devastated by German forces, favored a harsh approach. He wanted to keep Germany divided into occupation zones—areas controlled by Allied military forces—so that Germany would never again threaten the Soviet Union.

When Churchill strongly disagreed, Roosevelt acted as a mediator. He was prepared to make concessions to Stalin for two reasons. First, he hoped that the Soviet Union would stand by its commitments to join the war against Japan that was still waging in the Pacific. (The first test of the atom bomb was still five months away.) Second, Roosevelt wanted Stalin’s support for a new world peacekeeping organization, to be named the United Nations.
The historic meeting at Yalta produced a series of compromises. To pacify Stalin, Roosevelt convinced Churchill to agree to a temporary division of Germany into four zones, one each for the Americans, the British, the Soviets, and the French. Churchill and Roosevelt assumed that, in time, all the zones would be brought together in a reunited Germany. For his part, Stalin promised “free and unfettered elections” in Poland and other Soviet-occupied Eastern European countries.

Stalin also agreed to join in the war against Japan. That struggle was expected to continue for another year or more. In addition, he agreed to participate in an international conference to take place in April in San Francisco. There, Roosevelt’s dream of a United Nations (UN) would become a reality.

**THE NUREMBERG WAR TRIALS** Besides geographic division, Germany had another price to pay for its part in the war. The discovery of Hitler’s death camps led the Allies to put 24 surviving Nazi leaders on trial for crimes against humanity, crimes against the peace, and war crimes. The trials were held in the southern German town of Nuremberg.

At the **Nuremberg trials**, the defendants included Hitler’s most trusted party officials, government ministers, military leaders, and powerful industrialists. As the trial began, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson explained the significance of the event.

**A PERSONAL VOICE  JUSTICE ROBERT JACKSON**

“The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated. . . . It is hard now to perceive in these miserable men . . . the power by which as Nazi leaders they once dominated much of the world and terrified most of it. Merely as individuals, their fate is of little consequence to the world. What makes this inquest significant is that these prisoners represent sinister influences that will lurk in the world long after their bodies have returned to dust. They are living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power. . . . Civilization can afford no compromise with the social forces which would gain renewed strength if we deal ambiguously or indecisively with the men in whom those forces now precariously survive.”

—quoted in opening address to the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial

**War Criminals on Trial, 1945–1949**

Each defendant at the Nuremberg trials was accused of one or more of the following crimes:

- **Crimes Against the Peace**—planning and waging an aggressive war
- **War Crimes**—acts against the customs of warfare, such as the killing of hostages and prisoners, the plundering of private property, and the destruction of towns and cities
- **Crimes Against Humanity**—the murder, extermination, deportation, or enslavement of civilians

**Summary**

**E** What decisions did Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin make at the Yalta Conference?
In the end, 12 of the 24 defendants were sentenced to death, and most of the remaining were sent to prison. In later trials of lesser leaders, nearly 200 more Nazis were found guilty of war crimes. Still, many people have argued that the trials did not go far enough in seeking out and punishing war criminals. Many Nazis who took part in the Holocaust did indeed go free.

Yet no matter how imperfect the trials might have been, they did establish an important principle—the idea that individuals are responsible for their own actions, even in times of war. Nazi executioners could not escape punishment by claiming that they were merely “following orders.” The principle of individual responsibility was now firmly entrenched in international law.

THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN Japan was occupied by U.S. forces under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. In the early years of the occupation, more than 1,100 Japanese, from former Prime Minister Hideki Tojo to lowly prison guards, were arrested and put on trial. Seven, including Tojo, were sentenced to death. In the Philippines, in China, and in other Asian battlegrounds, additional Japanese officials were tried for atrocities against civilians or prisoners of war.

During the seven-year American occupation, MacArthur reshaped Japan’s economy by introducing free-market practices that led to a remarkable economic recovery. MacArthur also worked to transform Japan’s government. He called for a new constitution that would provide for woman suffrage and guarantee basic freedoms. In the United States, Americans followed these changes with interest. The New York Times reported that “General MacArthur . . . has swept away an autocratic regime by a warrior god and installed in its place a democratic government presided over by a very human emperor and based on the will of the people as expressed in free elections.” The Japanese apparently agreed. To this day, their constitution is known as the MacArthur Constitution.

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“I was only following orders.”
DEFENDANTS AT THE NUREMBERG TRIALS

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
   - Douglas MacArthur
   - Chester Nimitz
   - Battle of Midway
   - kamikaze
   - J. Robert Oppenheimer
   - Hiroshima
   - Nagasaki
   - Nuremberg trials

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES Using a chart such as the one below, describe the significance of key military actions in the Pacific during World War II.

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<th>Military Action</th>
<th>Significance</th>
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Which military action was a turning point for the Allies?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE At the trials, many Nazis defended themselves by saying they were only following orders. What does this rationale tell you about the German military? Why was it important to negate this justification?

4. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS Explain how the United States was able to defeat the Japanese in the Pacific.

5. EVALUATING DECISIONS Is it legitimate to hold people accountable for crimes committed during wartime? Why or why not? Think About:
   - the laws that govern society
   - the likelihood of conducting a fair trial
   - the behavior of soldiers, politicians, and civilians during war
Science and Technology

Radar, guided missiles, nuclear submarines, reconnaissance satellites, atomic bombs—the inventions of the 20th century seem intended mainly for war, with the usual dreaded results. But these technological developments have also had far-reaching applications in peacetime. Because the innovations were originally intended for the battlefield, they were developed quickly and with a narrow purpose. However, their applications during peacetime have led to life-enhancing benefits that will extend far into the 21st century.

1914–1918 World War I

Fighter Planes to Commuter Flights

Airplanes were first used to gather military information but were soon put to work as fighters and bombers. The Sopwith Camel (shown at right), was one of the most successful British fighter planes, bringing down almost 1,300 enemy aircraft during World War I. The development of flight technology eventually led to sophisticated supersonic aircraft. Today, non-military aircraft are primarily used for travel and cargo transport. Jumbo jets carry hundreds of passengers with each takeoff.
1939–1945  WORLD WAR II

ATOM BOMBS TO BRAIN SCANS

Faced with alarming rumors of work on a German atomic bomb, America mobilized some of the finest scientific minds in the world to create its own atomic bomb. The energy released by its nuclear reaction was enough to kill hundreds of thousands of people, as evidenced by the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But the resulting ability to harness the atom’s energy also led to new technologies for diagnosing and treating human diseases. Techniques such as positron emission tomography (PET) now reveal the inner workings of the human brain itself.

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<td>Semiconductors</td>
<td>Navigation</td>
<td>Transistors, radios, electronics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>Code breaking</td>
<td>Software programs, video games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeze-dried food</td>
<td>Soldiers’ rations</td>
<td>TV dinners, space-shuttle rations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Synthetic materials</td>
<td>Parachutes, weapons parts, tires</td>
<td>Telephones, automobile fenders, pacemakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radar</td>
<td>Tracking and surveillance</td>
<td>Weather tracking, air traffic control, archaeological digs</td>
</tr>
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1945–1991  THE COLD WAR

SATELLITES TO CELLULAR PHONES

The Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the first successful artificial space satellite, in 1957. As the United States raced to catch up with the Soviets in space, both countries eventually produced satellites that have improved life for people around the world. Satellites not only track weather patterns and control air traffic but also link the continents in a vast communications network.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY
1. Hypothesizing  Do you think that peacetime technologies would have been developed without the stimulus provided by war? Support your answer.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R13.

CONNECT TO TODAY
2. Evaluating Technological Impact  What invention or technological breakthrough do you think has had the greatest impact on American society? Write a paragraph to explain your answer. Stage a debate with your classmates in which you defend your choice.
The Home Front

After World War II, Americans adjusted to new economic opportunities and harsh social tensions.

Economic opportunities afforded by World War II led to a more diverse middle class in the United States.

Terms & Names
- GI Bill of Rights
- James Farmer
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
- internment
- Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)

One American’s Story

The writer and poet Maya Angelou was a teenager living in San Francisco when the United States got involved in World War II. The first change she noticed was the disappearance of the city’s Japanese population. The second change was an influx of workers, including many African Americans, from the South. San Franciscans, she noted, maintained that there was no racism in their city by the bay. But Angelou knew differently.

A PERSONAL VOICE  MAYA ANGELOU

“A story went the rounds about a San Franciscan white matron who refused to sit beside a Negro civilian on the streetcar, even after he made room for her on the seat. Her explanation was that she would not sit beside a draft dodger who was a Negro as well. She added that the least he could do was fight for his country the way her son was fighting on Iwo Jima. The story said that the man pulled his body away from the window to show an armless sleeve. He said quietly and with great dignity, ‘Then ask your son to look around for my arm, which I left over there.’”

—I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings

At the end of the war, returning veterans—even those who weren’t disabled—had to begin dealing with the very real issues of reentry and adjustment to a society that offered many opportunities but still had many unsolved problems.

Opportunity and Adjustment

In contrast to the Great Depression, World War II was a time of opportunity for millions of Americans. Jobs abounded, and despite rationing and shortages, people had money to spend. At the end of World War II, the nation emerged as the world’s dominant economic and military power.
**ECONOMIC GAINS** The war years were good ones for working people. As defense industries boomed, unemployment fell to a low of 1.2 percent in 1944. Even with price and wage controls, average weekly pay (adjusted for inflation) rose 10 percent during the war. And although workers still protested long hours, overtime, and night shifts, they were able to save money for the future. Some workers invested up to half their paychecks in war bonds.

Farmers also prospered during the war. Unlike the depression years, when farmers had battled dust storms and floods, the early 1940s had good weather for growing crops. Farmers benefited from improvements in farm machinery and fertilizers and reaped the profits from rising crop prices. As a result, crop production increased by 50 percent, and farm income tripled. Before the war ended, many farmers could pay off their mortgages.

Women also enjoyed employment gains during the war, although many lost their jobs when the war ended. Over 6 million women had entered the work force for the first time, boosting the percentage of women in the total work force to 35 percent. A third of those jobs were in defense plants, which offered women more challenging work and better pay than jobs traditionally associated with women, such as as waitressing, clerking, and domestic service. With men away at war, many women also took advantage of openings in journalism and other professions. “The war really created opportunities for women,” said Winona Espinosa, a wife and mother who became a riveter and bus driver during the war. “It was the first time we got a chance to show that we could do a lot of things that only men had done before.”

**POPULATION SHIFTS**

In addition to revamping the economy, the war triggered one of the greatest mass migrations in American history. Americans whose families had lived for decades in one place suddenly uprooted themselves to seek work elsewhere. More than a million newcomers poured into California between 1941 and 1944. Towns with defense industries saw their populations double and even triple, sometimes almost overnight. As shown in the map to the right, African Americans left the South for cities in the North in record numbers.

---

**Vocabulary**

*migration:* the act of moving from one country or region to another

---

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Causes**

A How did World War II cause the U.S. population to shift?

---

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

1. **Movement** To which geographic region did the greatest number of African Americans migrate?

2. **Movement** How did the wartime economy contribute to this mass migration?

---

*The war gave women the chance to prove they could be just as productive as men. But their pay usually did not reflect their productivity.*
Attending Pennsylvania State College under the GI Bill of Rights, William Oskay, Jr., paid $28 a month for the trailer home in which you see him working.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS Families adjusted to the changes brought on by war as best they could. With millions of fathers in the armed forces, mothers struggled to rear their children alone. Many young children got used to being left with neighbors or relatives or in child-care centers as more and more mothers went to work. Teenagers left at home without parents sometimes drifted into juvenile delinquency. And when fathers finally did come home, there was often a painful period of readjustment as family members got to know one another again.

The war helped create new families, too. Longtime sweethearts—as well as couples who barely knew each other—rushed to marry before the soldier or sailor was shipped overseas. In booming towns like Seattle, the number of marriage licenses issued went up by as much as 300 percent early in the war. A New Yorker observed in 1943, “On Fridays and Saturdays, the City Hall area is blurred with running soldiers, sailors, and girls hunting the license bureau, floral shops, ministers, blood-testing laboratories, and the Legal Aid Society.”

In 1944, to help ease the transition of returning servicemen to civilian life, Congress passed the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, better known as the GI Bill of Rights. This bill provided education and training for veterans, paid for by the federal government. Just over half the returning soldiers, or about 7.8 million veterans, attended colleges and technical schools under the GI Bill. The act also provided federal loan guarantees to veterans buying homes or farms or starting new businesses.

Discrimination and Reaction

Despite the opportunities that opened up for women and minorities during the war, old prejudices and policies persisted, both in the military and at home.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROTESTS African Americans made some progress on the home front. During the war, thousands of African Americans left the South. The majority moved to the Midwest, where better jobs could be found. Between 1940 and 1944, the percentage of African Americans working in skilled or semiskilled jobs rose from 16 to 30 percent.
Wherever African Americans moved, however, discrimination presented tough hurdles. In 1942, civil rights leader James Farmer founded an interracial organization called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to confront urban segregation in the North. That same year, CORE staged its first sit-in at a segregated Chicago restaurant.

As African-American migrants moved into already overcrowded cities, tensions rose. In 1943, a tidal wave of racial violence swept across the country. The worst conflict erupted in Detroit on a hot Sunday afternoon in June. What started as a tussle between blacks and whites at a beach on the Detroit River mushroomed into a riot when white sailors stationed nearby joined the fray. The fighting raged for three days, fueled by false rumors that whites had murdered a black woman and her child and that black rioters had killed 17 whites. By the time President Roosevelt sent federal troops to restore order, 9 whites and 25 blacks lay dead or dying.

The violence of 1943 revealed to many Americans—black and white alike—just how serious racial tensions had become in the United States. By 1945, more than 400 committees had been established by American communities to improve race relations. Progress was slow, but African Americans were determined not to give up the gains they had made.

TENSION IN LOS ANGELES Mexican Americans also experienced prejudice during the war years. In the violent summer of 1943, Los Angeles exploded in anti-Mexican “zoot-suit” riots. The zoot suit was a style of dress adopted by Mexican-American youths as a symbol of their rebellion against tradition. It consisted of a long jacket and pleated pants. Broad-brimmed hats were often worn with the suits.

The riots began when 11 sailors in Los Angeles reported that they had been attacked by zoot-suit-wearing Mexican Americans. This charge triggered violence involving thousands of servicemen and civilians. Mobs poured into Mexican neighborhoods and grabbed any zoot-suiters they could find. The attackers ripped off their victims’ clothes and beat them senseless. The riots lasted almost a week and resulted in the beating of hundreds of Mexican-American youth and other minorities.

Despite such unhappy experiences with racism, many Mexican Americans believed that their sacrifices during wartime would lead to a better future.

**A Personal Voice** MANUEL DE LA RAZA

“This war . . . is doing what we in our Mexican-American movement had planned to do in one generation. . . . It has shown those ‘across the tracks’ that we all share the same problems. It has shown them what the Mexican American will do, what responsibility he will take and what leadership qualities he will demonstrate. After this struggle, the status of the Mexican Americans will be different."

—quoted in A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America
Internment of Japanese Americans

While Mexican Americans and African Americans struggled with racial tension, the war produced tragic results for Japanese Americans. When the war began, 120,000 Japanese Americans lived in the United States. Most of them were citizens living on the West Coast.

The surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii had stunned the nation. After the bombing, panic-stricken citizens feared that the Japanese would soon attack the United States. Frightened people believed false rumors that Japanese Americans were committing sabotage by mining coastal harbors and poisoning vegetables.

This sense of fear and uncertainty caused a wave of prejudice against Japanese Americans. Early in 1942, the War Department called for the mass evacuation of all Japanese Americans from Hawaii. General Delos Emmons, the military governor of Hawaii, resisted the order because 37 percent of the people in Hawaii were Japanese Americans. To remove them would have destroyed the islands’ economy and hindered U.S. military operations there. However, he was eventually forced to order the internment, or confinement, of 1,444 Japanese Americans, 1 percent of Hawaii’s Japanese-American population.

On the West Coast, however, panic and prejudice ruled the day. In California, only 1 percent of the people were Japanese, but they constituted a minority large enough to stimulate the prejudice of many whites, without being large enough to effectively resist internment. Newspapers whipped up anti-Japanese sentiment by running ugly stories attacking Japanese Americans.

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed an order requiring the removal of people of Japanese ancestry from California and parts of Washington, Oregon, and Arizona. Based on strong recommendations from the military, he justified this step as necessary for national security. In the following weeks, the army rounded up some 110,000 Japanese Americans and shipped them to ten hastily constructed remote “relocation centers,” euphemisms for prison camps.
About two-thirds were Nisei, or Japanese people born in this country of parents who emigrated from Japan. Thousands of Nisei had already joined the armed forces, and to Ted Nakashima, an architectural draftsman from Seattle, the evacuation seemed utterly senseless.

**Personal Voice**  
**TED NAKASHIMA**

“[There are] electricians, plumbers, draftsmen, mechanics, carpenters, painters, farmers—every trade—men who are able and willing to do all they can to lick the Axis. . . . We’re on this side and we want to help. Why won’t America let us?”

—from *New Republic* magazine, June 15, 1942

No specific charges were ever filed against Japanese Americans, and no evidence of subversion was ever found. Faced with expulsion, terrified families were forced to sell their homes, businesses, and all their belongings for less than their true value.

