U.S. History Readers

From Hot War to Cold

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From Hot War to Cold

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From Hot War to Cold

This unit covers a period in United States' foreign policy beginning with its failure to involve itself in the Munich Conference and ending with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The intervening lesson-chapters cover the U.S. decision to provide Great Britain with Lend-Lease assistance, Pearl Harbor and Japanese Relocation, the war in Africa and Europe, the Pacific campaign and the decision to drop the bomb, the end of wartime collaboration with the Soviet Union and possible responses to Soviet provocations, the Berlin Blockade and the success of containment, the decision to defend South Korea and to fire General MacArthur, and how President Kennedy handled the Cuban Missile Crisis.

This series of chapters is not to be confused with a traditional text. Instead of striving for complete coverage of World War II and the Cold War, it highlights the issues that led Americans decide whether to participate and the risks they needed to take to achieve victory and avoid a wider war. The unit highlights points of conflict and encourages students to consider various alternatives to the decisions made.

One theme underlies coverage of these important events: When should the U.S. fight and how? The three choices to consider are: (1) follow Henry Wallace's advice to pursue a neo-isolationist position, (2) apply George Kennan's adroit counsel to apply counter-pressure to Soviet expansion, or (3) pursue John Foster Dulles's advocacy for nuclear brinksmanship. These stances provide a basis for considering arguments for or against providing Lend-Lease aid to England, accepting or rejecting General MacArthur's advice to use nuclear weapons in Korea, and deciding among alternative strategies to end the Cuban Missile Crisis. In most chapters, students are offered a similar range of policy options to help them decide the best course of action for the U.S. They are told what actually happened only after they have had the opportunity to discuss the various possibilities.

Student learning is enhanced by the use of graphic organizers, vocabulary lists, I (Inquiry)-charts, and questions that require critical thinking. Students are told to come to class every day with written homework assignments that prepare them for participating in informed discussions. A "For Further Consideration" section in each chapter requires advanced students to do more reading and writing and to use their extra knowledge to enrich class discussion.

Chapter 1. Munich: Anatomy of a Crisis
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter recounts the events that led up to the infamous 1938 Four Power Conference at Munich. Students learn that Czechoslovakia was one of the nations carved out of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. They find out that Czechoslovakia included the Sudetenland, home to three million ethnic Germans, in order to give it a defensible border with Germany. England and France pledged to defend Czechoslovakia against an unprovoked attack from Germany.

The narrative also describes Hitler's rise to power, his anti-Semitism, and his determination to restore Germany to its pre–World War I glory. The chapter lists Hitler's gross violations of the Versailles agreement and reports his threat that Czechoslovakia cede the Sudetenland to the Third Reich or he would take it by force of arms. Students learn how this posed a conundrum for the British government and quotes two short speeches, one advising the government to "appease" Germany and the other to "stand fast" against unreasonable German demands. Students are left to decide which of these two positions Neville Chamberlain should have taken at Munich.

The "For Further Consideration" section recounts the agreement reached at Munich, Chamberlain's claim that it meant peace with honor, Germany's subsequent dismantling of Czechoslovakia, its cynical "non-aggression" pact with the USSR, and the subsequent attack on Poland. Students are left to conclude that the Munich Agreement brought neither peace to Europe nor honor to those who signed it.

Objectives:

Students will:

- understand the multiple dimensions of the Munich crisis
- learn that England and France had the opportunity to stand up to Hitler in 1938, but didn't
- understand why England and France did not stand up to Hitler, and that appeasing Germany did not prevent World War II

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Start with a small diversionary activity. Ask students whether they think it is better to fight for a principle in a losing cause than withdraw and live to fight another day. Point out that this was the question Neville Chamberlain faced at the Munich

Conference. Draw the outline of a map of Czechoslovakia on the board (similar to the one in the student text) and demonstrate that Czechoslovakia, with 30 divisions, was a bit like a man with his head in the mouth of Germany, with 40 combat-ready divisions and another 120 in reserve. Show that France stood to the west of Germany with 100 divisions and that England was even further away with only two divisions ready to be deployed. Having set the stage, ask students to share their answers to the first three questions in the Student Exercise section. Begin by asking students what Chamberlain could have known about Hitler, continue by having them evaluate the Karlsbad Program, and complete this inquiry by asking them to give arguments for or against appeasing Germany. Ask students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to share their knowledge of how Hitler used the Munich Agreement to prepare for a successful invasion of Poland. Conclude by asking all students to use this information to reappraise their positions on whether the Sudetenland should have been conceded to Germany.

Chapter 1. Munich: Anatomy of a Crisis
I-Chart

	Did Germany have a legitimate claim to the Sudetenland?	What were the arguments for and against "standing fast" at Munich?	What happened as a result of the decision made by Chamberlain?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 1, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 1, Part II			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter1—Munich: Anatomy of a Crisis

upped the ante	***Bacillus***	**persecution**
unification	**incredible**	**inevitable**
approximately	**Maginot line**	

Chapter1—Munich: Anatomy of a Crisis

Can't be prevented; bound to happen

The act of treating people with great cruelty, often because of their race or religion

Defensive line built by France after World War I to prevent another successful attack by Germany

Hard to believe

A form of deadly bacteria

Not exactly, but very close

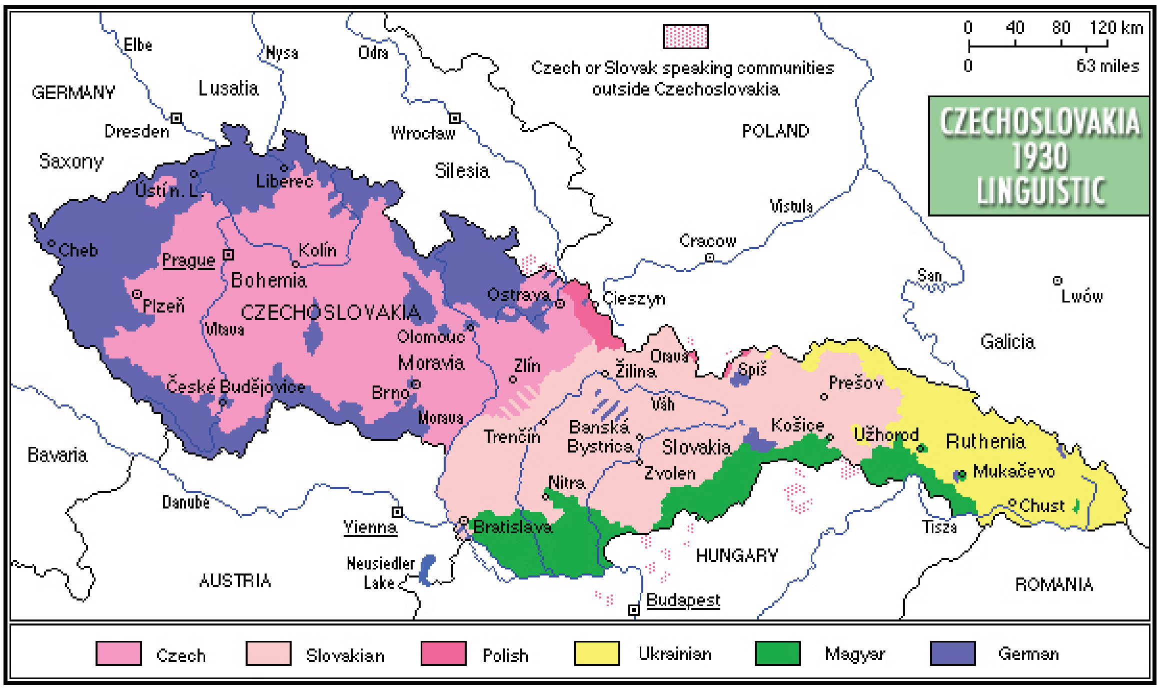
The process of bringing different parts together to form a whole

A poker term that means to raise the stakes

Chapter 1
Munich: Anatomy of a Crisis

Introduction

September 28, 1938, “Black Wednesday,” dawned on a frightened Europe. Since the spring, Adolf Hitler had spoken often about the Sudetenland, the western part of Czechoslovakia. Many of the three million German-speaking people who lived there had complained that the Czechoslovakian government was mistreating them. Cooperating closely with Nazis who lived in the Sudetenland, Hitler at first simply demanded that the Czechs allow the German speakers within their borders to govern themselves. Then he upped the ante. If the Czechs did not hand the Sudetenland to him by October 1, 1938, he would order his well-armed and highly trained soldiers to attack Czechoslovakia, destroy its army, and seize the Sudetenland.