Japanese Americans fought for justice, both in the courts and in Congress. The initial results were discouraging. In 1944, the Supreme Court decided, in *Korematsu v. United States*, that the government’s policy of evacuating Japanese Americans to camps was justified on the basis of “military necessity.” (See pages 596–597.) After the war, however, the **Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)** pushed the government to compensate those sent to the camps for their lost property. In 1965, Congress authorized the spending of $38 million for that purpose—less than a tenth of Japanese Americans’ actual losses.

The JACL did not give up its quest for justice. In 1978, it called for the payment of reparations, or restitution, to each individual that suffered internment. A decade later, Congress passed, and President Ronald Reagan signed, a bill that promised $20,000 to every Japanese American sent to a relocation camp. When the checks were sent in 1990, a letter from President George Bush accompanied them, in which he stated, “We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.”

### Assessments

**1. Terms & Names**
- GI Bill of Rights
- James Farmer
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
- Internment
- Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)

### Main Idea

**2. Taking Notes**
List the advances and problems in the economy and in civil rights during World War II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>Advances</th>
<th>Problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights</td>
<td>Advances</td>
<td>Problems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which of these advances and problems do you think had the most far-reaching effect? Explain your answer.

### Critical Thinking

**3. Comparing**
How were the experiences of African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Japanese Americans similar during World War II? How were they different?

**4. Developing Historical Perspective**
Do you think that the government’s policy of evacuating Japanese Americans to camps was justified on the basis of "military necessity"? Explain your answer.

**5. Analyzing Effects**
What effect did World War II have on American families? **Think About:**
- the role of women in families and the economy
- the relationship between the races
- the impact of the federal government on society
KOREMATSU v. UNITED STATES (1944)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE  Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, U.S. military officials argued that Japanese Americans posed a threat to the nation's security. Based on recommendations from the military, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which gave military officials the power to limit the civil rights of Japanese Americans. Military authorities began by setting a curfew for Japanese Americans. Later, they forced Japanese Americans from their homes and moved them into detention camps. Fred Korematsu was convicted of defying the military order to leave his home. At the urging of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Korematsu appealed that conviction.

THE RULING  The Court upheld Korematsu’s conviction and argued that military necessity made internment constitutional.

LEGAL REASONING

Executive Order 9066 was clearly aimed at one group of people—Japanese Americans. Korematsu argued that this order was unconstitutional because it was based on race. Writing for the Court majority, Justice Hugo Black agreed “that all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect.” However, in this case, he said, the restrictions were based on “a military imperative” and not “group punishment based on antagonism to those of Japanese origin.” As such, Justice Black stated that the restrictions were constitutional.

“Compulsory exclusion of large groups, . . . except under circumstances of direct emergency and peril, is inconsistent with our basic governmental institutions. But when under conditions of modern warfare our shores are threatened by hostile forces, the power to protect must be commensurate with the threatened danger.”

Justice Frank Murphy, however, dissented—he opposed the majority. He believed that military necessity was merely an excuse that could not conceal the racism at the heart of the restrictions.

“This exclusion . . . ought not to be approved. Such exclusion goes over ‘the very brink of constitutional power’ and falls into the ugly abyss of racism.”

Two other justices also dissented, but Korematsu’s conviction stood.

LEGAL SOURCES

LEGISLATION

U.S. CONSTITUTION, FIFTH AMENDMENT (1791)
“No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.”

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 (1942)
“I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War . . . to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he . . . may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded.”

RELATED CASES

HIRABAYASHI v. UNITED STATES (JUNE 1943)
The Court upheld the conviction of a Japanese-American man for breaking curfew. The Court argued that the curfew was within congressional and presidential authority.

EX PARTE ENDO (DECEMBER 1944)
The Court ruled that a Japanese-American girl, whose loyalty had been clearly established, could not be held in an internment camp.
WHY IT MATTERED
About 110,000 Japanese Americans were forced into internment camps, as shown above, during World War II. Many had to sell their businesses and homes at great loss. Thousands were forced to give up their possessions. In the internment camps, Japanese Americans lived in a prison-like setting under constant guard.

The Court ruled that these government actions did not violate people’s rights because the restrictions were based on military necessity rather than on race. But the government treated German Americans and Italian Americans much differently. In those instances, the government identified potentially disloyal people but did not harass the people it believed to be loyal. By contrast, the government refused to make distinctions between loyal and potentially disloyal Japanese Americans.

HISTORICAL IMPACT
In the end, the internment of Japanese Americans became a national embarrassment. In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford repealed Executive Order 9066. Similarly, the Court’s decision in Korematsu became an embarrassing example of court-sanctioned racism often compared to the decisions on Dred Scott (1857) and Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). In the early 1980s, a scholar conducting research obtained copies of government documents related to the Hirabayashi and Korematsu cases. The documents showed that the army had lied to the Court in the 1940s. Japanese Americans had not posed any security threat. Korematsu’s conviction was overturned in 1984. Hirabayashi’s conviction was overturned in 1986. In 1988, Congress passed a law ordering reparations payments to surviving Japanese Americans who had been detained in the camps.

CONNECT TO HISTORY
1. Hypothesizing The internment of Japanese Americans during World War II disrupted lives and ripped apart families. What do you think can be done today to address this terrible mistake? How can the government make amends?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R13.

CONNECT TO TODAY
2. Visit the links for Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court to locate the three dissenting opinions in Korematsu written by Justices Frank Murphy, Robert Jackson, and Owen Roberts. Read one of these opinions, and then write a summary that states its main idea. What constitutional principle, if any, does the opinion use?

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INTERNET ACTIVITY
TERMS & NAMES
For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its connection to World War II.

1. A. Philip Randolph
2. Manhattan Project
3. rationing
4. Dwight D. Eisenhower
5. D-Day
6. V-E Day
7. Douglas MacArthur
8. Hiroshima
9. GI Bill of Rights
10. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

MAIN IDEAS
Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Mobilizing for Defense (pages 562–568)
1. How did the U.S. military reflect the diversity of American society during World War II?
2. How did the federal government’s actions influence civilian life during World War II?
3. What role did the media play in helping the country mobilize?

The War for Europe and North Africa (pages 569–577)
4. How did the Allies win control of the Atlantic Ocean between 1941 and 1943?
5. What was the significance of the Battle of Stalingrad?
6. How did the Battle of the Bulge signal the beginning of the end of World War II in Europe?

The War in the Pacific (pages 578–587)
7. Briefly describe the island war in the Pacific.
8. Why did President Truman decide to use atomic weapons?

The Home Front (pages 590–595)
9. How did the U.S. economy change during World War II?
10. What events show the persistence of racial tensions?

CRITICAL THINKING
1. USING YOUR NOTES In a chart like the one shown, provide causes for the listed effects of World War II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effects</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The U.S. enters the war.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congress creates the Office</td>
<td>Japanese Americans are sent to relocation centers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>of Price Administration.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Top Nazi officials are put on</td>
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<tr>
<td>trial at Nuremberg.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. ANALYZING ISSUES Would you support the use of nuclear weapons today, and if so, under what circumstances?

3. INTERPRETING MAPS Judging from the map on page 572, why was a victory in North Africa essential to an invasion of southern Europe?
INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Think about the issues you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Write a newspaper article in which you describe the ways in which the United States used its resources during World War II. Include information about rationing and about the various offices that the federal government established to monitor inflation and convert a peacetime economy into a wartime economy.

FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine that you work for the U.S. military. Your job is to recruit new soldiers. Write a persuasive essay to be published in newspapers across the nation. In your essay, use vivid details and figurative language to describe the significance of the attack on Pearl Harbor and to explain why the military needs Americans to enlist.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

1. Why was it critical for the Allies to take the Japanese-held islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa?
   A. The islands were highly populated areas with little military protection.
   B. The islands were critical as bases from which Allied bombers could reach Japan.
   C. The islands were centers for Japanese development of a nuclear bomb.
   D. The Allies intended to drop atomic bombs on the islands.

2. How did World War II lead to one of the largest population shifts in U.S. history?
   F. Service men and women were forced to leave their homes for Europe.
   G. The loss of loved ones led people to move in with their families.
   H. People moved to states with military bases and factories for better jobs.
   J. People moved to the middle of the country to escape wars on both coasts.

3. How did natural geography contribute to Germany’s defeat in World War II?
   A. Large bodies of water stood between Germany and its enemies.
   B. Germany had to fight a war on three fronts: North Africa, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
   C. There were too few rivers to be used for German supplies.
   D. Switzerland pledged to remain neutral throughout the war.

MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY

Visit the Chapter Assessment links to find out more about A. Philip Randolph. Create a Web site dedicated to his lifelong contributions as a labor leader. Include a biography with details about his life and his work.
A global conflict, World War II shaped the history of both the United States and the world. Americans contributed to the war effort in numerous ways. Many enlisted in the military and served in Africa, Europe, and the Pacific. Others contributed by working in factories to produce the massive amounts of ships, planes, guns, and other supplies necessary to win the war. In the process, these Americans left behind firsthand accounts of their experiences during the war, both at home and abroad.

Explore some of the personal stories and recollections of World War II online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, primary sources, activities, and more at hmhsocialstudies.com.
“I am allowed to write of my own personal combat experiences and I can say that I have been fortunate so far. War is like something you cannot imagine. I had no idea what it was about and still don’t.”

— Erwin Blonder, U.S. soldier

A Soldier’s Letter Home
Read the document to learn about one soldier’s wartime experiences in southern France.

American Mobilizes for War
Watch the video to see how the United States mobilized its citizens for war and how society changed as a result.

Air War Over Germany
Watch the video to see how the P-51 Mustang helped the Allies win the air war over Germany.

The Pacific Islands
Watch the video to hear veterans describe their experiences fighting in the Pacific theater.
What international and domestic tensions resulted from the Cold War?

In this chapter you will learn about the causes and effects of the Cold War.

SECTION 1: Origins of the Cold War
The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as two “superpowers” with vastly different political and economic systems.

SECTION 2: The Cold War Heats Up
After World War II, China became a communist nation and Korea was split into a communist north and a democratic south.

SECTION 3: The Cold War at Home
During the late 1940s and early 1950s, fear of communism led to reckless charges against innocent citizens.

SECTION 4: Two Nations Live on the Edge
During the 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union came to the brink of nuclear war.

Senator Joseph McCarthy, shown here, charged that Communists had infiltrated many areas of American life.
At the end of World War II, Americans begin to be haunted by a new fear. The Soviets have embraced a tightly controlled political system called communism. Many believe it threatens the American way of life. Throughout the nation, suspected communists are called before a House subcommittee for questioning. Anyone accused of un-American activity faces public humiliation and professional ruin.

**Explore the issues**

- Do Americans with communist beliefs pose a threat to the nation?
- What can individual citizens do to protect the rights of all people?
- Should citizens speak out to preserve the rights of others?

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**1953**
Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed as spies.

**1954**
Senator Joseph McCarthy alleges Communist involvement in U.S. Army.

**1960**
Francis Gary Powers’s U-2 spy plane is shot down by the Soviets.

**1960**
John F. Kennedy is elected president.

**1959**
Fidel Castro comes to power in Cuba.

**1955**
Participants in Korean War agree on cease-fire.

**1957**
Soviets launch Sputnik.
One American’s Story

Seventy miles south of Berlin, Joseph Polowsky and a patrol of American soldiers were scouting for signs of the Soviet army advancing from the east. As the soldiers neared the Elbe River, they saw lilacs in bloom. Polowsky later said the sight of the flowers filled them with joy. Across the Elbe, the Americans spotted Soviet soldiers, who signaled for them to cross over. When the Americans reached the opposite bank, their joy turned to shock. They saw to their horror that the bank was covered with dead civilians, victims of bombing raids.

A PERSONAL VOICE

JOSEPH POLOWSKY

“Here we are, tremendously exhilarated, and there’s a sea of dead... [The platoon leader] was much moved... He said, ‘Joe, let’s make a resolution with these Russians here and also the ones on the bank: this would be an important day in the lives of the two countries.’... It was a solemn moment. There were tears in the eyes of most of us... We embraced. We swore never to forget.”

—quoted in The Good War

The Soviet and U.S. soldiers believed that their encounter would serve as a symbol of peace. Unfortunately, such hopes were soon dashed. After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as rival superpowers, each strong enough to greatly influence world events.

Former Allies Clash

The United States and the Soviet Union had very different ambitions for the future. These differences created a climate of icy tension that plunged the two countries into a bitter rivalry.
Under Soviet communism, the state controlled all property and economic activity, while in the capitalistic American system, private citizens controlled almost all economic activity. In the American system, voting by the people elected a president and a congress from competing political parties; in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party established a totalitarian government with no opposing parties.

The United States was furious that Joseph Stalin—the leader of the Soviet Union—had been an ally of Hitler for a time. Stalin had supported the Allies only after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. In some ways, the Americans and Soviets became more suspicious of each other during the war. Stalin resented the Western Allies’ delay in attacking the Germans in Europe. Such an attack, he thought, would draw part of the German army away from the Soviet Union. Relations worsened after Stalin learned that the United States had kept its development of the atomic bomb secret.

Discouraged by his business failure, Truman sought a career in politics. As a politician, his blunt and outspoken style won both loyal friends and bitter enemies. As president, his decisiveness and willingness to accept responsibility for his decisions ("The Buck Stops Here" read a sign on his desk) earned him respect that has grown over the years.

THE UNITED NATIONS

In spite of these problems, hopes for world peace were high at the end of the war. The most visible symbol of these hopes was the United Nations (UN). On April 25, 1945, the representatives of 50 nations met in San Francisco to establish this new peacekeeping body. After two months of debate, on June 26, 1945, the delegates signed the charter establishing the UN.

Ironically, even though the UN was intended to promote peace, it soon became an arena in which the two superpowers competed. Both the United States and the Soviet Union used the UN as a forum to spread their influence over others.

TRUMAN BECOMES PRESIDENT

For the United States, the key figure in the early years of conflict with the Soviets was President Harry S. Truman. On April 12, 1945, Truman had suddenly become president when Franklin Roosevelt died. This former Missouri senator had been picked as Roosevelt’s running mate in 1944. He had served as vice-president for just a few months before Roosevelt’s death. During his term as vice-president, Truman had not been included in top policy decisions. He had not even known that the United States was developing an atomic bomb. Many Americans doubted Truman’s ability to serve as president. But Truman was honest and had a willingness to make tough decisions—qualities that he would need desperately during his presidency.
THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE Truman’s test as a diplomat came in July 1945 when the Big Three—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—met at the final wartime conference at Potsdam near Berlin. The countries that participated were the same ones that had been present at Yalta in February 1945. Stalin still represented the Soviet Union. Clement Attlee replaced Churchill as Britain’s representative mid-conference, because Churchill’s party lost a general election. And Harry Truman took Roosevelt’s place.

At Yalta, Stalin had promised Roosevelt that he would allow free elections—that is, a vote by secret ballot in a multiparty system—in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe that the Soviets occupied at the end of the war. By July 1945, however, it was clear that Stalin would not keep this promise. The Soviets prevented free elections in Poland and banned democratic parties.

Tension Mounts

Stalin’s refusal to allow free elections in Poland convinced Truman that U.S. and Soviet aims were deeply at odds. Truman’s goal in demanding free elections was to spread democracy to nations that had been under Nazi rule. He wanted to create a new world order in which all nations had the right of self-determination.

BARGAINING AT POTSDAM At the Yalta conference, the Soviets had wanted to take reparations from Germany to help repay Soviet wartime losses. Now, at Potsdam, Truman objected to that. After hard bargaining, it was agreed that the Soviets, British, Americans, and French would take reparations mainly from their own occupation zones within Germany.

Truman also felt that the United States had a large economic stake in spreading democracy and free trade across the globe. U.S. industry boomed during the war, making the United States the economic leader of the world. To continue growing, American businesses wanted access to raw materials in Eastern Europe, and they wanted to be able to sell goods to Eastern European countries.

SOVIETS TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP ON EASTERN EUROPE The Soviet Union had also emerged from the war as a nation of enormous economic and military strength. However, unlike the United States, the Soviet Union had suffered heavy devastation on its own soil. Soviet deaths from the war have been estimated at 20 million, half of whom were civilians. As a result, the Soviets felt justified in their claim to Eastern Europe. By dominating this region, the Soviets felt they could stop future invasions from the west.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.S. Aims Versus Soviet Aims in Europe</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The United States wanted to . . .</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Create a new world order in which all nations had the right of self-determination</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Gain access to raw materials and markets for its industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Rebuild European governments to ensure stability and to create new markets for American goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Reunite Germany, believing that Europe would be more secure if Germany were productive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts**
1. Which aims involved economic growth of the United States?
2. Which Soviet aims involved self-protection?
Stalin installed communist governments in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Poland. These countries became known as satellite nations, countries dominated by the Soviet Union. In early 1946, Stalin gave a speech announcing that communism and capitalism were incompatible—and that another war was inevitable.

UNITED STATES ESTABLISHES A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT  
Faced with the Soviet threat, American officials decided it was time, in Truman's words, to stop “babying the Soviets.” In February 1946, George F. Kennan, an American diplomat in Moscow, proposed a policy of containment. By containment he meant taking measures to prevent any extension of communist rule to other countries. This policy began to guide the Truman administration’s foreign policy.

Europe was now divided into two political regions, a mostly democratic Western Europe and a communist Eastern Europe. In March 1946, Winston Churchill traveled to the United States and gave a speech that described the situation in Europe.