The Sudetenland is the mountainous region of Czechoslovakia surrounded by Germany and consists of most of the areas shown in dark blue on this map. Most of the people living there were of German ancestry and spoke German, as the map shows.

Germany’s threat quickly echoed through Europe. Many countries wondered how to respond to Hitler’s latest demand. France had signed a treaty to defend the Czechs, and Britain had a treaty with France; the USSR had promised to defend Czechoslovakia against a German attack, and Britain, in particular, found itself in a difficult position. To back the French and their Czech allies would almost guarantee the outbreak of a war in Europe that England was not prepared to fight. Turning the Sudetenland over to Germany would mean abandoning an ally and giving a bloodless victory to a ruthless dictator. In an effort to avoid these frightening possibilities, a group of European leaders met in Munich, Germany.

It will be your assignment to decide whether England should have come to Czechoslovakia's aid or advised the Czech government to give in to Hitler's demand.

Background to the Crisis

The clash between Germany and Czechoslovakia over Sudetenland had its origins in the Versailles Treaty of 1919. For 300 years, both the Czech and Slovak peoples had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During World War I, many Czechs and Slovaks fought against Austria-Hungary. When the Allies at Versailles broke up the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Czech leader Eduard Benes was there to make sure that the Czech and Slovak peoples received their own country.


Eduard Benes

Benes wanted the new state of Czechoslovakia to be as independent as possible. He worked to provide Czechoslovakia with access to the Danube River trade route, and he insisted that stretches of Hungary be added to his new country in the south. He helped fulfill the Czechoslovakian industry's fuel demands by claiming Polish coal mines to the north, and because Czechoslovakia needed a defensible western frontier, Benes arranged for the annexation of the German-speaking Sudeten Mountain region.

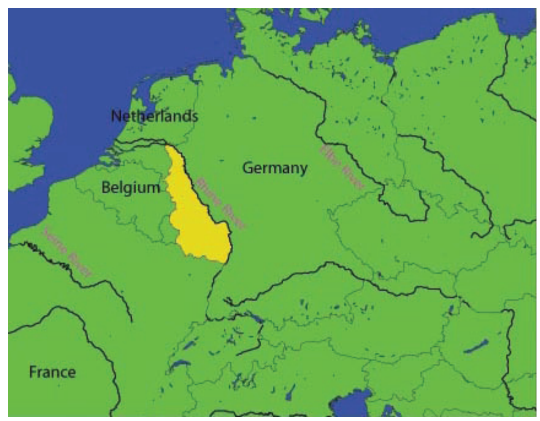
The three million Sudetenlanders, who made up 15 percent of the Czechoslovakia's population, had expressed unhappiness with their situation since the 1920s. They did not like their minority status, and they felt that the government favored the Czechs and the Slovaks. At first their complaints were ineffective, but with the rise of Adolf Hitler in 1933 the Sudeten Germany Party (SDP) began to use money supplied by Germany to unite the majority of German speakers in the region. A former gym teacher, Konrad Henlein, led the SDP in its campaign against the Czech government. His Karlsbad Program demanded self-government for German speakers, Czechoslovakia's disavowal of its defense treaties, and Czech cooperation with Germany. Claiming that the SDP was a threat to the existence of Czechoslovakia, President Benes refused to negotiate with Henlein and tried to suppress SDP propaganda and activities.

Hitler Intervenes

> Don't be misled into thinking you can fight a disease without killing the carrier, without destroying the bacillus. Don't think you can fight racial tuberculosis without taking care to rid the nation of the carrier of that racial tuberculosis. This Jewish contamination will not subside, this poisoning of the nation will not end, until the carrier himself, the Jew, has been banished from our midst.
>
> —Adolf Hitler, 1920

Adolf Hitler

In his book, *Mein Kampf,* Adolf Hitler blamed Germany's Jewish population for Germany's defeat in World War I, and he pledged to rid Germany of all Jews. He also proclaimed his hatred of the Versailles Treaty and his desire to unite all Germans under his leadership. Many Europeans paid little attention to Hitler's rage against the Jews but agreed that Germany had been unfairly treated at Versailles. They sympathized with Hitler's complaints that German property had been parceled off to other countries, but they paid little attention to his intent to persecute Jews once he came into power. After having been elected Chancellor by the Reichstag (Germany's parliament) and arresting those who voted against him, Hitler started on an ambitious program to rearm Germany and to overturn the Versailles Treaty. In 1936, his troops illegally marched into the Rhineland, (see map) which had been demilitarized at Versailles and temporarily given to France. In March 1938, he sent the German army into Austria to force an election on German-Austrian unification. This election, controlled by Nazi officials, led to the *Anschluss* (unification) of Austria and Germany. Then, in May 1938, Hitler began to demand that Czechoslovakia accept the SDP's Karlsbad Program or face German intervention. In September, Hitler told Premier Benes that he no longer trusted the Czechoslovakian government's intentions. Hitler then ordered Benes to turn the Sudetenland over to Germany or suffer the consequences.



The Rhineland appears in yellow

Facing a German deadline of October 1st, 1938, Benes agreed to grant limited self-rule to the Sudetenland. His government, however, refused to submit to Germany's demand that Czechoslovakia allow Germany to occupy the Sudetenland. Benes pointed out that Hitler's persecution of German Jews gave him little moral right to criticize Czech policy toward the minority Sudetenlanders.

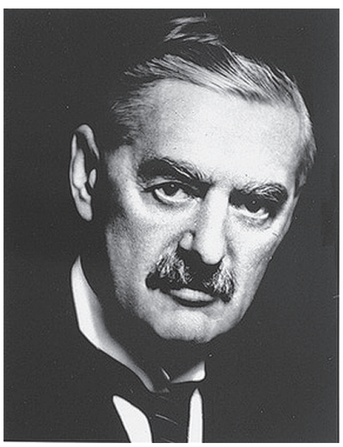
Fearful of German expansion, the USSR promised the Czechs its support. Because Poland and Romania refused to permit the Red Army to cross their territory, however, support could come only from the Soviet air force. France had to face the possibility of going to war with Germany with no hope of directly aiding its Czech ally 600 miles away.

The French would certainly not consider war with Germany without the backing of their British allies. Yet this meant that Britain might get dragged into a war over Czechoslovakia, a country with which it had neither political nor trade ties.

Nevertheless, as the German army got ready to attack on September 28th, the British military was on alert, civilians dug air raid shelters, and children were evacuated from London. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain expressed the nation's fears in a radio address that began: "how horrible, how fantastic, how incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing."