A PERSONAL VOICE  WINSTON CHURCHILL

“A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. . . . 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 the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. . . . All these famous cities and the populations around them lie in . . . the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and . . . increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

The phrase “iron curtain” came to stand for the division of Europe. When Stalin heard about the speech, he declared in no uncertain terms that Churchill’s words were a “call to war.”
Cold War in Europe

The conflicting U.S. and Soviet aims in Eastern Europe led to the Cold War, a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in which neither nation directly confronted the other on the battlefield. The Cold War would dominate global affairs—and U.S. foreign policy—from 1945 until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE The United States first tried to contain Soviet influence in Greece and Turkey. Britain was financially supporting both nations’ resistance to growing communist influence in the region. However, Britain’s economy had been badly hurt by the war, and the formerly wealthy nation could no longer afford to give aid. It asked the United States to take over the responsibility.

President Truman accepted the challenge. On March 12, 1947, Truman asked Congress for $400 million in economic and military aid for Greece and Turkey. In a statement that became known as the Truman Doctrine, he declared that “it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” Congress agreed with Truman and decided that the doctrine was essential to keeping Soviet influence from spreading. Between 1947 and 1950, the United States sent $400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece, greatly reducing the danger of communist takeover in those nations.

THE MARSHALL PLAN Like post-war Greece, Western Europe was in chaos. Most of its factories had been bombed or looted. Millions of people were living in refugee camps while European governments tried to figure out where to resettle them. To make matters worse, the winter of 1946–1947 was the bitterest in several centuries. The weather severely damaged crops and froze rivers, cutting off water transportation and causing a fuel shortage.

In June 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that the United States provide aid to all European nations that needed it, saying that this move was directed “not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.”

The Marshall Plan revived European hopes. Over the next four years, 16 countries received some $13 billion in aid. By 1952, Western Europe was flourishing, and the Communist party had lost much of its appeal to voters.
Superpowers Struggle over Germany

As Europe began to get back on its feet, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over the issue of German reunification. At the end of World War II, Germany was divided into four zones occupied by the United States, Great Britain, and France in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. In 1948, Britain, France, and the United States decided to combine their three zones into one nation. The western part of Berlin, which had been occupied by the French, British, and Americans, was surrounded by Soviet-occupied territory. (See map, page 605.)

Although the three nations had a legal right to unify their zones, they had no written agreement with the Soviets guaranteeing free access to Berlin by road or rail. Stalin saw this loophole as an opportunity. If he moved quickly, he might be able to take over the part of Berlin held by the three Western powers. In June 1948, Stalin closed all highway and rail routes into West Berlin. As a result, no food or fuel could reach that part of the city. The 2.1 million residents of the city had only enough food to last for approximately five weeks.

THE BERLIN AIRLIFT The resulting situation was dire. In an attempt to break the blockade, American and British officials started the Berlin airlift to fly food and supplies into West Berlin. For 327 days, planes took off and landed every few minutes, around the clock. In 277,000 flights, they brought in 2.3 million tons of supplies—everything from food, fuel, and medicine to Christmas presents that the planes’ crews bought with their own money.

West Berlin survived because of the airlift. In addition, the mission to aid Berlin boosted American prestige around the world. By May 1949, the Soviet Union realized it was beaten and lifted the blockade.

Analyzing Effects

What were the effects of the Berlin airlift?

Beginning in June 1948, planes bringing tons of food and other supplies to West Berlin landed every few minutes.

Cold War Conflicts 607
In the same month, the western part of Germany officially became a new nation, the Federal Republic of Germany, also called West Germany. It included West Berlin. A few months later, from its occupation zone, the Soviet Union created the German Democratic Republic, called East Germany. It included East Berlin.

**THE NATO ALLIANCE** The Berlin blockade increased Western European fear of Soviet aggression. As a result, ten Western European nations—Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal—joined with the United States and Canada on April 4, 1949, to form a defensive military alliance called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. (See map, page 624.) The 12 members of NATO pledged military support to one another in case any member was attacked. For the first time in its history, the United States had entered into a military alliance with other nations during peacetime. The Cold War had ended any hope of a return to U.S. isolationism. Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952, and West Germany joined in 1955. By then, NATO kept a standing military force of more than 500,000 troops as well as thousands of planes, tanks, and other equipment.

This cartoon depicts the nations that signed the North Atlantic Pact, which created NATO in 1949. The nations, shown as hats, are arranged in a pyramid to show the bigger countries on the bottom supporting the smaller, weaker nations on top.

### MAIN IDEA

2. **TAKING NOTES**

   Use a graphic organizer like the one below to describe the U.S. actions and the Soviet actions that contributed most to the Cold War.

   **U.S. Actions**
   - United Nations (UN)
   - satellite nation
   - containment

   **Soviet Actions**
   - iron curtain
   - Cold War
   - Truman Doctrine

   **Marshall Plan**
   - Berlin airlift

   **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**

### CRITICAL THINKING

3. **EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

   People who had served as aides to President Franklin Roosevelt worried that Truman was not qualified to handle world leadership. Considering what you learned in this section, evaluate Truman as a world leader.

   **Think About:**
   - his behavior toward Stalin
   - his economic support of European nations
   - his support of West Berlin

4. **MAKING INFERENCES**

   Which of the two superpowers do you think was more successful in achieving its aims during the period 1945–1949? Support your answer by referring to historical events.

5. **ANALYZING MOTIVES**

   What were Stalin’s motives in supporting Communist governments in Eastern Europe?
The Cold War Heats Up

**MAIN IDEA**

After World War II, China became a communist nation and Korea was split into a communist north and a democratic south.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**

Ongoing tensions with China and North Korea continue to involve the United States.

**Terms & Names**

- Chiang Kai-shek
- Mao Zedong
- Taiwan
- 38th parallel
- Korean War

---

First Lieutenant Philip Day, Jr., vividly remembers his first taste of battle in Korea. On the morning of July 5, 1950, Philip Day spotted a column of eight enemy tanks moving toward his company.

**A PERSONAL VOICE PHILIP DAY, JR.**

“I was with a 75-mm recoilless-rifle team. ‘Let’s see,’ I shouted, ‘if we can get one of those tanks.’ We picked up the gun and moved it to where we could get a clean shot. I don’t know if we were poorly trained, . . . but we set the gun on the forward slope of the hill. When we fired, the recoilless blast blew a hole in the hill which instantly covered us in mud and dirt. . . . When we were ready again, we moved the gun to a better position and began banging away. I swear we had some hits, but the tanks never slowed down. . . . In a little less than two hours, 30 North Korean tanks rolled through the position we were supposed to block as if we hadn’t been there.”

—quoted in The Korean War: Pusan to Chosin

Only five years after World War II ended, the United States became embroiled in a war in Korea. The policy of containment had led the United States into battle to halt communist expansion. In this conflict, however, the enemy was not the Soviet Union, but North Korea and China.

**China Becomes a Communist Country**

For two decades, Chinese Communists had struggled against the nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek (châng’ kē-shēk’). The United States supported Chiang. Between 1945 and 1949, the American government sent the Nationalists approximately $3 billion in aid.
Many Americans were impressed by Chiang Kai-shek and admired the courage and determination that the Chinese Nationalists showed in resisting the Japanese during the war. However, U.S. officials who dealt with Chiang held a different view. They found his government inefficient and hopelessly corrupt.

Furthermore, the policies of Chiang's government undermined Nationalist support. For example, the Nationalists collected a grain tax from farmers even during the famine of 1944. When city dwellers demonstrated against a 10,000 percent increase in the price of rice, Chiang's secret police opened fire on them.

In contrast, the Communists, led by Mao Zedong (mou’dzā’ดน’), gained strength throughout the country. In the areas they controlled, Communists worked to win peasant support. They encouraged peasants to learn to read, and they helped to improve food production. As a result, more and more recruits flocked to the Communists’ Red Army. By 1945, much of northern China was under communist control.

RENEWED CIVIL WAR As soon as the defeated Japanese left China at the end of World War II, cooperation between the Nationalists and the Communists ceased. Civil war erupted again between the two groups. In spite of the problems in the Nationalist regime, American policy favored the Nationalists because they opposed communism.

From 1944 to 1947, the United States played peacemaker between the two groups while still supporting the Nationalists. However, U.S. officials repeatedly failed to negotiate peace. Truman refused to commit American soldiers to back up the nationalists, although the United States did send $2 billion worth of military equipment and supplies.

The aid wasn't enough to save the Nationalists, whose weak military leadership and corrupt, abusive practices drove the peasants to the Communist side. In May 1949, Chiang and the remnants of his demoralized government fled to the island of Taiwan, which Westerners called Formosa. After more than 20 years of struggle, the Communists ruled all of mainland China. They established a new government, the People’s Republic of China, which the United States refused to accept as China’s true government.
In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and other Nationalist leaders retreated to the island of Taiwan, which lies about 100 miles off the southeast coast of the Chinese mainland. There the United States helped set up a Nationalist government—the Republic of China. From 1949 through the 1960s, the United States poured millions of dollars of aid into the Taiwanese economy. During the 1970s, a number of nations, including the United States, decided to end diplomatic relations with Taiwan and established ties with Communist China. With the collapse of Soviet communism in the early 1990s, relations between Taiwan and the United States improved. During the early 2000s, the United States sold weapons to Taiwan to bolster the nation’s defense system.

The Korean War

Japan had taken over Korea in 1910 and ruled it until August 1945. As World War II ended, Japanese troops north of the 38th parallel (38º North latitude) surrendered to the Soviets. Japanese troops south of the parallel surrendered to the Americans. As in Germany, two nations developed, one communist and one democratic.

In 1948, the Republic of Korea, usually called South Korea, was established in the zone that had been occupied by the United States. Its government, headed by Syngman Rhee, was based in Seoul, Korea’s traditional capital. Simultaneously, the Communists formed the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea in the north. Kim Il Sung led its government, which was based in Pyongyang. (See map, page 613.)

Soon after World War II, the United States had cut back its armed forces in South Korea. As a result, by June of 1949 there were only 500 American troops there. The Soviets concluded that the United States would not fight to defend South Korea. They prepared to back North Korea with tanks, airplanes, and money in an attempt to take over the entire peninsula.

North Korea Attacks South Korea

On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces swept across the 38th parallel in a surprise attack on South Korea. The conflict that followed became known as the Korean War.

Within a few days, North Korean troops had penetrated deep into South Korea. South Korea called on the United Nations to stop the North Korean invasion. When the matter came to a vote in the UN Security Council, the Soviet Union was not there. The Soviets were boycotting the council in protest over the presence of Nationalist China (Taiwan). Thus, the Soviets could not veto the UN’s plan of military action. The vote passed.

On June 27, in a show of military strength, President Truman ordered troops stationed in Japan to support the South Koreans. He also sent an American fleet into the waters between Taiwan and China.
In all, 16 nations sent some 520,000 troops to aid South Korea. Over 90 percent of these troops were American. South Korean troops numbered an additional 590,000. The combined forces were placed under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, former World War II hero in the Pacific.

The United States Fights in Korea

At first, North Korea seemed unstoppable. Driving steadily south, its troops captured Seoul. After a month of bitter combat, the North Koreans had forced UN and South Korean troops into a small defensive zone around Pusan in the southeastern corner of the peninsula.

MACARTHUR’S COUNTERATTACK MacArthur launched a counterattack with tanks, heavy artillery, and fresh troops from the United States. On September 15, 1950, his troops made a surprise amphibious landing behind enemy lines at Inchon, on Korea’s west coast. Other troops moved north from Pusan. Trapped between the two attacking forces, about half of the North Korean troops surrendered; the rest fled back across the 38th parallel. MacArthur’s plan had saved his army from almost certain defeat.

The UN army chased the retreating North Korean troops across the 38th parallel into North Korea. In late November, UN troops approached the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. It seemed as if Korea was about to become a single country again.

The Chinese Fight Back The Chinese, however, had other ideas. Communist China’s foreign minister, Zhou En-lai, warned that his country would not stand idly by and “let the Americans come to the border”—meaning the Yalu River. In late November 1950, 300,000 Chinese troops joined the war on the side of North Korea. The Chinese wanted North Korea as a Communist buffer state to protect their northeastern provinces that made up Manchuria. They also felt threatened by the American fleet that lay off their coast. The fight between North Korea and South Korea had escalated into a war in which the main opponents were the Chinese communists and the Americans.

By sheer force of numbers, the Chinese drove the UN troops southward. At some points along the battlefront, the Chinese outnumbered UN forces ten to one. By early January 1951, all UN and South Korean troops had been pushed out of North Korea. The Chinese advanced to the south, capturing the South Korean capital, Seoul. “We face an entirely new war,” declared MacArthur.

For two years, the two sides fought bitterly to obtain strategic positions in the Korean hills, but neither side was able to make important advances. One officer remembered the standoff.

A PERSONAL VOICE BEVERLY SCOTT

“Our trenches . . . were only about 20 meters in front of theirs. We were eyeball to eyeball. . . . We couldn’t move at all in the daytime without getting shot at. Machine-gun fire would come in, grenades, small-arms fire, all from within spitting distance. It was like World War I. We lived in a maze of bunkers and deep trenches. . . . There were bodies strewn all over the place. Hundreds of bodies frozen in the snow.”

—quoted in No Bugles, No Drums: An Oral History of the Korean War

Vocabulary

amphibious: capable of traveling both on land and on water

Beverly Scott
June 1950
North Korean troops invade South Korea and capture the capital, Seoul.

September 1950
North Koreans push South Koreans and UN troops south to the perimeter of Pusan.

September to October 1950
UN troops under MacArthur land at Inchon and move north from Pusan. This two-pronged attack drives the North Koreans out of South Korea. UN troops then continue into North Korea, take Pyongyang, and advance to the Yalu River.

November 1950 to January 1951
The Chinese intervene and force UN troops to retreat across the 38th parallel.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER
1. Movement How far south did North Korean troops push the UN forces?
2. Place Why do you think MacArthur chose Inchon as his landing place?
MACARTHUR RECOMMENDS ATTACKING CHINA To halt the bloody stalemate, in early 1951, MacArthur called for an extension of the war into China. Convinced that Korea was the place “where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest,” MacArthur called for the use of nuclear weapons against Chinese cities.

Truman rejected MacArthur’s request. The Soviet Union had a mutual-assistance pact with China. Attacking China could set off World War III. As General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said, an all-out conflict with China would be “the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.”

Instead of attacking China, the UN and South Korean forces began to advance once more, using the U.S. Eighth Army, led by Matthew B. Ridgway, as a spearhead. By April 1951, Ridgway had retaken Seoul and had moved back up to the 38th parallel. The situation was just what it had been before the fighting began.

MACARTHUR VERSUS TRUMAN Not satisfied with the recapture of South Korea, MacArthur continued to urge the waging of a full-scale war against China. Certain that his views were correct, MacArthur tried to go over the president’s head. He spoke and wrote privately to newspaper and magazine publishers and, especially, to Republican leaders.

MacArthur’s superiors informed him that he had no authority to make decisions of policy. Despite repeated warnings to follow orders, MacArthur continued to criticize the president. President Truman, who as president was commander-in-chief of the armed forces and thus MacArthur’s boss, was just as stubborn as MacArthur. Truman refused to stand for this kind of behavior. He wanted to put together a settlement of the war and could no longer tolerate a military commander who was trying to sabotage his policy. On April 11, 1951, Truman made the shocking announcement that he had fired MacArthur.

Many Americans were outraged over their hero’s downfall. A public opinion poll showed that 69 percent of the American public backed General MacArthur. When MacArthur returned to the United States, he gave an address to Congress, an honor usually awarded only to heads of government. New York City honored him with a ticker-tape parade. In his closing remarks to Congress, MacArthur said, “Old soldiers never die, they just fade away.”

Throughout the fuss, Truman stayed in the background. After MacArthur’s moment of public glory passed, the Truman administration began to make its case. Before a congressional committee investigating MacArthur’s dismissal, a parade of witnesses argued the case for limiting the war. The committee agreed with them. As a result, public opinion swung around to the view that Truman had done the right thing. As a political figure, MacArthur did indeed fade away.

Vocabulary

**conspirator**: a person who takes part in secretly planning something unlawful

**Comparing**

How did Truman and MacArthur differ over strategy in the Korean War?
SETTLING FOR STEALEMATE As the MacArthur controversy died down, the Soviet Union unexpectedly suggested a cease-fire on June 23, 1951. Truce talks began in July 1951. The opposing sides reached agreement on two points: the location of the cease-fire line at the existing battle line and the establishment of a demilitarized zone between the opposing sides. Negotiators spent another year wrangling over the exchange of prisoners. Finally, in July 1953, the two sides signed an armistice ending the war.

At best, the agreement was a stalemate. On the one hand, the North Korean invaders had been pushed back, and communism had been contained without the use of atomic weapons. On the other hand, Korea was still two nations rather than one.

On the home front, the war had affected the lives of ordinary Americans in many ways. It had cost 54,000 American lives and $67 billion in expenditures. The high cost of this unsuccessful war was one of many factors leading Americans to reject the Democratic Party in 1952 and to elect a Republican administration under World War II hero Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In addition, the Korean War increased fear of communist aggression and prompted a hunt for Americans who might be blamed for the communist gains.

THE TWO KOREAS

Korea is still split into North Korea and South Korea, even after more than 50 years. South Korea is booming economically, while North Korea, still communist, struggles with severe shortages of food and energy. Periodically, discussions about reuniting the two countries resume. In 2000, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to improve ties with North Korea. The two nations met in North Korea for the first time since the nations were established in 1948. Although economic and political differences continue to keep the two countries apart, there is hope that one day Korea will become a united nation.