Preparations for Munich

In the midst of this crisis, Benito Mussolini, the prime minister of Italy, proposed a last-minute conference in Munich. Mussolini asked that Hitler meet with him, France's Prime Minister Édouard Daladier, and Britain's Neville Chamberlain on September 29th in order to try to solve the crisis. Prime Minister Joseph Stalin of the USSR and Czech President Benes were not asked to attend. At the conference, Britain's position was of key importance. France's backing of Czechoslovakia in a war against Germany depended on maintaining the long-standing alliance between France and England. The instructions of the British delegation, therefore, would, in effect, determine the results of the conference.



Neville Chamberlain

The British considered two contrasting points of view. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who believed he could make a deal with Hitler, represented the first view. He would advise the delegation to avoid war by persuading the Czechs to give the Sudetenland to Germany. Chamberlain argued that President Benes had already agreed to most of the SDP's and Germany's terms. Furthermore, Hitler promised that the Sudetenland would be his "last territorial demand in Europe." Sacrificing Czechoslovakia, it seemed, would prevent a major European war.

Winston Churchill, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, headed the "stand-fast" faction. He wanted the delegation to offer full backing to France and urged Czechoslovakia to stand up to Germany. He believed that Hitler's actions over the past five years indicated that war with Germany was inevitable. By backing Czechoslovakia now, Churchill argued, Britain had the advantage of fighting for a good cause with willing allies.

Appeasement vs. Standing Fast

In deciding which set of instructions to give the Munich delegation, British leaders had to consider the strategic situation in Europe. In terms of raw strength, opposing sides appeared about equal. Czechoslovakia had an army of 30 divisions (one division had approximately 10,000 soldiers), an advanced weapons industry in the Sudetenland, and a 1500-plane air force. France could field 100 divisions behind its fortified border (the Maginot Line) with Germany. Because of geography, however, none of these troops could be used to defend the Czechs. Britain could immediately promise France no more than 150 planes, two non-motorized divisions, and the support of the Royal Navy. Against this force, Germany could field a standing army of 40 divisions, the most modern and well equipped in Europe, and had three times that number on call. Because of the distrust of Poland and Romania, which would not permit Soviet troops to cross their territories, the best the USSR could offer Benes was the use of 1000 Soviet planes. Nevertheless, the German Army General Staff estimated that it would take three months to smash the fortifications defending Czechoslovakia.

British, French, and German statesmen all believed that the USSR might try to cause a war in western Europe that would lead to widespread communist revolution. French and British leaders feared that once Soviet armies entered central Europe, they would never leave. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was eager to make a defensive alliance to limit German expansionism. If the allies allowed Hitler to take Czechoslovakia, there was no certainty that Stalin would not make his own best deal with Hitler, thus making a German attack on France likely.

For Appeasement

However much we may sympathize with a small nation confronted by a big and powerful neighbor, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in a war simply on her account. If we have to fight, it must be on a larger issue than that.

—Prime Minister Chamberlain

For Standing Fast

There is a price at which peace of any kind can generally be preserved for the most militant aggressor will hardly resort to actual war, if he can secure his most outrageous aims by mere threat...To buy off the bully by giving in to his demands leaves might still triumphant over right...To some of us peace so secured seems more immoral than war.

—G.M. Gathorne-Hardy

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place the number of military divisions each of the countries listed below had available in case of war over the Sudetenland and their reasons for fighting:

Country	# of divisions	Reasons for fighting
Germany		
Czechoslovakia		
France		
England		
USSR		

B. Student Exercises

1. Based upon what you read in this chapter, what could Chamberlain and Daladier have known about Hitler before they met with him in Munich?

2. State three demands made by the SDP's Karlsbad program and why you do or do not think they were reasonable.

3. What were the arguments for and the arguments against England agreeing to help Czechoslovakia?

4. (Extra credit) What do you think England should have done and why?

For Further Consideration: Epilogue

Read the following and come to class prepared to share what you learned and to comment on its significance:

Epilogue: Aftermath of Appeasement

The advocates of appeasement decided British policy at the Four-Power Conference in Munich. The French and British delegations did indeed agree to the annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany. In exchange for this gift, Hitler promised that he had made his last territorial demand in Europe. He also signed a treaty with Chamberlain in which he pledged to remove all possible sources of differences with England and keep the peace in Europe. On his return to Britain, Chamberlain was met at the airport by cheering crowds. Waving this agreement, he claimed to have brought back from Germany an honorable pact that would insure “peace in our time.”

The stand-fast faction in Britain was bitterly disappointed. “There is no merit in putting off a war for a year,” wrote Churchill, “if, when it comes, it is a far worse war or one much harder to win.” He contended that in appeasing Hitler, Britain had allowed Germany to rearm, gain air superiority, build the Siegfried line in the Rhineland, unify with Austria, and now take over the strategic Sudetenland. By 1938 the balance of power, Churchill pointed out, had been allowed to tip in Germany’s favor.

A Czech woman weeps as German troops march into the Sudetenland

The Czechs were given no choice in the matter. They were told to pull their forces out of the Sudetenland, which German troops then promptly occupied. Overnight, Czechoslovakia lost 15 percent of its land area, 20 percent of its population, and 75 percent of its industry. No sooner had Hitler’s troops taken control of the Sudeten fortifications than Hungary and Poland grabbed other choice pieces of Czechoslovakia that they desired. Within months, Czechoslovakia had been reduced to a chaotic and defenseless state, one-half its original size. Motivated by a desire to reverse the deteriorating conditions in Czechoslovakia—or so he claimed—Hitler extended German control over the rest of the country in March 1939. Thus, six months after the Munich Four-Power Conference deprived it of its defensible borders, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist.

Soon afterward, Hitler began to complain about the treatment of ethnic Germans living in western Poland. Humiliated by Hitler’s untrustworthy behavior, Chamberlain quickly signed an unconditional defense treaty with Poland. However, on August

23rd, 1939, Hitler and Stalin signed a non-aggression pact, secretly planning to divide Poland between them and allowing the Soviets to grab Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia as well as Finland. The stage had been set for the beginning of World War II, which began with Germany's invasion of Poland eight days later.

Be ready to tell your classmates what happened after the Munich Conference and write a strong paragraph explaining whether you think that England and France giving in to Hitler at the conference was totally inexcusable or understandable under the circumstances. Be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 2. Isolationists, Internationalist, and Lend-Lease
Teacher Page

Overview:

Most of this chapter provides a straightforward narrative of the events following the Munich Crisis and ending with Great Britain's request for U.S. financial support two years later. The events covered in this chapter include Hitler's Non-Aggression Pact with Stalin and the subsequent German invasion of Poland, *blitzkrieg* against France, the evacuation at Dunkirk, and the Battle of Britain. The final part of the chapter reveals how Great Britain declared itself broke and requested American assistance; Roosevelt proposed Lend-Lease, and a serious debate commenced between American internationalists and isolationists. Students are asked to complete a graphic organizer requiring them to explain events covered in the chapter and to place them in their correct chronological order. Students assigned the "For Further Consideration" section should read excerpts from speeches by internationalists and isolationists.

Objectives

Students will:

- learn the sequence of events between the Munich Conference and the Battle of Britain
- understand the circumstances that underlay U.S. reluctance to come to Great Britain's aid
- learn the arguments both for and against assisting England by providing material help in its war against Germany

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s). If you decide to spend two days on this chapter, assign only up to the "For Further Consideration" section, and ask students to volunteer to take sides in preparing to debate as isolationists or internationalists.

In class: Start class by reviewing students' answers to the graphic organizer question and make sure that all learn the correct chronology and know something about each event. Follow up by explaining Roosevelt's plan for Lend-Lease aid and show the reason for the difference between Lend-Lease and the earlier cash-and-carry neutrality legislation. Next, ask students to provide both the isolationists' arguments against providing more aid to Great Britain and the internationalists' arguments on the other side. You might write summaries of these arguments on the board and allow students who did the "For Further Consideration" assignment to participate. If there is not enough time to start this discussion, assign it for the next day by having students read the arguments for or against Lend-Lease and come to class prepared to present their ideas. You may want to use an old trick that has worked for me and assign male students to take one side and female students to take the other.

Chapter 2. Isolationists, Internationalists, and Lend-Lease I-Chart

	What happened in Europe between the Munich Conference and the Lend-Lease debate?	What was Lend-Lease, and what are the arguments for and against it?	Why would I have been either an isolationist or an internationalist in 1940–41?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 2, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 2, Part II			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 2—Isolationists, Internationalists, and Lend-Lease

Versailles Treaty	**manned defensive positions**	***blitzkrieg***
Luftwaffe	**subsequent**	**Blitz**
“cash and carry”	**analogy**	

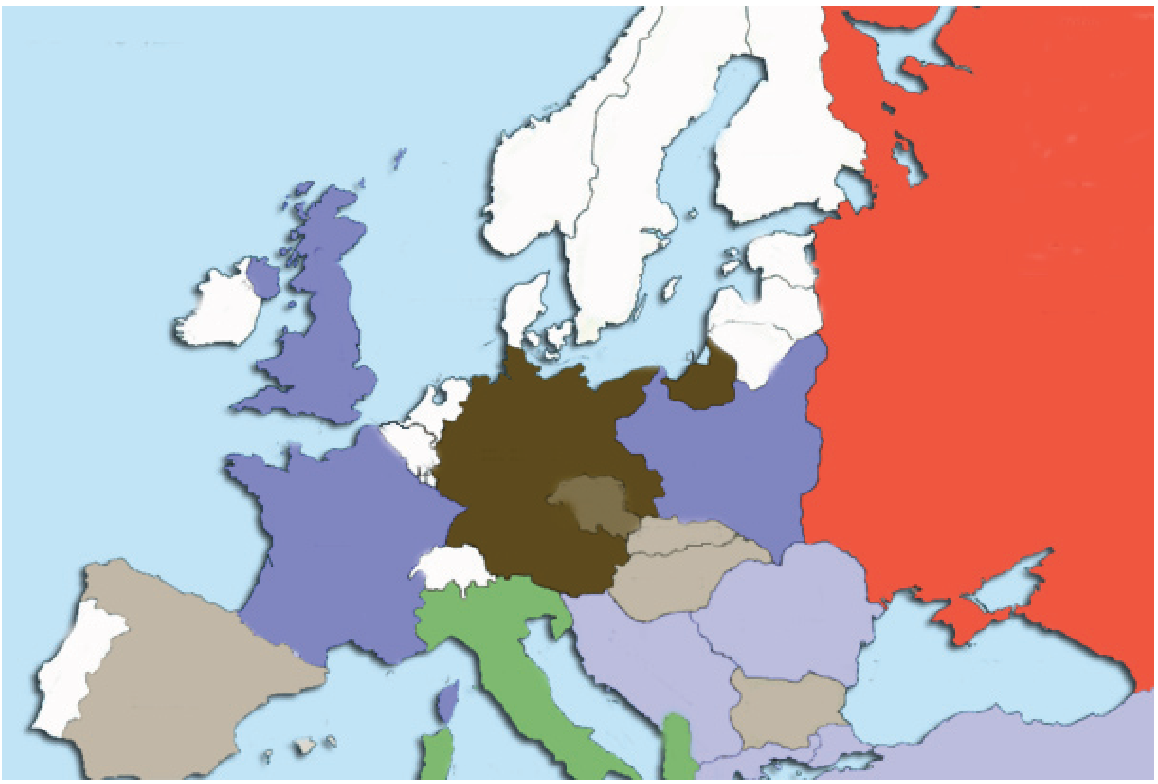
Chapter 2—Isolationists, Internationalists, and Lend-Lease

	Word used by British during World War II to describe heavy air attacks by Germany aimed at breaking the people's spirit	"Lightning war" in German; term used to describe Hitler's effective combination of air strikes and tank attacks backed by trucks transporting soldiers
A way to explain something by describing it as similar to something else	Later; after something else	Military expression describing deployment of armed men or women to defend something that might be attacked
U.S. policy to avoid taking sides by having nations at war that buy from the U.S., pay immediately for their purchases, and transport them in their own ships	German air force	Treaty forced on Germany after World War I that deprived it of land and colonies, made the Germans accept guilt for starting the war, and made them pay for it

Chapter 2
Isolationists, Internationalists, and Lend-Lease

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw that between 1936 and March 1939, Germany had taken the Rhineland, Austria, and most of Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. In the summer of 1939, Hitler began to demand that Poland return the part of its



Map of Europe, September 1, 1939, day of Hitler's attack on Poland.
Note: The western part of Czechoslovakia was already under German control.

country to Germany that had been given to Poland at the Versailles Treaty. The Polish government refused. Shortly afterwards, on September 1st, 1939, Hitler launched a devastating attack on Poland. Cut off and outnumbered 3 to 1 by German troops, the Poles surrendered in less than four weeks. Unable to help Poland directly, Britain and France nevertheless declared war on Germany. The British Corps and the French Army manned defensive positions on Germany's borders.

Hitler appeased the Soviet Union in the east through secret agreements in the Non-Aggression Pact, which gave Stalin permission to invade Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and eastern Poland. The pact played a vital role in Hitler's success. Hitler protected Germany's northern border by conquering Denmark and

Norway in April 1940. Meanwhile, behind the Siegfried (defensive) Line, German generals concentrated their army's strength for a massive blow against British and French positions.

At this point, the United States became the only country in the world that could have rescued Britain and its empire. British pleas for American aid sparked a lively national debate over U.S foreign policy. This chapter asks: Should the United States have given up the security of 3000 miles of ocean to help save Britain from Hitler's Germany?

Hitler in Paris, June 28, 1940

The Fall of France

On May 10th, 1940, the German army made the first maneuver in the battle of France by invading neutral Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. The Allied armies on the French-Belgium border hurried north to aid the embattled neutrals. As one German army confronted the Allies in Holland, however, another prepared to break through Allied lines to the east. In the Ardennes Forest on May 13th, 430,000 German soldiers lined up behind a battering ram of seven panzer (armored or tank) divisions through French colonial troops and crossed the Meuse River. Within hours, a 50-mile-long column of German tanks and troop trucks was racing across northern France, closely supported by dive-bombers.

The Allies were taken completely by surprise. Their front lines collapsed as dug-in Allied divisions were encircled from the rear or forced to retreat. Expecting a replay of World War I warfare, French generals had committed all their armored divisions to front-line positions. As a result, they had only cavalry and infantry to counterattack against German tanks that broke through their defenses. The Germans were simply moving too fast for Allied generals. Employing *blitzkrieg* (lightning war) tactics, German paratroopers landed behind Allied lines, seizing bridgeheads and other strategic points such as railroad junctions. The Luftwaffe, the German air force, further spread terror and confusion by having planes routinely machine-gun civilian refugees in order to tie up Allied supply routes.

With breakneck speed, the Germans drove west, reaching the English Channel on May 20th. The entire British army and one French army, a total of 35 divisions, found themselves cut off in Belgium from the main French force. They stood trapped with their backs to the sea.

At this point, Hitler could have destroyed the surrounded Allied armies in

Belgium by cutting off their escape route to the English Channel. Instead, he called a halt to his panzer column advance. The British seized on this opportunity to pull their army back to Dunkirk. There, between May 26th and June 4th, 1940, the Allies evacuated 338,000 British and French troops across the channel to safety; 860 boats and ships carried out this escape, assisted by bad weather that caused a temporary halt in Luftwaffe raids.