South Korean President Kim Dae-jung waves to cheering North Koreans on June 13, 2000.

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
   - **Chiang Kai-shek**
   - **Taiwan**
   - **Mao Zedong**
   - **38th parallel**
   - **Korean War**

2. TAKING NOTES

   On a time line such as the one shown below, list the major events of the Korean War.

   - event one
   - event two
   - event three
   - event four

   Choose two events and explain how one event led to the other.

3. HYPOTHESIZING

   What might have happened if MacArthur had convinced Truman to expand the fighting into China? How might today’s world be different?

4. ANALYZING EVENTS

   Many Americans have questioned whether fighting the Korean War was worthwhile. What is your opinion? Why? _Think About:_
   - the loss of American lives
   - the fear of communism that enveloped the country at the time
   - the stalemate that ended the war

5. EVALUATING DECISIONS

   At the end of China’s civil war, the United States refused to accept the communist People’s Republic of China as China’s true government. What were the advantages of such a policy? What were the disadvantages? Do you agree with this decision? Why or why not?
Tony Kahn made the neighbors uncomfortable because they thought his father, Gordon Kahn, was a Communist. In 1947, Gordon Kahn was a successful screenwriter. However, when a congressional committee began to investigate Communists in Hollywood, Kahn was blacklisted—named as unfit to hire. Later, in 1951, he was scheduled to testify before the committee himself.

To save himself, Gordon Kahn simply had to name others as Communists, but he refused. Rather than face the congressional committee, he fled to Mexico. Tony Kahn remembers how the Cold War hurt him and his family.

**A Personal Voice** TONY KAHN

“The first time I was called a Communist, I was four years old. . . . I’ll never forget the look in our neighbors’ eyes when I walked by. I thought it was hate. I was too young to realize it was fear.”

—*from The Cold War Comes Home*

The members of the Kahn family were among thousands of victims of the anti-Communist hysteria that gripped this country in the late 1940s and early 1950s. By the end of the period, no one was immune from accusations.
LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD  Strongly anti-Communist Republicans began to accuse Truman of being soft on communism. Consequently, in March 1947, President Truman issued an executive order setting up the Federal Employee Loyalty Program, which included the Loyalty Review Board. Its purpose was to investigate government employees and to dismiss those who were found to be disloyal to the U.S. government. The U.S. attorney general drew up a list of 91 “subversive” organizations; membership in any of these groups was grounds for suspicion.

From 1947 to 1951, government loyalty boards investigated 3.2 million employees and dismissed 212 as security risks. Another 2,900 resigned because they did not want to be investigated or felt that the investigation violated their constitutional rights. Individuals under investigation were not allowed to see the evidence against them.

THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE  Other agencies investigated possible Communist influence, both inside and outside the U.S. government. The most famous of these was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC first made headlines in 1947, when it began to investigate Communist influence in the movie industry. The committee believed that Communists were sneaking propaganda into films. The committee pointed to the pro-Soviet films made during World War II when the Soviet Union had been a United States ally.

HUAC subpoenaed 43 witnesses from the Hollywood film industry in September 1947. Many of the witnesses were “friendly,” supporting the accusation that Communists had infiltrated the film industry. For example, the movie star Gary Cooper said he had “turned down quite a few scripts because I thought they were tinged with Communistic ideas.” However, when asked which scripts he meant, Cooper couldn’t remember their titles.

Ten “unfriendly” witnesses were called to testify but refused. These men, known as the Hollywood Ten, decided not to cooperate because they believed that the hearings were unconstitutional. Because the Hollywood Ten refused to answer questions, they were sent to prison.
In response to the hearings, Hollywood executives instituted a **blacklist**, a list of people whom they condemned for having a Communist background. People who were blacklisted—approximately 500 actors, writers, producers, and directors—had their careers ruined because they could no longer work.

**THE MCCARRAN ACT** As Hollywood tried to rid itself of Communists, Congress decided that Truman's Loyalty Review Board did not go far enough. In 1950, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act. This made it unlawful to plan any action that might lead to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the United States. Truman vetoed the bill, saying, “In a free country, we punish men for the crimes they commit, but never for the opinions they have.” But Congress enacted the law over Truman's veto.

**Spy Cases Stun the Nation**

Two spy cases added to fear that was spreading like an epidemic across the country. One case involved a former State Department official named Alger Hiss.

**ALGER HISS** In 1948, a former Communist spy named Whittaker Chambers accused Alger Hiss of spying for the Soviet Union. To support his charges, Chambers produced microfilm of government documents that he claimed had been typed on Hiss's typewriter. Too many years had passed for government prosecutors to charge Hiss with espionage, but a jury convicted him of perjury—for lying about passing the documents—and sent him to jail. A young conservative Republican congressman named Richard Nixon gained fame for pursuing the charges against Hiss. Within four years of the highly publicized case, Nixon was elected vice president of the United States.

Hiss claimed that he was innocent and that Chambers had forged the documents used against him. However, in the 1990s, Soviet cables released by the National Security Agency seemed to prove Hiss's guilt.

**TELEVISION: MAKING NEWS**

Historians of popular culture believe that the early 1950s were the best years of television. Most programs were filmed live and had a fresh, unrehearsed look. Along with variety shows, early television presented some of the best serious drama of the age.

Since the 1950s, television has also become a major vehicle for reporting the news. Not only does television report the news, it also has increasingly helped to shape it.

**NOW & THEN**

**1954** In 1954, the Communist-hunting senator Joseph McCarthy, in U.S. Senate hearings that were televised live, accused the U.S. Army of “coddling Communists.” As many as 20 million Americans watched the combative senator malign people who had no chance to defend themselves.

**1960** In the 1960 presidential election, a major factor in John Kennedy's victory over Richard Nixon was a series of four televised debates, the first televised presidential debates in history. An estimated 85 million to 120 million Americans watched one or more of the debates, which turned the tide in favor of Kennedy.
**THE ROSENBERGS** Another spy case rocked the nation even more than the Hiss case, partially because of international events occurring about the same time. On September 3, 1949, Americans learned that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb. Most American experts had predicted that it would take the Soviets three to five more years to make the bomb. People began to wonder if Communist supporters in the United States had leaked the secret of the bomb.

This second spy case seemed to confirm that suspicion. In 1950, the German-born physicist Klaus Fuchs admitted giving the Soviet Union information about America’s atomic bomb. The information probably enabled Soviet scientists to develop their own atomic bomb years earlier than they would have otherwise. Implicated in the Fuchs case were Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, minor activists in the American Communist Party.

When asked if they were Communists, the Rosenbergs denied the charges against them and pleaded the Fifth Amendment, choosing not to incriminate themselves. They claimed they were being persecuted both for being Jewish and for holding radical beliefs. The Rosenbergs were found guilty of espionage and sentenced to death. In pronouncing their sentence, Judge Irving Kaufman declared their crime “worse than murder.” To him, they were directly responsible for one of the deadliest clashes of the Cold War.

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**A PERSONAL VOICE** **IRVING KAUFMAN**

“I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea . . . .”

—quoted in *The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*

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**1967** By 1967, American support for the Vietnam War had plummeted as millions of TV viewers witnessed the horrors of war on the nightly news.

**2000** During the 2000 presidential election, the TV networks first projected that Al Gore would win Florida. Later, George W. Bush was declared the winner of Florida, a declaration that led Al Gore to concede. Then, when the Florida vote became too close to call, Gore retracted his concession. That “election muddle” blurred even further the already indistinct line between reporting the news and making it.

**1974** The Watergate scandal that toppled Richard Nixon’s presidency in 1974 played to a rapt TV audience. During the Senate hearings in 1973, the televised testimony of John Dean, the president’s counsel, had convinced two out of three Americans that the president had committed a crime.
People from all over the world appealed for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Many considered the evidence and the testimony too weak to warrant the death sentence. The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the Court refused to overturn the conviction. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died in the electric chair in June 1953, leaving behind two sons. They became the first U.S. civilians executed for espionage.

**McCarthy Launches His “Witch Hunt”**

The most famous anti-Communist activist was Senator Joseph McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin. During his first three years in the Senate, he had acquired a reputation for being an ineffective legislator. By January 1950, he realized that he was going to need a winning issue in order to be reelected in 1952. Looking for such an issue, McCarthy charged that Communists were taking over the government.

**MCCARTHY’S TACTICS** Taking advantage of people’s concerns about communism, McCarthy made one unsupported accusation after another. These attacks on suspected Communists in the early 1950s became known as McCarthyism. Since that time, McCarthyism has referred to the unfair tactic of accusing people of disloyalty without providing evidence. At various times McCarthy claimed to have in his hands the names of 57, 81, and 205 Communists in the State Department. (He never actually produced a single name.) He also charged that the Democratic Party was guilty of “20 years of treason” for allowing Communist infiltration into the government. He was always careful to do his name-calling only in the Senate, where he had legal immunity that protected him from being sued for slander.

The Republicans did little to stop McCarthy’s attacks because they believed they would win the 1952 presidential election if the public saw them purging the nation of Communists. But one small group of six senators, led by Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, did speak out.

**A PERSONAL VOICE  MARGARET CHASE SMITH**

“I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States senator. I speak as an American. . . . 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.”

—Declaration of Conscience
MCCARTHY'S DOWNFALL Finally, in 1954, McCarthy made accusations against the U.S. Army, which resulted in a nationally televised Senate investigation. McCarthy's bullying of witnesses alienated the audience and cost him public support. The Senate condemned him for improper conduct that “tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute.” Three years later, Joseph McCarthy, suffering from alcoholism, died a broken man.

OTHER ANTI-COMMUNIST MEASURES Others besides Joseph McCarthy made it their mission to root communism out of American society. By 1953, 39 states had passed laws making it illegal to advocate the violent overthrow of the government, even though such laws clearly violated the constitutional right of free speech. Across the nation, cities and towns passed similar laws.

At times, the fear of communism seemed to have no limits. In Indiana, professional wrestlers had to take a loyalty oath. In experiments run by newspapers, pedestrians on the street refused to sign petitions that quoted the Declaration of Independence because they were afraid the ideas were communist. The government investigated union leaders, librarians, newspaper reporters, and scientists. It seemed that no profession was safe from the hunt for Communists.

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
   - **HUAC**
   - **blacklist**
   - **Alger Hiss**
   - **Ethel and Julius Rosenberg**
   - **Joseph McCarthy**
   - **McCarthyism**

2. TAKING NOTES Re-create the web below on your paper and fill in events that illustrate the main idea in the center.

   Anti-Communist fear gripped the country.

   Which event had the greatest impact on the country?

3. HYPOTHEZING If you had lived in this period and had been accused of being a Communist, what would you have done? Think About:
   - the Hollywood Ten, who refused to answer questions
   - the Rosenbergs, who pleaded the Fifth Amendment

4. ANALYZING MOTIVES Choose one of the following roles: Harry Truman, a member of HUAC, Judge Irving Kaufman, or Joseph McCarthy. As the person you have chosen, explain your motivation for opposing communism.

   "I Can't Do This To Me!" a 1954 Herblock Cartoon, copyright by the Herb Block Foundation

Causes and Effects of McCarthyism

**Causes**
- Soviets successfully establish Communist regimes in Eastern Europe after World War II.
- Soviets develop the atomic bomb more quickly than expected.
- Korean War ends in a stalemate.
- Republicans gain politically by accusing Truman and Democrats of being soft on communism.

**Effects**
- Millions of Americans are forced to take loyalty oaths and undergo loyalty investigations.
- Activism by labor unions goes into decline.
- Many people are afraid to speak out on public issues.
- Anti-communism continues to drive U.S. foreign policy.

CRITICAL THINKING

5. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES What does this cartoon suggest about McCarthy’s downfall?
During the 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union came to the brink of nuclear war. The Cold War continued into the following decades, affecting U.S. policies in Cuba, Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.

**A Personal Voice** ANNIE DILLARD

“At school we had air-raid drills. We took the drills seriously; surely Pittsburgh, which had the nation’s steel, coke, and aluminum, would be the enemy’s first target. . . . When the air-raid siren sounded, our teachers stopped talking and led us to the school basement. There the gym teachers lined us up against the cement walls and steel lockers, and showed us how to lean in and fold our arms over our heads. . . . The teachers stood in the middle of the room, not talking to each other. We tucked against the walls and lockers. . . . We folded our skinny arms over our heads, and raised to the enemy a clatter of gold scarab bracelets and gold bangle bracelets.”

—An American Childhood

The fear of nuclear attack was a direct result of the Cold War. After the Soviet Union developed its atomic bomb, the two superpowers embarked on an arms race that enormously increased both the number and the destructive power of weapons.

**Brinkmanship Rules U.S. Policy**

Although air-raid drills were not common until the Eisenhower years (1953–1961), the nuclear arms race began during Truman’s presidency. When the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, President Truman had to make a terrible decision—whether to develop an even more horrifying weapon.
RACE FOR THE H-BOMB  The scientists who developed the atomic bomb had suspected since 1942 that it was possible to create an even more destructive thermonuclear weapon—the hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb. They estimated that such a bomb would have the force of 1 million tons of TNT (67 times the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima). But they argued vehemently about the morality of creating such a destructive weapon.

Despite such concerns, the United States entered into a deadly race with the Soviet Union to see which country would be the first to produce an H-bomb. On November 1, 1952, the United States won the race when it exploded the first H-bomb. However, the American advantage lasted less than a year. In August 1953, the Soviets exploded their own thermonuclear weapon.

THE POLICY OF BRINKMANSHIP
By the time both countries had the H-bomb, Dwight D. Eisenhower was president. His secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, was staunchly anti-Communist. For Dulles, the Cold War was a moral crusade against communism. Dulles proposed that the United States could prevent the spread of communism by promising to use all of its force, including nuclear weapons, against any aggressor nation. The willingness of the United States, under President Eisenhower, to go to the edge of all-out war became known as brinkmanship. Under this policy, the United States trimmed its army and navy and expanded its air force (which would deliver the bombs) and its buildup of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union followed suit.

The threat of nuclear attack was unlike any the American people had ever faced. Even if only a few bombs reached their targets, millions of civilians would die. Schoolchildren like Annie Dillard practiced air-raid procedures, and some families built underground fallout shelters in their back yards. Fear of nuclear war became a constant in American life for the next 30 years.

The Cold War Spreads Around the World
As the nation shifted to a dependence on nuclear arms, the Eisenhower administration began to rely heavily on the recently formed Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for information. The CIA used spies to gather information abroad. The CIA also began to carry out covert, or secret, operations to weaken or overthrow governments unfriendly to the United States.

COVERT ACTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA  One of the CIA’s first covert actions took place in the Middle East. In 1951, Iran’s prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh, nationalized Iran’s oil fields; that is, he placed the formerly private industries (owned mostly by Great Britain) under Iranian control. To protest, the British stopped buying Iranian oil. As the Iranian economy...
faltered, the United States feared that Mossadegh might turn to the Soviets for help. In 1953, the CIA gave several million dollars to anti-Mossadegh supporters. The CIA wanted the pro-American Shah of Iran, who had recently been forced to flee, to return to power. The plan worked. The Shah returned to power and turned over control of Iranian oil fields to Western companies.

In 1954, the CIA also took covert actions in Guatemala, a Central American country just south of Mexico. Eisenhower believed that Guatemala’s government had Communist sympathies because it had given more than 200,000 acres of American-owned land to peasants. In response, the CIA trained an army, which invaded Guatemala. The Guatemalan army refused to defend the president, and he resigned. The army’s leader then became dictator of the country.

THE WARSAW PACT In spite of the growing tension between the superpowers, U.S.-Soviet relations seemed to thaw following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953. The Soviets recognized West Germany and concluded peace treaties with Austria and Japan. However, in 1955, when West Germany was allowed to rearm and join NATO, the Soviet Union grew fearful. It formed its own military alliance, known as the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact linked the Soviet Union with seven Eastern European countries.

A SUMMIT IN GENEVA In July 1955, Eisenhower traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, to meet with Soviet leaders. There Eisenhower put forth an “open skies” proposal. The United States and the Soviet Union would allow flights over each other’s territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. Although the Soviet Union rejected this proposal, the world hailed the “spirit of Geneva” as a step toward peace.
**THE SUEZ WAR** In 1955, the same year in which the Geneva Summit took place, Great Britain and the United States agreed to help Egypt finance construction of a dam at Aswan on the Nile River. However, Gamal Abdel-Nasser, Egypt’s head of government, tried to play the Soviets and the Americans against each other, by improving relations with each one in order to get more aid. In 1956, after learning that Nasser was making deals with the Soviets, Dulles withdrew his offer of a loan. Angered, Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal, the Egyptian waterway that was owned by France and Great Britain. The French and the British were outraged.

Egyptian control of the canal also affected Israel. Nasser refused to let ships bound for Israel pass through the canal, even though the canal was supposed to be open to all nations. Great Britain, France, and Israel responded by sending troops. The three countries seized the Mediterranean end of the canal. The UN quickly stepped in to stop the fighting. It persuaded Great Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw. However, it allowed Egypt to keep control of the canal.

**THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE** The Soviet Union’s prestige in the Middle East rose because of its support for Egypt. To counterbalance this development, President Eisenhower issued a warning in January 1957. This warning, known as the Eisenhower Doctrine, said that the United States would defend the Middle East against an attack by any communist country. In March, Congress officially approved the doctrine.

**THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING** Even as fighting was raging in the Middle East, a revolt began in Hungary. Dominated by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, the Hungarian people rose in revolt in 1956. They called for a democratic government.

Imre Nagy, the most popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader, formed a new government. He promised free elections, denounced the Warsaw Pact, and demanded that all Soviet troops leave Hungary.

The Soviet response was swift and brutal. In November 1956, Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary and killed approximately 30,000 Hungarians. Armed with only pistols and bottles, thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters threw up barricades in the streets and fought the invaders to no avail. The Soviets overthrew the Nagy government and replaced it with pro-Soviet leaders. Nagy himself was executed. Some 200,000 Hungarians fled to the west.

Although the Truman Doctrine had promised to support free peoples who resisted communism, the United States did nothing to help Hungary break free of Soviet control. Many
Hungarians were bitterly disappointed. The American policy of containment did not extend to driving the Soviet Union out of its satellites.

No help came to Hungary from the United Nations either. Although the UN passed one resolution after another condemning the Soviet Union, the Soviet veto in the Security Council stopped the UN from taking any action.

The Cold War Takes to the Skies

After Stalin’s death in 1953, the Soviet Union had no well-defined way for one leader to succeed another. For the first few years, a group of leaders shared power. As time went by, however, one man did gain power. That man was Nikita Khrushchev (krooosh’chef). Like Stalin, Khrushchev believed that communism would take over the world, but Khrushchev thought it could triumph peacefully. He favored a policy of peaceful coexistence in which two powers would compete economically and scientifically.

THE SPACE RACE

In the competition for international prestige, the Soviets leaped to an early lead in what came to be known as the space race. On October 4, 1957, they launched Sputnik, the world’s first artificial satellite. Sputnik traveled around the earth at 18,000 miles per hour, circling the globe every 96 minutes. Its launch was a triumph of Soviet technology.

Americans were shocked at being beaten and promptly poured money into their own space program. U.S. scientists worked frantically to catch up to the Soviets. The first attempt at an American satellite launch was a humiliating failure, with the rocket toppling to the ground. However, on January 31, 1958, the United States successfully launched its first satellite.

A U-2 IS SHOT DOWN

Following the rejection of Eisenhower’s “open skies” proposal at the 1955 Geneva summit conference, the CIA began making secret high-altitude flights over Soviet territory. The plane used for these missions was the U-2, which could fly at high altitudes without detection. As a U-2 passed over the Soviet Union, its infrared cameras took detailed photographs of troop movement and missile sites.

By 1960, however, many U.S. officials were nervous about the U-2 program for two reasons. First, the existence and purpose of the U-2 was an open secret among some members of the American press. Second, the Soviets had been aware of the flights since 1958, as Francis Gary Powers, a U-2 pilot, explained.

A Personal Voice

“...knew that the Russians were radar-tracking at least some of our flights... We also knew that SAMs [surface-to-air missiles] were being fired at us, that some were uncomfortably close to our altitude. But we knew too that the Russians had a control problem in their guidance system... We were concerned, but not greatly.”

—Operation Overflight: The U-2 Spy Pilot Tells His Story for the First Time
Finally, Eisenhower himself wanted the flights discontinued. He and Khrushchev were going to hold another summit conference on the arms race on May 15, 1960. “If one of these aircraft were lost when we were engaged in apparently sincere deliberations, it could . . . ruin my effectiveness,” he told an aide. However, Dulles persuaded him to authorize one last flight.

That flight took place on May 1, and the pilot was Francis Gary Powers. Four hours after Powers entered Soviet airspace, a Soviet pilot shot down his plane, and Powers was forced to parachute into Soviet-controlled territory. The Soviets sentenced Powers to ten years in prison.

**RENEWED CONFRONTATION** At first, Eisenhower denied that the U-2 had been spying. The Soviets had evidence, however, and Eisenhower finally had to admit it. Khrushchev demanded an apology for the flights and a promise to halt them. Eisenhower agreed to stop the U-2 flights, but he would not apologize.

Khrushchev angrily called off the summit. He also withdrew his invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. Because of the **U-2 incident**, the 1960s opened with tension between the two superpowers as great as ever.

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**Background**

After 18 months, Francis Gary Powers was released from the Soviet Union in exchange for Soviet agent Rudolf Abel, who had been convicted of spying in the United States.

**MAIN IDEA**

2. **TAKING NOTES**

List Cold War trouble spots in Iran, Guatemala, Egypt, and Hungary. For each, write a newspaper headline that summarizes the U.S. role and the outcome of the situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trouble Spot</th>
<th>Headline</th>
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Choose one headline and write a paragraph about that trouble spot.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

3. **HYPOTHESIZING**

How might the Cold War have progressed if the U-2 incident had never occurred? **Think About:**

- the mutual distrust between the Soviet Union and the United States
- the outcome of the incident

4. **EVALUATING**

Which of the two superpowers do you think contributed more to Cold War tensions during the 1950s?

5. **FORMING GENERALIZATIONS**

Should one nation have the right to remove another nation’s head of government from power? If so, when? If not, why?
Science Fiction Reflects Cold War Fears

1950–1959 Many writers of science fiction draw on the scientific and social trends of the present to describe future societies that might arise if those trends were to continue. Nuclear proliferation, the space race, early computer technology, and the pervasive fear of known and unknown dangers during the Cold War were the realities that prompted a boom in science fiction during the 1950s and 1960s.

**THE BODY SNATCHERS**

Published in 1955 at the height of the Great Fear, Jack Finney’s *The Body Snatchers* (on which the movie *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* was based) tells of giant seed pods from outer space that descend on the inhabitants of a California town. The pods create perfect physical duplicates of the townspeople and lack only one thing—human souls.

"Miles, he looks, sounds, acts, and remembers exactly like Ira. On the outside. But inside he’s different. His responses”—she stopped, hunting for the word—"aren’t emotionally right, if I can explain that. He remembers the past, in detail, and he’ll smile and say ‘You were sure a cute youngster, Willy. Bright one, too,’ just the way Uncle Ira did. But there’s something missing, and the same thing is true of Aunt Aleda, lately.” Wilma stopped, staring at nothing again, face intent, wrapped up in this, then she continued. “Uncle Ira was a father to me, from infancy, and when he talked about my childhood, Miles, there was—always—a special look in his eyes that meant he was remembering the wonderful quality of those days for him. Miles, that look, ‘way in back of the eyes, is gone. With this—this Uncle Ira, or whoever or whatever he is, I have the feeling, the absolutely certain knowledge, Miles, that he’s talking by rote. That the facts of Uncle Ira’s memories are all in his mind in every last detail, ready to recall. But the emotions are not. There is no emotion—none—only the pretense of it. The words, the gestures, the tones of voice, everything else—but not the feeling.”

Her voice was suddenly firm and commanding: “Miles, memories or not, appearances or not, possible or impossible, that is not my Uncle Ira.”

THE MARTIAN CHRONICLES

In *The Martian Chronicles*, Ray Bradbury describes how earthlings who have colonized Mars watch helplessly as their former planet is destroyed by nuclear warfare.

They all came out and looked at the sky that night. They left their suppers or their washing up or their dressing for the show and they came out upon their now-not-quite-as-new porches and watched the green star of Earth there. It was a move without conscious effort; they all did it, to help them understand the news they had heard on the radio a moment before. There was Earth and there the coming war, and there hundreds of thousands of mothers or grandmothers or fathers or brothers or aunts or uncles or cousins. They stood on the porches and tried to believe in the existence of Earth, much as they had once tried to believe in the existence of Mars; it was a problem reversed. To all intents and purposes, Earth now was dead; they had been away from it for three or four years. Space was an anesthetic; seventy million miles of space numbed you, put memory to sleep, depopulated Earth, erased the past, and allowed these people here to go on with their work. But now, tonight, the dead were risen, Earth was reinhabited, memory awoke, a million names were spoken: What was so-and-so doing tonight on Earth? What about this one and that one? The people on the porches glanced sidewise at each other’s faces.

At nine o’clock Earth seemed to explode, catch fire, and burn.

The people on the porches put up their hands as if to beat the fire out.

They waited.


A CANTICLE FOR LEIBOWITZ

In *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, Walter M. Miller, Jr., portrays the centuries after a nuclear holocaust as a new “Dark Age” for humanity on earth.

He had been wandering for a long time. The search seemed endless, but there was always the promise of finding what he sought across the next rise or beyond the bend in the trail. When he had finished fanning himself, he clapped the hat back on his head and scratched at his bushy beard while blinking around at the landscape. There was a patch of unburned forest on the hillside just ahead. It offered welcome shade, but still the wanderer sat there in the sunlight and watched the curious buzzards.

Pickings were good for a while in the region of the Red River; but then out of the carnage, a city-state arose. For rising city-states, the buzzards had no fondness, although they approved of their eventual fall. They shied away from Texarkana and ranged far over the plain to the west. After the manner of all living things, they replenished the Earth many times with their kind.

Eventually it was the Year of Our Lord 3174.

There were rumors of war.

—Walter M. Miller, Jr., *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1959)
VISUAL SUMMARY

COLD WAR CONFLICTS

CAUSES

- Soviet domination of Eastern Europe
- Communist victory in China
- Mutual suspicion between United States and Soviet Union

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS

- Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan
- East-West tensions over Berlin
- Establishment of NATO and Warsaw Pact
- McCarthyism

LONG-TERM EFFECTS

- Arms race between superpowers
- Superpower rivalry for world power

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the Cold War.

1. containment
2. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
3. Mao Zedong
4. Korean War
5. McCarthyism
6. John Foster Dulles
7. brinkmanship
8. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
9. Nikita Khrushchev
10. U-2 incident

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Origins of the Cold War (pages 602–608)
1. What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War?
2. Describe the Truman Doctrine and how America reacted to it.
3. What was the purpose of the NATO alliance?

The Cold War Heats Up (pages 609–615)
4. What global events led to U.S. involvement in Korea?
5. What issue between General Douglas MacArthur and President Truman eventually cost MacArthur his job?

The Cold War at Home (pages 616–621)
6. What actions of Joseph McCarthy worsened the national hysteria about communism?
7. How did the Rosenberg case fuel anti-communist feeling?

Two Nations Live on the Edge (pages 622–627)
8. How did the U.S., including the CIA, wage the Cold War in the 1950s?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES Create a cause-and-effect diagram like the one shown for each of these events: (a) the United States’ adoption of a policy of containment, and (b) the beginning of the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

2. ANALYZING EVENTS What government actions during the Communist scare conflicted with the Bill of Rights? Explain.

3. INTERPRETING MAPS Look carefully at the map on page 605. How did the absence of a natural barrier on the western border of the Soviet Union affect post-World War II Soviet foreign policy? Explain your answer.
INTERACT WITH HISTORY
Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Suppose your best friend has been accused of being a Communist. You have been called to serve as a character witness for him or her. Write a speech that you will present to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). In your speech explain why you feel that your friend’s constitutional rights are being violated.

COLLABORATIVE LEARNING
In a small group read and discuss the “One American’s Story” at the beginning of Section 4. Then use the Internet and library resources to research the steps Americans took to protect themselves from nuclear attack. Use your findings to create a brief illustrated report.

FOCUS ON WRITING
Write a five-paragraph essay that explains how the United States became involved in the Korean War.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE
Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.

“In 1945 I had ordered the A Bomb dropped on Japan at two places devoted almost exclusively to war production. We were at war. We were trying to end it in order to save the lives of our soldiers and sailors. . . . We stopped the war and saved thousands of casualties on both sides.

In Korea we were fighting a police action with sixteen allied nations to support the World Organization which had set up the Republic of Korea. We had held the Chinese after defeating the North Koreans and whipping the Russian Air Force. I just could not make the order for a Third World War. I know I was right.” —Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S. Truman

1. According to President Truman, what was the main difference between using the atomic bomb on Japan in 1945 and the possibility of using it on China in 1951?
   A Japan was more of a military power in 1945 than China was in 1951.
   B In 1945 we had many allies, but in 1951 we had only two.
   C In 1945 the bomb ended a world war, but in 1951 it would have started one.
   D The Japanese were much fiercer fighters than the Chinese were.

Use the cartoon below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 2.

2. What point of view about the arms race does this 1950 cartoon best support?
   F The arms race between “Russia” and the United States is as dangerous as a war.
   G Communism uncontained will spread.
   H The bombs of the United States only threaten countries other than the United States.
   J The United States needs to build up its arsenal in order to compete with “Russia.”

For additional test practice, go online for:
- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials
In this chapter you will explore the changes that took place in the United States after World War II.

SECTION 1: Postwar America
Main Idea The Truman and Eisenhower administrations led the nation to make social, economic, and political adjustments following World War II.

SECTION 2: The American Dream in the Fifties
Main Idea During the 1950s, the economy boomed, and many Americans enjoyed material comfort.

SECTION 3: Popular Culture
Main Idea Mainstream Americans, as well as the nation’s subcultures, embraced new forms of entertainment during the 1950s.

SECTION 4: The Other America
Main Idea Amidst the prosperity of the 1950s, millions of Americans lived in poverty.

What You Will Learn
In the 1950s, the backyard was the perfect place for suburban homeowners to relax.
You have returned home from serving in World War II to find that your country is changing. The cities have swelled. Outlying suburbs are being built up with almost identical homes. America produces more and cheaper goods. In a booming economy, couples marry and start families in record numbers. As you watch clever ads on TV for the newest labor-saving gadgets, you feel nostalgia for a simpler time.

**Explore the Issues**

- How does pressure to conform affect the American dream?
- Who might be excluded from the new prosperity?
- How does advertising promote certain lifestyles and ideals?

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1953: Korean War cease-fire is signed.
1956: Eisenhower is reelected.
1958: NASA—the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—is established.
1959: Alaska and Hawaii become the 49th and 50th states.
1960: John F. Kennedy is elected president.
Sam Gordon had been married less than a year when he was shipped overseas in July 1943. As a sergeant in the United States Army, he fought in Belgium and France during World War II. Arriving back home in November 1945, Sam nervously anticipated a reunion with his family. A friend, Donald Katz, described Sam’s reactions.

**A Personal Voice** DONALD KATZ

“Sam bulled through the crowd and hailed a taxi. The cab motored north through the warm autumn day as he groped for feelings appropriate to being back home alive from a terrible war. . . . [He was] nearly panting under the weight of fear. . . . Back home alive . . . married to a girl I haven’t seen since 1943 . . . father of a child I’ve never seen at all.”

— Home Fires

Sam Gordon met his daughter, Susan, for the first time the day he returned home from the war, and he went to work the next morning. Like many other young couples, the Gordons began to put the nightmare of the war behind them and to return to normality.

**Readjustment and Recovery**

By the summer of 1946, about 10 million men and women had been released from the armed forces. Veterans like Sam Gordon—along with the rest of American society—settled down to rebuild their lives.
THE IMPACT OF THE GI BILL To help ease veterans’ return to civilian life, Congress passed the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, or the GI Bill of Rights, in 1944. In addition to encouraging veterans to get an education by paying part of their tuition, the GI Bill guaranteed them a year’s worth of unemployment benefits while job hunting. It also offered low-interest, federally guaranteed loans. Millions of young families used these benefits to buy homes and farms or to establish businesses.

HOUSING CRISIS In 1945 and 1946, returning veterans faced a severe housing shortage. Many families lived in cramped apartments or moved in with relatives. In response to this housing crisis, developers like William Levitt and Henry Kaiser used efficient, assembly-line methods to mass-produce houses. Levitt, who bragged that his company could build a house in 16 minutes, offered homes in small residential communities surrounding cities, called suburbs, for less than $7,000.

Levitt’s first postwar development—rows of standardized homes built on treeless lots—was located on New York’s Long Island and named Levittown. These homes looked exactly alike, and certain zoning laws ensured that they would stay the same. Despite their rigid conformity, Americans loved the openness and small-town feel to the planned suburbs. With the help of the GI Bill, many veterans and their families moved in and cultivated a new lifestyle.

REDEFINING THE FAMILY Tension created by changes in men’s and women’s roles after the war contributed to a rising divorce rate. Traditionally, men were the breadwinners and heads of households, while women were expected to stay home and care for the family. During the war, however, about 8 million women, 75 percent of whom were married, entered the paid work force. These women supported their families and made important household decisions. Many were reluctant to give up their newfound independence when their husbands returned. Although most women did leave their jobs, by 1950, more than a million war marriages had ended in divorce.

ECONOMIC READJUSTMENT After World War II, the United States converted from a wartime to a peacetime economy. The U.S. government immediately canceled war contracts totaling $35 billion. Within ten days of Japan’s surrender, more than a million defense workers were laid off. Unemployment increased as veterans joined laid-off defense workers in the search for jobs. At the peak of postwar unemployment, in March 1946, nearly 3 million people were seeking work.

Rising unemployment was not the nation’s only postwar economic problem, however. During the war, the Office of Price Administration (OPA) had halted inflation by imposing maximum prices on goods. When these controls ended on June 30, 1946, prices skyrocketed. In the next two weeks, the cost of consumer products soared 25 percent, double the increase of the previous three years. In some cities, consumers stood in long lines, hoping to buy scarce items, such as sugar, coffee, and beans. Prices continued to rise for the next two years until the supply of goods caught up with the demand.