The Battle of Britain

The Luftwaffe had 998 heavy bombers, 316 dive-bombers, and 1056 fighters within range of Britain. The Royal Air Force (RAF) had only 640 fighters. Hitler's air war against the RAF began at the end of July 1940. The battle raged for two months. The Luftwaffe launched around-the-clock attacks on RAF aircraft, airfields, and radar installations. Then, in response to British Bomber Command attacks on Berlin, Hitler changed his strategy. Just as the German air force was winning the battle to destroy the RAF, Hitler ordered the Luftwaffe to bomb British cities.


St. Paul's Cathedral, London, December 29, 1940

September 7th, 1940, witnessed the first massive air raid against London, with 300 Luftwaffe bombers escorted by 648 fighters. That same night, a second wave of attackers bombed London. In all, German aircraft dropped 4,400,000 pounds of explosives on Britain's capital that day. Subsequent German air raids reduced large parts of London and other British cities to blackened rubble.

In the autumn of 1940, the Luftwaffe "blitz" continued to pound British cities. German submarines, called U-boats, sank increasing numbers of ships transporting arms and food to the besieged island. German (Wehrmacht) soldiers, singing "We March Against England," trooped into channel ports. At this point, the British realized, only the United States could save them.

Britain's Plight

In the fall of 1940, Britain possessed fewer than 1000 field artillery and anti-tank guns and fewer than 260 tanks. These weapons could equip only two divisions to defend the British Isles. The German invading force was expected to be 20 times larger. The RAF now numbered less than half the size of the Luftwaffe, and the Royal Navy consisted of only 100 destroyers, aircraft carriers, and battleships.

Meanwhile, the British treasury stood as empty as Mother Hubbard's famous cupboard. By October 1940, only $2 billion remained. This amount had already been set aside for partial payment for an order of $5 billion worth of arms and supplies from the United States. Without a U.S. loan, the British had no way of buying the supplies absolutely essential to their defense. As the British Ambassador Lord Lothian told New York reporters, “Well, boys, Britain’s broke. It’s your money we want.” Britain, however, found itself running up against an old American tradition—isolationism.

America’s Dilemma

In his 1796 Farewell Address, George Washington advised Americans to avoid “entangl[ing] our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition,” and U.S. leaders followed his advice for 120 years. During this time, the United States had grown and prospered without becoming too involved in overseas wars. More than 130 years later, many Americans believed that the United States was dragged into World War I by acting as Britain’s arms supplier, transporter, and banker. The resulting 160,000 U.S. casualties and the unpopular Treaty of Versailles subsequently turned many Americans against participation in international politics.

Isolationist legislators tried to avoid a similar U.S. military engagement in the 1930s by passing neutrality legislation. These laws, such as the McReynolds Neutrality Act of 1937, specifically required the U.S. to follow a policy of “cash and carry” for products sold to nations at war. The purchaser of equipment had to pay in cash and then carry the supplies in its own ships. The British lacked the ships and the money to meet these requirements.

To get around the restrictions of such neutrality legislation, President Roosevelt devised a clever plan. He would simply lend Britain war materials. Britain would not have to return the materials until the war was over. Roosevelt made a simple analogy to explain this concept to the American people. He reduced Britain’s problem with Germany to a situation of a neighbor whose house was on fire:

> If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help put out the fire. Now what do I do in such a crisis? I don’t say to him before the operation, “Neighbor, my garden hose cost me $15.00. You have to pay me $15.00 for it.” I don’t want $15.00. I want my garden hose back after the fire is over.

The Lend-Lease Act, HR Bill 1776, intended to further promote the defense of the United States, was drafted in January 1941. It gave the president the power to “sell, transfer title to, exchange, lend, and otherwise dispose of any defense article to any country whose defense the President believes vital to the defense of the United States.”

Roosevelt’s plan to lend Britain arms and supplies split the country into opposing camps. Internationalists thought the Lend-Lease Act would enable the president to lend Britain the arms to defeat Hitler before Germany became a danger to America. Thus, the British, and not Americans, would do the fighting to stop Hitler. Borrowing from Roosevelt's analogy, isolationists countered by asking what would happen to the lender's house if his neighbor lost his hose while failing to put out the fire. They declared that the Atlantic Ocean, not the English Channel, was America's real line of defense against Germany.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place the following events in chronological order and write a brief description of the event in the proper column of the chart

Event	Brief Description

Non-Aggression Pact	U.S. neutrality policy	England asks U.S. for help
German invasion of Poland	Munich Conference	World War I
Battle of Britain starts	Dunkirk evacuation	Germany attacks France

B. Student Exercises

1. a) State what you think were the strongest arguments in favor of providing Lend-Lease assistance to England.

   b) State what you think were the strongest arguments against providing Lend-Lease assistance to England.

2. Do you think Lend-Lease represented an “entangling alliance” that undermined U.S. isolationism and neutrality? Why or why not?

For Further Consideration: Isolationist or Internationalist

Read the following arguments and follow the directions at the end of this chapter:

Internationalists	Isolationists
The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. Emphatically we must get those weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have to endure...We must be the great arsenal of democracy —President Franklin Roosevelt	We are divided because we are asked to fight over issues that are Europe's and not our own—issues that Europe created by her own short-sightedness. We are divided because many of us do not wish to fight again for England's balance of power or for her domination of India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, or for the Polish Corridor or for another treaty like Versailles. We are divided because we do not want to cross an ocean to fight on a foreign continent for foreign causes against an entire world combined against us.[1] —*The New York Times*
Grant Hitler the gigantic prestige of a victory over Britain, and who can doubt that the first result on our side of the ocean would be the prompt appearance of imitation Nazi governments in a half-dozen Latin American nations, forced to be on the winning side, begging for favors, clamoring for the admission to the Axis [Germany and Italy]. What shall we do? Make war upon these neighbors; send armies to fight in the jungles of Central and South America; run the risk of outraging native sentiment and turning the whole continent against us? Or shall we sit tight while the area of Nazi influence draws ever closer to the Panama Canal and a spreading checkerboard of Nazi airfields provides ports of call for German planes that may choose to bomb our cities?[2] —Editorial in *The New York Times*	We must turn our eyes and our faith back to our own country before it is too late. And when we do this a different vista opens before us. Practically every difficulty we would face in invading Europe becomes an asset to us in defending America. Our enemy, and not we, would have the problem of transporting millions of troops across the ocean and landing them on a hostile shore. They, and not we, would have to furnish the convoys to transport guns and trucks and munitions and fuel across three thousand miles of water. Our battleships and submarines would be fighting close to home bases; we would then do the bombing from the air and the torpedoing at sea. If any part of an enemy convoy should ever pass our navy and our air force, they would still be faced with the guns of our coast artillery and behind them in the divisions of our army.[3] —Charles Lindbergh

1 *The New York Times* (April 24, 1941), p. 12
2 *The New York Times* (April 30, 1941), p. 18
3 Charles Lindbergh, *An Autobiography of Values* (New York: Harcourt Brace .Jovanovich, 1977), p. 194.

Come to class prepared with a strong written statement specifically criticizing and explaining what was wrong with either the isolationists' arguments or the internationalists' arguments. Be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 3. Attack at Pearl Harbor
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter provides the background events leading to the attack on Pearl Harbor. It starts with Japan's invasion of Manchuria, covers the "Rape of Nanking," and reports on the conflicting advice Roosevelt received from internationalists and isolationists on dealing with Japan's aggression in Asia. The chapter describes the devastating surprise attack and concludes with Roosevelt's "date which will live in infamy" speech. The graphic organizer question asks students to place the events leading to Pearl Harbor in chronological order, and one of the exercises asks students to express their gut-level reactions to events.