While prices spiraled upward, many American workers also earned less than they had earned during the war. To halt runaway inflation and to help the nation convert to a peacetime economy, Congress eventually reestablished controls similar to the wartime controls on prices, wages, and rents.
**REMARKABLE RECOVERY** Most economists who had forecast a postwar depression were proved wrong because they had failed to consider consumers’ pent-up accumulation of needs and wants. People had gone without many goods for so long that by the late 1940s, with more than $135 billion in savings from defense work, service pay, and investments in war bonds, Americans suddenly had money to spend. They snatched up everything from automobiles to houses. After a brief period of postwar economic readjustment, the American economy boomed. The demand for goods and services outstripped the supply and increased production, which created new jobs. Judging from the graphs (shown left), many Americans prospered in the 1950s in what the economist John Kenneth Galbraith called “the affluent society.”

The Cold War also contributed to economic growth. Concern over Soviet expansion kept American defense spending high and people employed. Foreign-aid programs, such as the Marshall Plan, provided another boost to the American economy. By helping nations in Western Europe recover from the war, the United States helped itself by creating strong foreign markets for its exports.

**Meeting Economic Challenges**

Despite an impressive recovery, Americans faced a number of economic problems. Their lives had been in turmoil throughout the war, and a desire for stability made the country more conservative.

**PRESIDENT TRUMAN’S INHERITANCE** When Harry S. Truman suddenly became president after Franklin D. Roosevelt’s death in 1945, he asked Roosevelt’s widow, Eleanor, whether there was anything he could do for her. She replied, “Is there anything we can do for you? For you are the one in trouble now.” In many ways, President Truman was in trouble.

A PERSONAL VOICE

**HARRY S. TRUMAN**

“I don’t know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay fall on you, but when they told me yesterday what had happened [Roosevelt’s death], I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me.”

—excerpt from a speech, April 13, 1945

Despite his lack of preparation for the job, Truman was widely viewed as honorable, down-to-earth, and self-confident. Most important of all, he had the ability to make difficult decisions and to accept full responsibility for their consequences. As the plaque on his White House desk read, “The Buck Stops Here.” Truman faced two huge challenges: dealing with the rising threat of communism, as discussed in Chapter 26, and restoring the American economy to a strong footing after the war’s end.
TRUMAN FACES STRIKES  One economic problem that Truman had to address was strikes. Facing higher prices and lower wages, 4.5 million discontented workers, including steelworkers, coal miners, and railroad workers, went on strike in 1946. Although he generally supported organized labor, Truman refused to let strikes cripple the nation. He threatened to draft the striking workers and to order them as soldiers to stay on the job. He authorized the federal government to seize the mines, and he threatened to take control of the railroads as well. Truman appeared before Congress and asked for the authority to draft the striking railroad workers into the army. Before he could finish his speech, the unions gave in.

“HAD ENOUGH?” Disgusted by shortages of goods, rising inflation, and labor strikes, Americans were ready for a change. The Republicans asked the public, “Had enough?” Voters gave their answer at the polls: in the 1946 congressional elections, the Republican Party won control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives for the first time since 1928. The new 80th Congress ignored Truman’s domestic proposals. In 1947, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act over Truman’s veto. This bill overturned many rights won by the unions under the New Deal.

Social Unrest Persists

Problems arose not only in the economy but in the very fabric of society. After World War II, a wave of racial violence erupted in the South. Many African Americans, particularly those who had served in the armed forces during the war, demanded their rights as citizens.

TRUMAN SUPPORTS CIVIL RIGHTS  Truman put his presidency on the line for civil rights. “I am asking for equality of opportunity for all human beings,” he said, “...and if that ends up in my failure to be reelected, that failure will be in a good cause.” In 1946, Truman created a President’s Commission on Civil Rights. Following the group’s recommendations, Truman asked Congress for several measures including a federal antilynching law, a ban on the poll tax as a voting requirement, and a permanent civil rights commission.

Congress refused to pass these measures, or a measure to integrate the armed forces. As a result, Truman himself took action. In July 1948, he issued an executive order for integration of the armed forces, calling for “equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.” In addition, he ordered an end to discrimination in the hiring of government employees. The Supreme Court also ruled that the lower courts could not bar

Vocabulary

discrimination: treatment based on class or category rather than individual merit

In 1947, Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers, angering some fans but winning the hearts, and respect, of many others.
African Americans from residential neighborhoods. These actions represented the beginnings of a federal commitment to dealing with racial issues.

**THE 1948 ELECTION** Although many Americans blamed Truman for the nation’s inflation and labor unrest, the Democrats nominated him for president in 1948. To protest Truman’s emphasis on civil rights, a number of Southern Democrats—who became known as Dixiecrats—formed the States’ Rights Democratic Party, and nominated their own presidential candidate, Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Discontent reigned at the far left of the Democratic spectrum as well. The former vice-president Henry A. Wallace led his supporters out of mainstream Democratic ranks to form a more liberal Progressive Party.

As the election approached, opinion polls gave the Republican candidate, New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey, a comfortable lead. Refusing to believe the polls, Truman poured his energy into the campaign. First, he called the Republican-dominated Congress into a special session. He challenged it to pass laws supporting such elements of the Democratic Party platform as public housing, federal aid to education, a higher minimum wage, and extended Social Security coverage. Not one of these laws was passed. Then he took his campaign to the people. He traveled from one end of the country to the other by train, speaking from the rear platform in a sweeping “whistlestop campaign.” Day after day, people heard the president denounce the “do-nothing, 80th Congress.”

**STUNNING UPSET** Truman’s “Give ’em hell, Harry” campaign worked. He won the election in a close political upset. The Democrats gained control of Congress as well, even though they suffered losses in the South, which had been solidly Democratic since Reconstruction.

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**Presidential Election of 1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
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<th>Popular Votes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>Harry S. Truman</td>
<td>303</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>Thomas E. Dewey</td>
<td>189</td>
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<td>States’ Rights</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>1,176,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>Henry A. Wallace</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,157,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Tennessee—11 electoral votes for Truman, 1 electoral vote for Thurmond

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**

D How did Truman use his executive power to advance civil rights?
THE FAIR DEAL After his victory, Truman continued proposing an ambitious economic program. Truman’s Fair Deal, an extension of Roosevelt’s New Deal, included proposals for a nationwide system of compulsory health insurance and a crop-subsidy system to provide a steady income for farmers. In Congress, some Northern Democrats joined Dixiecrats and Republicans in defeating both measures.

In other instances, however, Truman’s ideas prevailed. Congress raised the hourly minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents, extended Social Security coverage to about 10 million more people, and initiated flood control and irrigation projects. Congress also provided financial support for cities to clear out slums and build 810,000 housing units for low-income families.

Republicans Take the Middle Road

Despite these social and economic victories, Truman’s approval rating sank to an all-time low of 23 percent in 1951. The stalemate in the Korean War and the rising tide of McCarthyism, which cast doubt on the loyalty of some federal employees, became overwhelming issues. Truman decided not to run for reelection. The Democrats nominated the intellectual and articulate governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois to run against the Republican candidate, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, known popularly as “Ike.”

I LIKE IKE! During the campaign, the Republicans accused the Democrats of “plunder at home and blunder abroad.” To fan the anti-Communist hysteria that was sweeping over the country, Republicans raised the specter of the rise of communism in China and Eastern Europe. They also criticized the growing power of the federal government and the alleged bribery and corruption among Truman’s political allies.

Eisenhower’s campaign hit a snag, however, when newspapers accused his running mate, California Senator Richard M. Nixon, of profiting from a secret slush fund set up by wealthy supporters. Nixon decided to reply to the charges. In an emotional speech to an audience of 58 million, now known as the “Checkers speech,” he exhibited masterful use of a new medium—television. Nixon denied any wrongdoing, but he did admit to accepting one gift from a political supporter.

A PERSONAL VOICE RICHARD M. NIXON

“You know what it was? It was a little cocker spaniel dog in a crate, that he’d [the political supporter] sent all the way from Texas. Black and white spotted. And our little girl—Tricia, the six-year-old—named it Checkers. And you know the kids, like all kids, love the dog and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we’re going to keep it.”

—“Checkers speech,” September 23, 1952
Countering slush fund charges, Richard Nixon speaks to TV viewers about his daughters and their dog, Checkers.

**Terms & Names**
- GI Bill of Rights
- Suburb
- Harry S. Truman
- Dixiecrat
- Fair Deal

**Main Idea**

2. **Taking Notes**
Create a time line of key events relating to postwar America. Use the dates below as a guide.

1946 1947 1948 1949 1952

Write a paragraph describing the effects of one of these events.

**Critical Thinking**

3. **Drawing Conclusions**
Do you think Eisenhower’s actions reflected his philosophy of dynamic conservatism? Why or why not?

Think About:
- the definition of dynamic conservatism
- Eisenhower’s actions on civil rights policies
- Eisenhower’s accomplishments on other domestic issues

4. **Evaluating Leadership**
Why do you think most Americans went along with Eisenhower’s conservative approach to domestic policy?

5. **Contrasting**
How did Presidents Truman and Eisenhower differ regarding civil rights?

Nixon’s speech saved his place on the Republican ticket. In November 1952, Eisenhower won 55 percent of the popular vote and a majority of the electoral college votes, while the Republicans narrowly captured Congress.

**Walking the Middle of the Road**
President Eisenhower’s style of governing differed from that of the Democrats. His approach, which he called “dynamic conservatism,” was also known as “Modern Republicanism.” He called for government to be “conservative when it comes to money and liberal when it comes to human beings.”

Eisenhower followed a middle-of-the-road course and avoided many controversial issues, but he could not completely sidestep a persistent domestic issue—civil rights—that gained national attention due to court rulings and acts of civil disobedience in the mid-1950s. The most significant judicial action occurred in 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that public schools must be racially integrated. (See page 708.) In a landmark act of civil disobedience a year later, a black seamstress named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. Her arrest sparked a boycott of the entire Montgomery, Alabama, bus system. The civil rights movement had entered a new era.

Although Eisenhower did not assume leadership on civil rights issues, he accomplished much on the domestic scene. Shortly after becoming president, Eisenhower pressed hard for programs that would bring around a balanced budget and a cut in taxes. During his two terms, Ike’s administration raised the minimum wage, extended Social Security and unemployment benefits, increased funding for public housing, and backed the creation of interstate highways and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. His popularity soared, and he won reelection in 1956.
Settled into her brand new house near San Diego, California, Carol Freeman felt very fortunate. Her husband Mark had his own law practice, and when their first baby was born, she became a full-time homemaker. She was living the American dream, yet Carol felt dissatisfied—as if there were “something wrong” with her because she was not happy.

"As dissatisfied as I was, and as restless, I remember so well this feeling [we] had at the time that the world was going to be your oyster. You were going to make money, your kids were going to go to good schools, everything was possible if you just did what you were supposed to do. The future was rosy. There was a tremendous feeling of optimism. . . . Much as I say it was hateful, it was also hopeful. It was an innocent time."

—quoted in The Fifties: A Women’s Oral History

After World War II ended, Americans turned their attention to their families and jobs. The economy prospered. New technologies and business ideas created fresh opportunities for many, and by the end of the decade Americans were enjoying the highest standard of living in the world. The American dream of a happy and successful life seemed within the reach of many people.

The Organization and the Organization Man

During the 1950s, businesses expanded rapidly. By 1956, the majority of Americans no longer held blue-collar, or industrial, jobs. Instead, more people worked in higher-paid, white-collar positions—clerical, managerial, or professional occupations. Unlike blue-collar workers, who manufactured goods for sale, white-collar workers tended to perform services in fields like sales, advertising, insurance, and communications.
CONGLOMERATES Many white-collar workers performed their services in large corporations or government agencies. Some of these corporations continued expanding by forming conglomerates. (A conglomerate is a major corporation that includes a number of smaller companies in unrelated industries.) For example, one conglomerate, International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), whose original business was communications, bought car-rental companies, insurance companies, and hotel and motel chains. Through this diversification, or investment in various areas of the economy, ITT tried to protect itself from declines in individual industries. Other huge parent companies included American Telephone and Telegraph, Xerox, and General Electric.

FRANCHISES In addition to diversifying, another strategy for business expansion—franchising—developed at this time. A franchise is a company that offers similar products or services in many locations. (Franchise is also used to refer to the right, sold to an individual, to do business using the parent company’s name and the system that the parent company developed.)

Fast-food restaurants developed some of the first and most successful franchises. McDonald’s, for example, had its start when the McDonald brothers developed unusually efficient service, based on assembly-line methods, at their small drive-in restaurant in San Bernardino, California. They simplified the menu, featured 15-cent hamburgers, and mechanized their kitchen.

Salesman Ray Kroc paid the McDonalds $2.7 million for the franchise rights to their hamburger drive-in. In April 1955, he opened his first McDonald’s restaurant in Des Plaines, Illinois, where he further improved the assembly-line process and introduced the trademark arches that are now familiar all over the world.

A PERSONAL VOICE RAY KROC

“It requires a certain kind of mind to see the beauty in a hamburger bun. Yet is it any more unusual to find grace in the texture and softly curved silhouette of a bun than to reflect lovingly on the . . . arrangements and textures and colors in a butterfly’s wings? . . . Not if you view the bun as an essential material in the art of serving a great many meals fast.”

—quoted in The Fifties

SOCIAL CONFORMITY While franchises like McDonald’s helped standardize what people ate, some American workers found themselves becoming standardized as well. Employees who were well paid and held secure jobs in thriving companies sometimes paid a price for economic advancement: a loss of their individuality. In general, businesses did not want creative thinkers, rebels, or anyone who would rock the corporate boat.
In The Organization Man, a book based on a classic 1956 study of suburban Park Forest, Illinois, and other communities, William H. Whyte described how the new, large organizations created “company people.” Companies would give personality tests to people applying for jobs to make sure they would “fit in” the corporate culture. Companies rewarded employees for teamwork, cooperation, and loyalty and so contributed to the growth of conformity, which Whyte called “belongingness.” Despite their success, a number of workers questioned whether pursuing the American dream exacted too high a price, as conformity replaced individuality.

The Suburban Lifestyle

Though achieving job security did take a psychological toll on some Americans who resented having to repress their own personalities, it also enabled people to provide their families with the so-called good things in life. Most Americans worked in cities, but fewer and fewer of them lived there. New highways and the availability and affordability of automobiles and gasoline made commuting possible. By the early 1960s, every large city in the United States was surrounded by suburbs. Of the 13 million new homes built in the 1950s, 85 percent were built in the suburbs. For many people, the suburbs embodied the American dream of an affordable single-family house, good schools, a safe, healthy environment for children, and congenial neighbors just like themselves.

THE BABY BOOM As soldiers returned from World War II and settled into family life, they contributed to an unprecedented population explosion known as the baby boom. During the late 1940s and through the early 1960s, the birthrate (number of live births per 1,000 people) in the United States soared. At the height of the baby boom, in 1957, one American infant was born every seven seconds—a total of 4,308,000 that year. The result was the largest generation in the nation’s history.

The “organization man” had to step lively to keep up with the Joneses.

**Analyzing Effects**

What effects did the climate in many corporations have on some workers?

**SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs**

1. What was the overall trend in the birthrate at the start of World War II, and after the war ended?
2. What was the difference in the birthrate between 1960 and 1970?

Some of the 40 million new Americans who were born during the baby boom.
Contributing to the size of the baby-boom generation were many factors, including: reunion of husbands and wives after the war, decreasing marriage age, desirability of large families, confidence in continued economic prosperity, and advances in medicine.

**ADVANCES IN MEDICINE AND CHILDCARE** Among the medical advances that saved hundreds of thousands of children’s lives was the discovery of drugs to fight and prevent childhood diseases, such as typhoid fever. Another breakthrough came when Dr. Jonas Salk developed a vaccine for the crippling disease poliomyelitis—polio.

Many parents raised their children according to guidelines devised by the author and pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock. His *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, published in 1946, sold nearly 10 million copies during the 1950s. In it, he advised parents not to spank or scold their children. He also encouraged families to hold meetings in which children could express themselves. He considered it so important for mothers to be at home with their children that he proposed having the government pay mothers to stay home.

The baby boom had a tremendous impact not only on child care but on the American economy and the educational system as well. In 1958, toy sales alone reached $1.25 billion. During the decade, 10 million new students entered the elementary schools. The sharp increase in enrollment caused overcrowding and teacher shortages in many parts of the country. In California, a new school opened every seven days.

**WOMEN’S ROLES** During the 1950s, the role of homemaker and mother was glorified in popular magazines, movies, and TV programs such as *Father Knows Best* and *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. *Time* magazine described the homemaker as “the key figure in all suburbia, the thread that weaves between family and community—the keeper of the suburban dream.” In contrast to the ideal portrayed in the media, however, some women, like Carol Freeman, who spoke of her discontentment, were not happy with their roles; they felt isolated, bored, and unfulfilled. According to one survey in the 1950s, more than one-fifth of suburban wives were dissatisfied with their lives. Betty Friedan, author of the groundbreaking 1963 book about women and society, *The Feminine Mystique*, described the problem.

*A PERSONAL VOICE*  
**BETTY FRIEDAN**

“For the first time in their history, women are becoming aware of an identity crisis in their own lives, a crisis which . . . has grown worse with each succeeding generation. . . . I think this is the crisis of women growing up—a turning point from an immaturity that has been called femininity to full human identity.”