The "For Further Consideration" section describes the sacrifices Americans willingly made on the home front to support the war effort and the sacrifice Japanese Americans were forced to make to assuage American's unfounded fears of sabotage.

Objectives

Students will:

- understand the reasons for Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor
- realize why the U.S. remaining isolated from world events can lead to problems
- study patriotic efforts made on the home front during World War II
- learn the reasons given for interning an ethnic minority

Strategies:

Before class: Decide whether you want to cover the material in this chapter in one day or two. If you choose the former, assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s). If you choose the latter, assign everything but the "For Further Consideration" section the first day, then assign that section for the second day.

In class: One way to start class is to ask students what they know about 9/11 and to compare this attack to Pearl Harbor. Proceed by reviewing students' answers to the graphic organizer and student exercise questions. End class time spent on Pearl Harbor by allowing students to read their responses to reasons Japanese leaders had for this devastating attack on an American base.

Ask students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to report on the tremendous success the U.S. had in converting its consumer-oriented industrial production to a full-fledged "arsenal for democracy." Proceed by reviewing the sacrifices made by Americans to support the war effort and, if time permits, contrast that to the lack of sacrifice asked of the civilian population during the Iraq war. Leave at least 15 minutes to review what happened to Japanese Americans and discuss whether this violation of their basic rights was justified. You might point out that the U.S. has been far more tolerant of its Muslim residents following 9/11.

Chapter 3. Pearl Harbor
I-Chart

	The motives for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the resulting devastation	The efforts at the home front	The internment of Japanese Americans
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 3, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 3, Part II			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 3—Attack on Pearl Harbor

province	**Manchuria**	**shipping lanes**
radar	**strafe**	**shrapnel**
abdomen	**sedative**	

Chapter 3—Attack on Pearl Harbor

Usual courses used by large boats	A province (state) in China	Something very similar to a U.S. state
Small pieces of metal from an explosion	To attack positions on the ground from the air with gunfire	Radio waves used to locate objects
	Drug used to relax or cause sleep	Stomach

Chapter 3

Attack at Pearl Harbor

Introduction

The colored regions represent areas under Japanese control by 1942

What eventually became World War II may have started with an attack by Japanese forces on the semi-independent Chinese province (state) of Manchuria. Using the excuse that Chinese "bandits" had taken Japanese property, Japan's troops occupied the Manchurian city of Mukden on September 19th, 1931. Within a matter of days, Japan took control of all 693 miles of the Manchurian railroad and began to put down any resistance within the province. With these aggressive acts, Japan had taken its first concrete steps to establish its "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Japan was attempting to rid Asia of western (European and American) influence and place it under Japanese control.

After six years of preparations in Manchuria and along China's northeast coast, the Japanese made ready to move on to Peking, China's old capital. In July 1937, the Chinese Nationalist Army under General Chiang Kai-shek retreated before the better-equipped Japanese. However, at Shanghai in November 1937 the Chinese fought a spirited though losing battle. This unexpected resistance provoked the Japanese into an all-out attack on the new Chinese capital.

After driving Chinese soldiers out of the city in December 1937, Japanese armed forces killed an estimated 300,000 Nanking civilians. Japanese soldiers committed almost every horrible act you could imagine. They bashed heads of babies against walls, used live children for bayonet practice, burned and buried men alive, machine gunned civilians from planes, and raped between 20,000 to 80,000 women. This massacre went on for about two weeks,[1] ending shortly after Christmas day in 1937. The "Rape of Nanking" would prove to be only one of many wartime brutalities committed by Japanese forces.

The events just described were reported in U.S. newspapers. The U.S. government under President Franklin Roosevelt protested Japanese aggression and gave financial assistance to China. Nevertheless, determined to force Chiang Kai-shek

1 Some accounts say the killing proceeded for six weeks, but put the death toll as low as 150,000.

to agree to Japanese economic control of China, Japan paid little attention to foreign objections. Despite its opposition to Japanese actions, the U.S. continued to sell aviation gas and scrap metal that Japan used to supply its armed forces.

Internationalists and Isolationists

From 1937 to 1941, Japan advanced southward through China in an attempt to cut Chiang's government off from foreign arms shipments. When the Japanese moved to cut off Chinese supply routes in the northern part of French Indochina (Vietnam) in June 1940, President Roosevelt received conflicting advice from members of his cabinet. Internationalists favored strong retaliation that, in this case, meant depriving Japan of the scrap metal and aviation gasoline used to build and fuel Japanese fighter planes and battleships. Isolationists believed that Japan would invade most of Asia if the U.S. stopped selling it gas and metal. They advised Roosevelt to continue trading and negotiating with Japan.

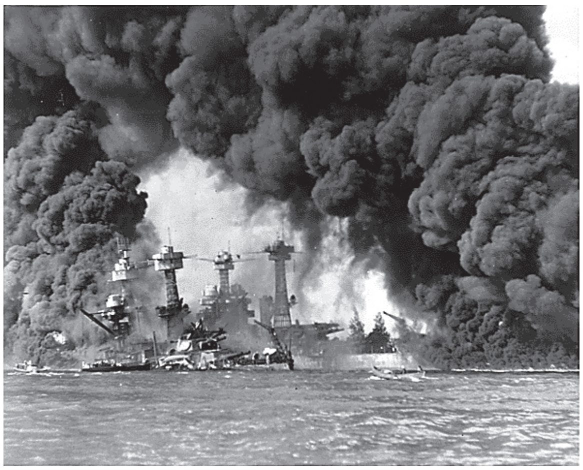
While this debate continued in Roosevelt's cabinet, a similar discussion took place within the imperial government of Japan. One group, known as the *Joi* faction (meaning "expel the barbarians"), had earned the support of the Japanese army and wanted to continue the conquest of southeast Asia. Another group, the *Kaikoku* (meaning "open the country") faction, wanted peaceful trade with the West. Backed by businessmen, the *Kaikoku* were willing to retreat from Indochina and China in order to continue trading with the United States.

"Things Are Automatically Going to Happen"

While the opposing factions in Japan fought for control over foreign policy, negotiations between the United States and Japan concerning China and Indochina continued. When Japanese troops took over airfields in southern Indochina, internationalist advisors persuaded President Roosevelt to stop all trade with Japan on July 26th, 1941. Since this action cut off most of the Japanese oil supply, Japan's leaders immediately began negotiations to restore U.S.-Japanese trade. Japanese policymakers, however, were unwilling to meet America's demand that Japan stop its aggression against China and leave Indochina. As the diplomats talked, a Japanese fleet of six aircraft carriers sped toward Hawaii. The deadline for diplomacy was set at November 29th, 1941. After that, as a secret Japanese cable predicted, "Things are automatically going to happen."

The secret date for launching the attack on Pearl Harbor passed with no important concessions from the United States. Avoiding normal shipping lanes, the Japanese fleet continued to approach Hawaii from the northwest. To maintain the element of surprise, the fleet sailed in radio silence without lights, and refrained from dropping telltale garbage into the Pacific Ocean. To keep the appearance of wanting a friendly settlement of differences between them, Japan continued negotiations with American officials in Washington, D.C.

Eight American battleships in Pearl Harbor were docked one next to the other. None hung the protective netting used to deflect torpedoes. Warned of a possible Japanese attack, U.S. commanders ordered planes lined up wingtip-to-wingtip and, to prevent sabotage, kept ammunition under lock and key. Blips reported by a radar operator were thought to be American B-17s coming in from California. A naval duty officer questioned the reported sighting of a miniature sub at the mouth of the harbor. Convinced that all necessary precautions had been taken, General Short and Admiral Kimmel prepared for their regular Sunday morning golf game.