—*The Feminine Mystique*

The number of women working outside the home rose steadily during the decade. By 1960, almost 40 percent of mothers with children between ages 6 and 17 held paying jobs.
But having a job didn’t necessarily contribute to a woman’s happiness. A woman’s career opportunities tended to be limited to fields such as nursing, teaching, and office support, which paid less than other professional and business positions did. Women also earned less than men for comparable work. Although increasing numbers of women attended four-year colleges, they generally received little financial, academic, or psychological encouragement to pursue their goals.

**LEISURE IN THE FIFTIES** Most Americans of the 1950s had more leisure time than ever before. Employees worked a 40-hour week and earned several weeks’ vacation per year. People owned more labor-saving devices, such as washing machines, clothes dryers, dishwashers, and power lawn mowers, which allowed more time for leisure activities. *Fortune* magazine reported that, in 1953, Americans spent more than $30 billion on leisure goods and activities.

Americans also enjoyed a wide variety of recreational pursuits—both active and passive. Millions of people participated in such sports as fishing, bowling, hunting, boating, and golf. More fans than ever attended baseball, basketball, and football games; others watched professional sports on television.

Americans also became avid readers. They devoured books about cooking, religion, do-it-yourself projects, and homemaking. They also read mysteries, romance novels, and fiction by popular writers such as Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Daphne du Maurier, and J. D. Salinger. Book sales doubled, due in part to a thriving paperback market. The circulation of popular magazines like *Reader’s Digest* and *Sports Illustrated* steadily rose, from about 148 million to more than 190 million readers. Sales of comic books also reached a peak in the mid-1950s.
The Automobile Culture

During World War II, the U.S. government had rationed gasoline to curb inflation and conserve supplies. After the war, however, an abundance of both imported and domestically produced petroleum—the raw material from which gasoline is made—led to inexpensive, plentiful fuel for consumers. Easy credit terms and extensive advertising persuaded Americans to buy cars in record numbers. In response, new car sales rose from 6.7 million in 1950 to 7.9 million in 1955. The total number of private cars on the road jumped from 40 million in 1950 to over 60 million in 1960.

AUTOMANIA Suburban living made owning a car a necessity. Most of the new suburbs, built in formerly rural areas, did not offer public transportation, and people had to drive to their jobs in the cities. In addition, many of the schools, stores, synagogues, churches, and doctors’ and dentists’ offices were not within walking distance of suburban homes.

THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM The more cars there were, the more roads were needed. “Automania” spurred local and state governments to construct roads linking the major cities while connecting schools, shopping centers, and workplaces to residential suburbs. The Interstate Highway Act, which President Eisenhower signed in 1956, authorized the building of a nationwide highway network—41,000 miles of expressways. The new roads, in turn, encouraged the development of new suburbs farther from the cities.

Interstate highways also made high-speed, long-haul trucking possible, which contributed to a decline in the commercial use of railroads. Towns along the new highways prospered, while towns along the older, smaller roads experienced hard times. The system of highways also helped unify and homogenize the nation. As John Keats observed in his 1958 book, *The Insolent Chariots*, “Our new roads, with their ancillaries, the motels, filling stations, and restaurants advertising Eats, have made it possible for you to drive from Brooklyn to Los Angeles without a change of diet, scenery, or culture.” With access to cars, affordable gas, and new highways, more and more Americans hit the road. They flocked to mountains, lakes, national parks, historic sites, and amusement parks for family vacations. Disneyland, which opened in California in July 1955, attracted 3 million visitors the next year.

MOBILITY TAKES ITS TOLL As the automobile industry boomed, it stimulated production and provided jobs in other areas, such as drive-in movies, restaurants, and shopping malls. Yet cars also created new problems for both society and the environment. Noise and exhaust polluted the air. Automobile accidents claimed more lives every year. Traffic jams raised people’s stress levels, and heavy use damaged the roads. Because cars made it possible for Americans to live in suburbs, many upper-class and middle-class whites left the crowded cities. Jobs and businesses eventually followed them to the suburbs. Public transportation declined, and poor people in the inner cities were often left without jobs and vital services. As a result, the economic gulf between suburban and urban dwellers and between the middle class and the poor widened.
In the 1950s Americans loved their cars—big, powerful, and flashy. Some car owners spent their leisure time maintaining their automobiles for the daily commute to work or for the annual family vacation on any one of the nation’s 22 new interstate highways.

Cruising Teens
Often teenagers drove around familiar neighborhoods ending up at popular teen meeting places to see and be seen.

Car Ads
Not just for transport, cars were marketed for fashion and fun. Car ads used words like “fresh” and “frisky.”

The Drive-In
Young suburban families piled into their cars to see a movie at one of the country’s 5,000 or so drive-in theaters.

The Drive-Thru
Fast-food restaurants catered to the car culture by offering drive-up service. Waitresses wearing fancy uniforms or roller skates added to the fun of front-seat dining.
Consumerism Unbound

By the mid-1950s, nearly 60 percent of Americans were members of the middle class, about twice as many as before World War II. They wanted, and had the money to buy, increasing numbers of products. **Consumerism**, buying material goods, came to be equated with success.

**NEW PRODUCTS** One new product after another appeared in the marketplace, as various industries responded to consumer demand. *Newsweek* magazine reported in 1956 that “hundreds of brand-new goods have become commonplace overnight.” Consumers purchased electric household appliances—such as washing machines, dryers, blenders, freezers, and dishwashers—in record numbers.

With more and more leisure time to fill, people invested in recreational items. They bought televisions, tape recorders, and the new hi-fi (high-fidelity) record players. They bought casual clothing to suit their suburban lifestyles and power lawn mowers, barbecue grills, swimming pools, and lawn decorations for their suburban homes.

**PLANNED OBsolescence** In addition to creating new products, manufacturers began using a marketing strategy called **planned obsolescence**. In order to encourage consumers to purchase more goods, manufacturers purposely designed products to become obsolete—that is, to wear out or become outdated—in a short period of time. Carmakers brought out new models every year, urging consumers to stay up-to-date. Because of planned obsolescence, Americans came to expect new and better products, and they began to discard items that were sometimes barely used. Some observers commented that American culture was on its way to becoming a “throwaway society.”

**BUY NOW, PAY LATER** Many consumers made their purchases on credit and therefore did not have to pay for them right away. The Diner’s Club issued the first credit card in 1950, and the American Express card was introduced in 1958. In addition, people bought large items on the installment plan and made regular payments over a fixed time. Home mortgages (loans for buying a house) and automobile loans worked the same way. During the decade, the total private debt grew from $73 billion to $179 billion. Instead of saving money, Americans were spending it, confident that prosperity would continue.

**THE ADVERTISING AGE** The advertising industry capitalized on this runaway consumerism by encouraging even more spending. Ads were everywhere—in newspapers and magazines, on radio and television, and on billboards along the
highways—prompting people to buy goods that ranged from cars to cereals to cigarettes. Advertisers spent about $6 billion in 1950; by 1955, the figure was up to $9 billion. Since most Americans had satisfied their basic needs, advertisers tried to convince them to buy things they really didn’t need.

A Personal Voice VANCE PACKARD

“On May 18, 1956, The New York Times printed a remarkable interview with a young man named Gerald Stahl, executive vice-president of the Package Designers Council. He stated: ‘Psychiatrists say that people have so much to choose from that they want help—they will like the package that hypnotizes them into picking it.’ He urged food packers to put more hypnosis into their package designing, so that the housewife will stick out her hand for it rather than one of many rivals.

Mr. Stahl has found that it takes the average woman exactly twenty seconds to cover an aisle in a supermarket if she doesn’t tarry; so a good package design should hypnotize the woman like a flashlight waved in front of her eyes.”

—The Hidden Persuaders

More and more, ad executives and designers turned to psychology to create new strategies for selling. Advertisers appealed to people’s desire for status and “belongingness” and strived to associate their products with those values.

Television became a powerful new advertising tool. The first one-minute TV commercial was produced in 1941 at a cost of $9. In 1960, advertisers spent a total of $1.6 billion for television ads. By 2001, a 30-second commercial during the Superbowl cost an advertiser $2.2 million. Television had become not only the medium for mass transmission of cultural values, but a symbol of popular culture itself.

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

   • conglomerate
   • franchise
   • baby boom
   • Dr. Jonas Salk
   • consumerism
   • planned obsolescence

2. MAIN IDEA

   In a graphic organizer like the one below, list examples of specific goals that characterized the American dream for suburbanites in the 1950s.

   The American Dream

   Values
   Home/Family
   Work

   Examples
   Examples
   Examples

   What do you think the most important goal was?

3. CRITICAL THINKING

   3. ANALYZING EFFECTS

      In what ways do you think current environmental consciousness is related to the “throwaway society” of the 1950s? Support your answer.

      Think About:
      • the purchasing habits of 1950s consumers
      • the effects of planned obsolescence
      • today’s emphasis on recycling

   4. EVALUATING

      Do you think that the life of a typical suburban homemaker during the 1950s was fulfilling or not? Support your answer.

   5. INTERPRETING VISUAL SOURCES

      This ad is typical of how the advertising industry portrayed housewives in the 1950s. What message about women is conveyed by this ad?
The Road to Suburbia

“Come out to Park Forest where small-town friendships grow—and you still live so close to a big city.” Advertisements like this one for a scientifically planned Chicago suburb captured the lure of the suburbs for thousands of growing families in the 1950s. The publicity promised affordable housing, congenial neighbors, fresh air and open spaces, good schools, and easy access to urban jobs and culture. Good transportation was the lifeline of suburban growth a half century ago, and it continues to spur expansion today.

WHERE THE 'BURBS ARE

By 1952, development in Park Forest, Illinois had expanded to include both low-cost rental units and single-family homes. All the streets were curved to slow traffic, present a pleasing sweep of space, and give residents maximum privacy and space for yards.

WHERE THE 'BURBS ARE

Park Forest was planned from its conception in 1945 to be a “complete community for middle-income families with children.” The setting was rural—amidst cornfields and forest preserves about 30 miles south of Chicago. But it was convenient to commuter lines, like the Illinois Central (IC) Railroad, and to major roads, such as Western Avenue.
2 THE COMMUTER CRUSH
Men commuted to work on the IC railroad, while their wives usually stayed home to take care of the children, who thrived in Park Forest’s safe, wholesome family environment.

3 SHOPPING CENTERS
Consumerism became a driving force in the 1950s, and Park Forest kept up with the trend. The central shopping center served the community well until the late 1960s. When Interstate 57 was built, a mammoth mall, built just off the highway, caused the original shopping area to decline. Park Forest is still struggling to revive its central shopping area.

THINKING CRITICALLY
1. Analyzing Patterns How did the availability of transportation influence the creation and ongoing development of Park Forest?
2. Creating a Database Pose a historical question about a suburb near you. Collect statistics about changes in population, living patterns, income, and economic development in that suburb. Use those statistics to create a database that will help answer your questions.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R33.
H. B. Barnum, a 14-year-old saxophone player who later became a music producer, was one of many teenagers in the 1950s drawn to a new style of music that featured hard-driving African-American rhythm and blues. Barnum described the first time he saw the rhythm-and-blues performer Richard Wayne Penniman, better known as Little Richard.

**A Personal Voice H. B. Barnum**

“He’d just burst onto the stage from anywhere, and you wouldn’t be able to hear anything but the roar of the audience. . . . He’d be on the stage, he’d be off the stage, he’d be jumping and yelling, screaming, whipping the audience on. . . . Then when he finally did hit the piano and just went into di-di-di-di-di-di-di, you know, well nobody can do that as fast as Richard. It just took everybody by surprise.”

—quoted in The Rise and Fall of Popular Music

Born poor, Little Richard wore flashy clothes on stage, curled his hair, and shouted the lyrics to his songs. As one writer observed, “In two minutes [he] used as much energy as an all-night party.” The music he and others performed became a prominent part of the American culture in the 1950s, a time when both mainstream America and those outside it embraced new and innovative forms of entertainment.

**New Era of the Mass Media**

Compared with other mass media—means of communication that reach large audiences—television developed with lightning speed. First widely available in 1948, television had reached 9 percent of American homes by 1950 and 55 percent of homes by 1954. In 1960, almost 90 percent—45 million—of American homes had television sets. Clearly, TV was the entertainment and information marvel of the postwar years.
The Rise of Television

Early television sets were small boxes with round screens. Programming was meager, and broadcasts were in black and white. The first regular broadcasts, beginning in 1949, reached only a small part of the East Coast and offered only two hours of programs per week. Post–World War II innovations such as microwave relays, which could transmit television waves over long distances, sent the television industry soaring. By 1956, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)—the government agency that regulates and licenses television, telephone, telegraph, radio, and other communications industries—had allowed 500 new stations to broadcast.

This period of rapid expansion was the “golden age” of television entertainment—and entertainment in the 1950s often meant comedy. Milton Berle attracted huge audiences with The Texaco Star Theater, and Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz’s early situation comedy, I Love Lucy, began its enormously popular run in 1951.

At the same time, veteran radio broadcaster Edward R. Murrow introduced two innovations: on-the-scene news reporting, with his program, See It Now (1951–1958), and interviewing, with Person to Person (1953–1960). Westerns, sports events, and original dramas shown on Playhouse 90 and Studio One offered entertainment variety. Children’s programs, such as The Mickey Mouse Club and The Howdy Doody Show, attracted loyal young fans.

American businesses took advantage of the opportunities offered by the new television industry. Advertising expenditures on TV, which were $170 million in 1950, reached nearly $2 billion in 1960.

Sales of TV Guide, introduced in 1953, quickly outpaced sales of other magazines. In 1954, the food industry introduced a new convenience item, the frozen TV dinner. Complete, ready-to-heat individual meals on disposable aluminum trays, TV dinners made it easy for people to eat without missing their favorite shows.

The Postwar Boom
Lucille Ball had to fight to have her real-life husband, Cuban-born Desi Arnaz, cast in the popular TV series *I Love Lucy.*

James Dean, seen here in the movie *Giant,* had a self-confident indifference that made him the idol of teenagers. He died in a car accident at age 24.

### Stereotypes and Gunslingers

Not everyone was thrilled with television, though. Critics objected to its effects on children and its stereotypical portrayal of women and minorities. Women did, in fact, appear in stereotypical roles, such as the ideal mothers of *Father Knows Best* and *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet.* Male characters outnumbered women characters three to one. African Americans and Latinos rarely appeared in television programs at all.

Television in the 1950s portrayed an idealized white America. For the most part, it omitted references to poverty, diversity, and contemporary conflicts, such as the struggle of the civil rights movement against racial discrimination. Instead, it glorified the historical conflicts of the Western frontier in hit shows such as *Gunsmoke* and *Have Gun Will Travel.* The level of violence in these popular shows led to ongoing concerns about the effect of television on children. In 1961, Federal Communications Commission chairman Newton Minow voiced this concern to the leaders of the television industry.

### Personal Voice: Newton Minow

```
When television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air . . . and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.
```

—speech to the National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C., May 9, 1961

### Radio and Movies

Although TV turned out to be wildly popular, radio and movies survived. But instead of competing with television’s mass market for drama and variety shows, radio stations turned to local programming of news, weather, music, and community issues. The strategy paid off. During the decade, radio advertising rose by 35 percent, and the number of radio stations increased by 50 percent.

From the beginning, television cut into the profitable movie market. In 1948, 18,500 movie theaters had drawn nearly 90 million paid admissions per week. As more people stayed home to watch TV, the number of moviegoers decreased by nearly half. As early as 1951, producer David Selznick worried about Hollywood: “It’ll never come back. It’ll just keep on crumbling until finally the wind blows the last studio prop across the sands.”

But Hollywood did not crumble and blow away. Instead, it capitalized on the advantages that movies still held over television—size, color, and stereophonic sound. Stereophonic sound, which surrounded the viewer, was introduced in 1952. By 1954, more than 50 percent of movies were in color. By contrast, color television, which became available that year, did not become widespread until the
next decade. In 1953, 20th Century Fox introduced CinemaScope, which projected a wide-angle image on a broad screen. The industry also tried novelty features: Smell-O-Vision and Aroma-Rama piped smells into the theaters to coincide with events shown on the screen. Three-dimensional images, viewed through special glasses supplied by the theaters, appeared to leap into the audience.

**A Subculture Emerges**

Although the mass media found a wide audience for their portrayals of mostly white popular culture, dissenting voices rang out throughout the 1950s. The messages of the beat movement in literature, and of rock ‘n’ roll in music, clashed with the tidy suburban view of life and set the stage for the counterculture that would burst forth in the late 1960s.

**THE BEAT MOVEMENT** Centered in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City’s Greenwich Village, the beat movement expressed the social and literary nonconformity of artists, poets, and writers. The word beat originally meant “weary” but came to refer as well to a musical beat.

Followers of this movement, called beats or beatniks, lived nonconformist lives. They tended to shun regular work and sought a higher consciousness through Zen Buddhism, music, and, sometimes, drugs.

Many beat poets and writers believed in imposing as little structure as possible on their artistic works, which often had a free, open form. They read their poetry aloud in coffeehouses and other gathering places. Works that capture the essence of this era include Allen Ginsberg’s long, free-verse poem, *Howl*, published in 1956, and Jack Kerouac’s novel of the movement, *On the Road*, published in 1957. This novel describes a nomadic search across America for authentic experiences, people, and values.

**A Personal Voice** Jack Kerouac

“[T]he only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved . . . the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn like fabulous yellow roman candles exploding like spiders across the stars.”