The USS *West Virginia* and the USS *Tennessee* at Pearl Harbor, December 7th, 1941

Up until 7:54 a.m. on December 7th, 1941, no Americans expected an attack. One minute later, 360 Japanese planes swooped down from the skies completely unopposed. Torpedo and dive-bombers attacked eight U.S. battleships and ten other vessels. Other Japanese planes bombed and strafed U.S. aircraft on the ground as frantic U.S. fliers tried to take off. When the day was done, over 2400 Americans lay dead, eight battleships had been sunk or disabled, and 177 planes were destroyed. The Japanese lost only 29 planes and 100 men.

A nurse at Pearl Harbor tells the story of the stream of victims who came to the hospital where she was stationed:

> Two or three of us were sitting in the dining room Sunday morning having a late breakfast and talking over coffee. Suddenly we heard planes roaring overhead…I leaped out of my chair and dashed to the nearest window in the corridor. Right then there was a plane flying directly over the top of our quarters…The rising sun under the wing of the plane denoted the enemy…My heart was racing, the telephone was ringing, the chief nurse, Gertrude Arnest, was saying, "Girls, get into your uniforms at once, this is the real thing!" I was in my room by that time changing into uniform. It was getting dusky, almost like evening. Smoke was rising from burning ships. I dashed across the street, through a shrapnel shower…
>
> The first patient came into our dressing room at 8:25 a.m. with a large opening in his abdomen and bleeding profusely…[and] died within the hour. Then the burned patients streamed in…There was heavy oil on the water and the men dived off the ship and swam through these waters to Hospital Point...How they ever managed, I'll never know. The tropical dress at the time was white t-shirts and shorts. The burns began where the pants ended. Bared arms and faces were plentiful…we gave these gravely injured patients sedatives for their intense pain.

Follow-Up Conquests

The attack on Pearl Harbor represented part of a calculated risk. Britain was fighting for its life against Germany, and the rest of Europe lay in the hands of Germany or its allies. Despite his non-aggression pact with Stalin, Hitler had invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. At the time of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Soviet armies were desperately fighting Germany at the gates of Moscow. The Japanese gambled that they could knock out the U.S. navy and so discourage Americans that they would not have the determination to wage war against Japan. However, the Japanese failed to destroy both the U.S. aircraft carrier fleet, which had been out on maneuvers, and they inflamed America's fighting spirit.

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor was only one step in a bold plan. The Japanese struck American forces in the Philippines and British bases in Hong Kong and Malaysia on the same day. Within weeks, the Japanese took Thailand, Burma, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), Borneo, and parts of New Guinea. Many islands in the South Pacific, including Wake and Guam, also fell into Japanese hands. Lacking the battleships and aircraft destroyed at Pearl Harbor, the United States could do little to prevent these conquests.

On December 8th, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the angry and shocked people of America. The president said:

> Yesterday, December 7th, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The president concluded that a state of war already existed between the United States and Japan. The Senate and House overwhelmingly voted to officially declare war against Japan. Isolationists managed to avoid a declaration of war against Germany until after Germany declared war on the United States.

President Roosevelt asking Congress for
a declaration of war against Japan

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place the following events in the order in which they happened, and in the space provided write a brief description of each of event:

Event	Description

Events

Rape of Nanking	About 2400 Americans killed	Kimmel and Short about to start their Sunday golf game
Attack on Manchuria	Battle of Britain	Japanese attack Philippines
Japanese invade French Indochina	President Roosevelt calls it a 'day that will live in infamy'	U.S. halts sale of aviation gas and scrap metal to Japan

B. Student Exercises

1. List all the reasons the Japanese thought they had for attacking the U.S. naval base in Hawaii.

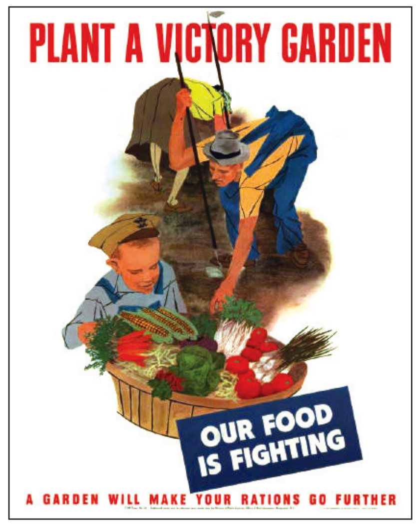
2. How badly did the attack on Pearl Harbor hurt the U.S. militarily? Explain.

3. Write a strong paragraph trying to convince Japanese civilians at the time that their government committed an inexcusable act against a neutral country.

For Further Consideration: The War at Home

Read the following account of the war on the home front and be prepared to follow the instructions at the end of the narrative:

If Pearl Harbor helped Americans in any way, it taught them they could not avoid war by trying to remain neutral. The American people supported their president over the next 3½ years even though he asked them to make many sacrifices in order to win the war. Eight million Americans contributed by serving in the armed forces; 322,000 died. Young men prepared to be drafted right after high school; many voluntarily left school before graduation to fight for their country. Women volunteered for the WACS (Women's Army Corps) and the WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service). Wealthy Americans accepted a steep rise in income taxes that topped 94 percent in the highest bracket.



Civilians helped by planting victory gardens, collecting paper and scrap metal for recycling, using their savings to buy war bonds, and working long hours in defense plants. Women volunteered their time at service organizations and raised children without the help of their husbands; celebrities entertained the troops. All families needed ration cards to buy limited amounts of most foods and gasoline, and prices were strictly controlled by the OPA (Office of Price Administration).

For the American economy, the war meant a complete end of the Great Depression. Unemployment rates fell to 1 percent of those seeking work. Most of the newly created jobs were in the defense industry. Businesses making cars, washing machines, etc. quickly retooled to make planes, tanks, ships, guns, and other goods needed by the armed services. By the time the war was over, the United States had produced 274,000 planes, 85,000 ships, and 100,000 tanks or armed vehicles. These products not only met the needs for the armed forces but served as an "arsenal for democracy" for America's allies.

It is impossible to cover even a small part of what life was like for most Americans during the war. This section provides only a few snapshots, one showing the lives of women, another focusing on wartime rationing, and a third looking at efforts to prevent sabotage by Japanese Americans.

American Women During World War II

In 1943, Kate and Melville Grant moved from Oklahoma to California. She managed to get a job as a welder in a shipyard, joining six million other women who found employment during the war doing everything from working as secretaries, nurses, and teachers to serving as Air Force pilots. Like Kate, many of the married women had to juggle working outside the home with shopping, housework, taking care of their children and making arrangements for them while on the job. Here Kate describes her work in the shipyard and her life as a mother:

Women welders in California, 1942

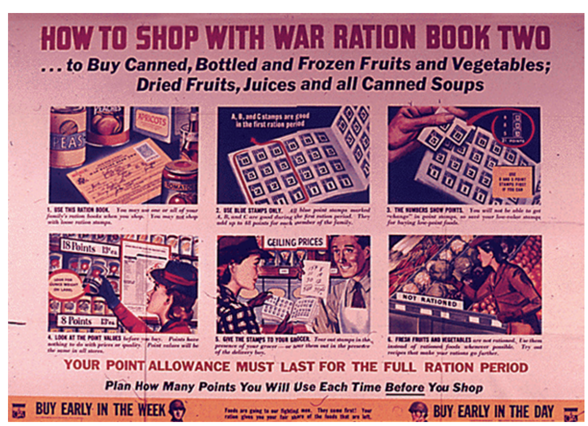
I worked the graveyard shift 12:00-8:00 a.m., in the shipyard. I took classes on how to weld. I had leather gloves, leather pants, big hood, goggles, and a leather jacket. They said you weld like you crochet.