—*On the Road*

Many mainstream Americans found this lifestyle less enchanting. *Look* magazine proclaimed, “There’s nothing really new about the beat philosophy. It consists merely of the average American’s value scale—turned inside out. The goals of the Beat are not watching TV, not wearing gray flannel, not owning a home in the suburbs, and especially—not working.” Nonetheless, the beatnik attitudes, way of life, and literature attracted the attention of the media and fired the imaginations of many college students.

**African Americans and Rock ‘n’ Roll**

While beats expressed themselves in unstructured literature, musicians in the 1950s added electronic instruments to traditional blues music, creating rhythm and blues. In 1951, a Cleveland, Ohio, radio disc jockey named Alan Freed was among the first to play the music. This audience was mostly white but the music usually was produced by African-American musicians. Freed’s listeners responded enthusiastically, and Freed began promoting the new music that grew out of rhythm and blues and country and pop. He called the music rock ‘n’ roll, a name that has come to mean music that’s both black and white—music that is American.
**ROCK ‘N’ ROLL** In the early and mid-1950s, Richard Penniman, Chuck Berry, Bill Haley and His Comets, and especially Elvis Presley brought rock ‘n’ roll to a frantic pitch of popularity among the newly affluent teens who bought their records. The music’s heavy rhythm, simple melodies, and lyrics—featuring love, cars, and the problems of being young—captivated teenagers across the country.

Elvis Presley, the unofficial “King of Rock ‘n’ Roll,” first developed his musical style by singing in church and listening to gospel, country, and blues music on the radio in Memphis, Tennessee. When he was a young boy, his mother gave him a guitar, and years later he paid four dollars of his own money to record two songs in 1953. Sam Phillips, a rhythm-and-blues producer, discovered Presley and produced his first records. In 1955, Phillips sold Presley’s contract to RCA for $35,000.

Presley’s live appearances were immensely popular, and 45 of his records sold over a million copies, including “Heartbreak Hotel,” “Hound Dog,” “All Shook Up,” “Don’t Be Cruel,” and “Burning Love.” Although *Look* magazine dismissed him as “a wild troubadour who wails rock ‘n’ roll tunes, flails erratically at a guitar, and wiggles like a peep-show dancer,” Presley’s rebellious style captivated young audiences. Girls screamed and fainted when he performed, and boys tried to imitate him.

Not surprisingly, many adults condemned rock ‘n’ roll. They believed that the new music would lead to teenage delinquency and immorality. In a few cities, rock ‘n’ roll concerts were banned. But despite this controversy, television and radio exposure helped bring rock ‘n’ roll into the mainstream, and it became more acceptable by the end of the decade. Record sales, which were 189 million in 1950, grew with the popularity of rock ‘n’ roll, reaching 600 million in 1960.

**History Through Music**

**“HOUND DOG”—A ROCK ‘N’ ROLL CROSSOVER**

Few examples highlight the influence African Americans had on rock ‘n’ roll—and the lack of credit and compensation they received for their efforts—more than the story of Willie Mae “Big Mama” Thornton.

In 1953, she recorded and released the song “Hound Dog” to little fanfare. She received a mere $500 in royalties. Only three years later, Elvis Presley recorded a version of the tune, which sold millions of records. Despite her contributions, Thornton reaped few rewards and struggled her entire career to make ends meet.

**SKILLBUILDER**

**Developing Historical Perspective**

1. Why might black musicians have been commercially less successful than white musicians in the 1950s? Explain.
2. What concerns of the current generation are reflected in today’s popular music?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R11.
THE RACIAL GAP  African-American music had inspired the birth of rock ‘n’ roll, and many of the genre’s greatest performers were—like Berry and Penniman—African Americans. In other musical genres, singers Nat “King” Cole and Lena Horne, singer and actor Harry Belafonte, and many others paved the way for minority representation in the entertainment fields. Musicians like Miles Davis, Sonny Rollins, Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, and Thelonius Monk played a style of music characterized by the use of improvisation, called jazz. These artists entertained audiences of all races.

But throughout the 1950s, African-American shows were mostly broadcast on separate stations. By 1954, there were 250 radio stations nationwide aimed specifically at African-American listeners. African-American stations were part of radio’s attempt to counter the mass popularity of television by targeting specific audiences. These stations also served advertisers who wanted to reach a large African-American audience. But it was the black listeners—who had fewer television sets than whites and did not find themselves reflected in mainstream programming—who appreciated the stations most. Thulani Davis, a poet, journalist, and playwright, expressed the feelings of one listener about African-American radio (or “race radio” as the character called it) in her novel 1959.

A PERSONAL VOICE  THULANI DAVIS

“Billie Holiday died and I turned twelve on the same hot July day. The saddest singing in the world was coming out of the radio, race radio that is, the radio of the race. The white stations were on the usual relentless rounds of Pat Boone, Teresa Brewer, and anybody else who couldn’t sing but liked to cover songs that were once colored. . . . White radio was at least honest—they knew anybody in the South could tell Negro voices from white ones, and so they didn’t play our stuff.”

—1959

At the end of the 1950s, African Americans were still largely segregated from the dominant culture. This ongoing segregation—and the racial tensions it fed—would become a powerful force for change in the turbulent 1960s.

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<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Art Form</th>
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Why do you think they appealed to the young people of the 1950s?

MAIN IDEA

2. SUMMARIZING
Create a “Who’s Who” chart of popular culture idols of the 1950s. Identify the art form and major achievements associated with each person.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING
Do you agree with Newton Minow’s statement, on page 654, that TV was “a vast wasteland”? Support your answer with details from the text.

4. ANALYZING EFFECTS
How did radio, TV, and the movies contribute to the success of rock ‘n’ roll?

5. COMPARING AND CONTRASTING
In what ways were the rock ‘n’ roll musicians and the beat poets of the 1950s similar and different? Support your answer with details from the text. Think About:

- the values the musicians and poets believed in
- people’s reactions to the musicians, poets, and writers

The Postwar Boom 657
The Emergence of the Teenager

Life after World War II brought changes in the family. For the first time, the teenage years were recognized as an important and unique developmental stage between childhood and adulthood. The booming postwar economy made it possible for teenagers to stay in school instead of working to help support their families, and allowed their parents to give them generous allowances. American business, particularly the music and movie industries, rushed to court this new consumer group.

▲ TEENS AS CONSUMERS

Comic books, pimple creams, and soft drinks were just a few of the products aimed at teenagers with money to spend.
**ROCKING TO A NEW BEAT**

Teenagers seeking a collective identity found it in rock ‘n’ roll, a fresh form of music that delighted teenagers and enraged their parents. Dick Clark’s *American Bandstand* (shown at left) showcased young performers playing music ranging from doo-wop (shown above) to hard-driving rhythm and blues. The songs they sang underscored themes of alienation and heartbreak.

**TEENAGE TIDBITS**

- A *Life* magazine survey showed that, during the 1950s, teens spent $20 million on lipstick alone.
- In 1956, a total of 42,000 drive-in movie theaters—heavily frequented by teenagers—took in one-quarter of the year’s total box-office receipts.
- College enrollments more than doubled between 1946 and 1960.
- A weekly credit payment for a record player was $1.

**THE TEEN MOVIE SCENE**

James Baldwin was born in New York City, the eldest of nine children, and grew up in the poverty of the Harlem ghetto. As a novelist, essayist, and playwright, he eloquently portrayed the struggles of African Americans against racial injustice and discrimination. He wrote a letter to his young nephew to mark the 100th anniversary of emancipation, although, in his words, “the country is celebrating one hundred years of freedom one hundred years too soon.”

**A Personal Voice**  JAMES BALDWIN

“[T]hese innocent and well-meaning people, your countrymen, have caused you to be born under conditions not very far removed from those described for us by Charles Dickens in the London of more than a hundred years ago. . . . This innocent country set you down in a ghetto in which, in fact, it intended that you should perish. . . . You were born where you were born and faced the future that you faced because you were black and for no other reason.”

—The Fire Next Time

For many Americans, the 1950s were a time of unprecedented prosperity. But not everyone experienced this financial well-being. In the “other” America, about 40 million people lived in poverty, untouched by the economic boom.

**The Urban Poor**

Despite the portrait painted by popular culture, life in postwar America did not live up to the “American dream.” In 1962, nearly one out of every four Americans was living below the poverty level. Many of these poor were elderly people, single women and their children, or members of minority groups, including African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans.

**WHITE FLIGHT** In the 1950s, millions of middle-class white Americans left the cities for the suburbs, taking with them precious economic resources and isolating themselves from other races and classes. At the same time, the rural poor migrated to the inner cities. Between the end of World War II and 1960, nearly 5 million African Americans moved from the rural South to urban areas.
The urban crisis prompted by the “white flight” had a direct impact on poor whites and nonwhites. The cities lost not only people and businesses but also the property they owned and income taxes they had paid. City governments could no longer afford to properly maintain or improve schools, public transportation, and police and fire departments—and the urban poor suffered.

**THE INNER CITIES** While poverty grew rapidly in the decaying inner cities, many suburban Americans remained unaware of it. Some even refused to believe that poverty could exist in the richest, most powerful nation on earth. Each year, the federal government calculates the minimum amount of income needed to survive—the poverty line. In 1959, the poverty line for a family of four was $2,973. In 2000, it was $17,601.

After living among the nation’s poor across America, Michael Harrington published a shocking account that starkly illuminated the issue of poverty. In *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962), he not only confirmed that widespread poverty existed but also exposed its brutal reality.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** Michael Harrington

“The poor get sick more than anyone else in the society. . . . When they become sick, they are sick longer than any other group in the society. Because they are sick more often and longer than anyone else, they lose wages and work, and find it difficult to hold a steady job. And because of this, they cannot pay for good housing, for a nutritious diet, for doctors.”

—*The Other America*

**URBAN RENEWAL** Most African Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos in the cities had to live in dirty, crowded slums. One proposed solution to the housing problem in inner cities was **urban renewal**. The National Housing Act of 1949 was passed to provide “a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.” This act called for tearing down rundown neighborhoods and constructing low-income housing. Later, the nation’s leaders would create a new cabinet position, Housing and Urban Development (HUD), to aid in improving conditions in the inner city.

Although dilapidated areas were razed, parking lots, shopping centers, highways, parks, and factories were constructed on some of the cleared land, and there was seldom enough new housing built to accommodate all the displaced people. For example, *a barrio* in Los Angeles was torn down to make way for Dodger Stadium, and poor people who were displaced from their homes simply moved from one ghetto to another. Some critics of urban renewal claimed that it had merely become urban removal.

**SKILLBUILDER** **Interpreting Graphs**

1. What trend does the graph show from 1940–1980?
2. What factors affecting people’s lives might contribute to the income gap?

---

*Figures are for year-round, full-time employment.
Source: *The First Measured Century*, Theodore Caplow, 2001*
Poverty Leads to Activism

Despite ongoing poverty, during the 1950s, African Americans began to make significant strides toward the reduction of racial discrimination and segregation. Inspired by the African-American civil rights movement, other minorities also began to develop a deeper political awareness and a voice. Mexican-American activism gathered steam after veterans returned from World War II, and a major change in government policy under Eisenhower’s administration fueled Native American protest.

MEXICANS SEEK EMPLOYMENT

Many Mexicans had become U.S. citizens during the 19th century, when the United States had annexed the Southwest after the War with Mexico. Large numbers of Mexicans had also crossed the border to work in the United States during and after World War I.

When the United States entered World War II, the shortage of agricultural laborers spurred the federal government to initiate, in 1942, a program in which Mexican braceros (brá-sár’ös), or hired hands, were allowed into the United States to harvest crops. Hundreds of thousands of braceros entered the United States on a short-term basis between 1942 and 1947. When their employment was ended, the braceros were expected to return to Mexico. However, many remained in the United States illegally. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans entered the country illegally to escape poor economic conditions in Mexico.

THE LONGORIA INCIDENT

One of the more notorious instances of prejudice against Mexican Americans involved the burial of Felix Longoria. Longoria was a Mexican-American World War II hero who had been killed in the Philippines. The only undertaker in his hometown in Texas refused to provide Longoria’s family with funeral services.

In the wake of the Longoria incident, outraged Mexican Americans stepped up their efforts to stamp out discrimination. In 1948, Mexican-American veterans organized the G.I. Forum. Meanwhile, activist Ignacio Lopez founded the Unity League of California to register Mexican-American voters and to promote candidates who would represent their interests.

NATIVE AMERICANS CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE

Native Americans also continued to fight for their rights and identity. From the passage of the Dawes Act, in 1887, until 1934, the policy of the federal government toward Native Americans had been one of “Americanization” and assimilation. In 1924, the Snyder Act granted citizenship to all Native Americans, but they remained second-class citizens.

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act moved official policy away from assimilation and toward Native American autonomy. Its passage signaled a change in federal policy. In addition, because the government was reeling from
During World War II, over 65,000 Native Americans left their reservations for military service and war work. As a result, they became very aware of discrimination. When the war ended, Native Americans stopped receiving family allotments and wages. Outsiders also grabbed control of tribal lands, primarily to exploit their deposits of minerals, oil, and timber.

**THE TERMINATION POLICY** In 1953, the federal government announced that it would give up its responsibility for Native American tribes. This new approach, known as the termination policy, eliminated federal economic support, discontinued the reservation system, and distributed tribal lands among individual Native Americans. In response to the termination policy, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began a voluntary relocation program to help Native Americans resettle in cities.

The termination policy was a dismal failure, however. Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs helped relocate 35,000 Native Americans to urban areas during the 1950s, they were often unable to find jobs in their new locations because of poor training and racial prejudice. They were also left without access to medical care when federal programs were abolished. In 1963, the termination policy was abandoned.
TERMS & NAMES
For each item below, write a sentence explaining its historical significance in the 1950s.

1. suburb 6. mass media
2. Dixiecrat 7. beat movement
3. Fair Deal 8. rock 'n' roll
4. conglomerate 9. urban renewal
5. baby boom 10. bracero

MAIN IDEAS
Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Postwar America (pages 634–640)
1. How did the GI Bill of Rights help World War II veterans?
2. What domestic and foreign issues concerned voters during the 1952 presidential election?

The American Dream in the Fifties (pages 641–649)
3. What shift in employment trends had occurred by the mid-1950s?
4. How did life in the suburbs provide the model for the American dream?

Popular Culture (pages 652–657)
5. What strategies did radio stations use to counteract the mass popularity of television?

6. How did African-American performers influence American popular culture in the 1950s?

The Other America (pages 660–663)
7. How did many major cities change in the 1950s?
8. What obstacles to improving their lives did Native Americans face in the 1950s?

CRITICAL THINKING
1. USING YOUR NOTES In a web like the one below, show the postwar technological advances you consider most influential.

2. HYPOTHESIZING During America’s first two centuries, the national character was marked by individualism. Why do you think conformity became the norm in the 1950s?

3. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES Do you agree or disagree with the following quotation from Life magazine on American culture in 1954: “Never before so much for so few”? Support your answer with evidence.

VISUAL SUMMARY
The Postwar Boom

SUBURBAN GROWTH
- Baby boom causes population growth.
- Demand for goods exceeds supply.
- Highways and affordable homes make suburban living desirable.

POLITICS
- Eisenhower’s presidency brings prosperity and political conservatism.
- Equal rights remains a problem.
- The Cold War creates fear and anxiety.

LIFE IN POSTWAR AMERICA 1945–1960
- Rock 'n' roll and jazz pave the way for minority representation.
- The beat movement rejects conformity.
- Recreation and consumerism flourish.
- Television portrays an idealized white America.

UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITIES
- Urban areas fall into decay.
- Minorities experience prejudice and discrimination.
- Minorities establish organizations to improve civil rights.

POPULAR CULTURE
- Breaking news
Geographic Distribution of U.S. Population, 1930–1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Central Cities</th>
<th>Suburbs</th>
<th>Rural Areas and Small Towns</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Decennial Censuses, 1930–1970

1. Which of the following statements supports the information in the chart?
   A. From 1940–1960, more people lived in cities than in rural areas.
   B. In 1960, twice as many people lived in cities as in suburbs.
   C. By 1960, suburbs had surpassed cities in total population.
   D. From 1930–1970, the percentage of U.S. population in rural areas decreased every decade.

2. From 1940–1970 the distribution doubled —
   F. in cities and suburbs.
   G. only in suburbs.
   H. only in cities.
   J. only in rural areas.

3. This popular song of the era describes —
   A. planned obsolescence.
   B. urban renewal.
   C. suburban communities.
   D. beatnik lifestyle.

“Little Boxes”

Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes made of ticky-tacky,
Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes all the same.
There’s a pink one and a green one
And a blue one and a yellow one,
And they’re all made out of ticky-tacky
And they all look just the same.

—Malvina Reynolds

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Think about the issues you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Suppose you are a beat poet and have been asked to write an original poem entitled A Postwar American Dream. Use information from Chapter 19 and your knowledge of American history to support your poem. Remember to include a wide range of lifestyles in your poem.

FOCUS ON WRITING

In 1956, President Eisenhower signed the Interstate Highway Act that led to the construction of a nationwide highway network. Write a persuasive essay supporting the law. In the first part of your essay, clearly outline the benefits created by the law. In the second part of your essay, address the concerns of those who oppose the law.

MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY

Visit the links for Chapter Assessment to plan and prepare a Web page about one aspect of popular culture—music, television, fashion, or the movies—from the 1950s. Include particular events and personalities of that period.