Well, I did not know how to do that, but I could sew and make a neat stitch. We held the welding rod with one hand and the torch fire in the right hand. Placed the rod in a seam and melted it down in a small bead seam and brushed it off with a steel brush.

It was very difficult with the baby. I'd go home in the morning and do my laundry and help take care of my husband's clothes, and help my sister with things that had to be done…I would get home at 8 [A.M], help get the work done, take care of the baby, then I'd lay down and go to sleep, then get up and do some more, then sleep some more, until midnight when I went to work. [2]

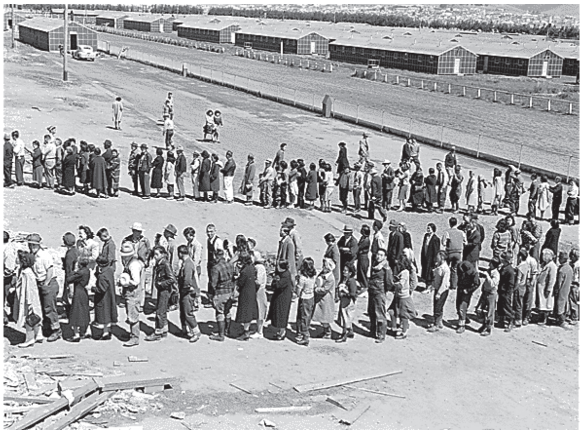
Rationing

With so much production devoted to the war effort, Americans faced an acute shortage of consumer goods. The Office of Price Administration was created to help keep prices down by freezing increases for most manufactured goods and for rents. In addition, the OPA set up a rule limiting purchases of certain foods, shoes, and gasoline by requiring payment in stamps from government-issued ration cards in addition to the money charged by the store.



2 Eastern Oklahoma County Regional History Collection

Relocation of Japanese-Americans



A line-up of newly arrived Japanese American evacuees outside of a mess hall at noon

Many Americans made voluntary sacrifices on the home front in order to support the war effort. Some, however, experienced what many today consider a completely unnecessary disruption in their lives because they were considered a danger to America's security. One-hundred and twelve thousand Americans of Japanese descent living in states along the west coast were given a week or less to dispose of their property (including pets) and bring only what they could carry to a relocation center. "Relocated" many miles away, usually in a desolate part of the country, they were housed in military-style barracks with one family per room, fed in military-style mess halls, and kept within prison-like enclosures surrounded by barbed wire fences and guarded by soldiers. Most of the 112,000 inmates lived under these conditions for 2½ years; some were held for months even after the end of World War II. Volunteers were allowed to fight for the country that imprisoned their families; some were permitted to attend colleges or work in defense industries in other parts of the country. When these "evacuees" finally returned to their former homes, most found their houses and farms had been either vandalized or occupied by strangers. Many never recovered their possessions that the government supposedly stored for them at their own risk. Only about one-half lived long enough to get the $20,000 promised each family to pay for having been uprooted.

What could have inspired such cruel treatment of these people, many of them U.S. citizens? The main reason was they were members of the same race as the nation that attacked the United States. Newspapers ran stories reporting that Japanese in Hawaii had made efforts to prevent American soldiers from helping to defend Pearl Harbor. Though without evidence to support such claims, military commanders warned that many Japanese Americans remained loyal to their country of origin. They thought that the Japanese living in the West were likely to sabotage military bases, as well as factories. Many Americans thought that the lack of any harm caused by Japanese Americans proved that they were planning a major attack on U.S. installations. The logic that inspired such beliefs is illustrated by the following:

> I am for immediate removal...to a point deep in the interior. Sure, this would work an unjustified hardship on...90 percent of the California Japanese. But the remaining 10 percent have it in their power to do damage—great damage to the American people. They are a serious menace and you can't tell me that an individual's rights have any business being placed above a nation's safety. If making 1,000,000 innocent Japanese uncomfortable

> would prevent one scheming Japanese from costing the life of an American boy, then let 1,000,000 suffer. [3]

Fred Korematsu, a U.S. citizen of Japanese ancestry, took his case against forced relocation to court. In 1944, the Supreme Court eventually reached the decision that "the need to protect against espionage outweighed his individual rights and the rights of Americans of Japanese ancestry." Nevertheless, many Americans today regret the treatment of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government and might agree with the following criticism of its actions during the war:

> Every man who cares about freedom, about government by law, must fight for it for the other man with whom he disagrees with the same passion of insistence as he claims for his own rights. If we care about democracy, we must care about it as a reality for others as well as for ourselves; yes, for aliens, for Germans, for Italians, for Japanese. For the Bill of Rights protects not only American citizens but all human beings who live on our American soil, under our American flag. [4]

Given the sacrifices made willingly by patriotic Americans during World War II, was the U.S. justified in forcing Japanese Americans to be interned in "relocation camps" during the war? Answer this question in a couple of strong paragraphs in which you mention the sacrifices made by patriotic Americans as well as the hardships forced on Japanese Americans. Be prepared to present your opinion in class and participate in an open discussion of this topic.

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3 Quoted in DeAnne Sobul, ed., *Encounters with American History* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1972), pp. 140-41.

4 Quoted in E.H. Spicer, *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 9-10.

Chapter 4. War in Europe
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter provides a condensed view of World War II in Europe by focusing on three military campaigns: North Africa and Italy, the Soviet Union, and Normandy. Special attention is paid to Rommel's tactics, the Battle for Stalingrad, and the cross-channel landing. Students are asked to read and take notes on two of the three campaigns and learn about the third episode from their classmates. All students are asked to complete a chart by arranging in chronological order the major events in each of three campaigns. Advanced students are asked to speculate whether the U.S. was too generous in supplying Lend-Lease Aid to the Soviet Union and what problems Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe would create for the Western allies after World War II.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn that fighting in the European theater of World War II encompassed three major campaigns
- become familiar with the names of major battles and commanders
- make a timeline chart so they can visualize events that took place about the same time in different parts of Europe, the Soviet Union, and North Africa.

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In Class: Begin by asking students whether they know of anyone who participated in the war and if they have any information they can share with the class. Proceed by asking volunteers to explain the first campaign to their classmates and help by emphasizing the points you believe important. Do the same for the second and third campaigns. End class by asking students who did the chart on the "For Further Consideration" section to help other students complete their own charts.

Chapter 4. War in Europe
I-Chart

	The African-Italian campaign	The fighting in the Soviet Union	Normandy and beyond
What I knew before reading Chapter 4, Part I			
What I learned from reading Chapter 4, Part I.			
What I learned from completing the Chart Exercise in Chapter 4, Part II			
What I would still like to learn			

Chapter 4—War in Europe

Balkans	besieged	encircle
Lend-Lease	camouflage	reinforcements
Anglo-American	demoralize	

Chapter 4—War in Europe

	In military terms, additional troops or supplies	To surround
To destroy someone's hope or courage	To conceal things by making them blend in with their surroundings	Military term meaning surrounded and under attack by the enemy
An American with a British background, or combined British and American forces	U.S. program of lending military equipment to allies during time of war	Countries across the Adriatic Sea from Italy; they include Greece, Albania, and Serbia

Chapter 4
War in Europe

Introduction

By the time the U.S. entered World War II, its chances of winning appeared slim. Japanese forces dominated the Pacific Ocean islands as well as much of China's mainland, and they threatened to attack Australia. Germany occupied all of western Europe, and its armies had advanced deep into the Soviet Union. Italy had conquered the Balkans and taken much of North Africa. America's allies sat on the verge of defeat. France was controlled by Germany, and England was besieged by a submarine blockade.

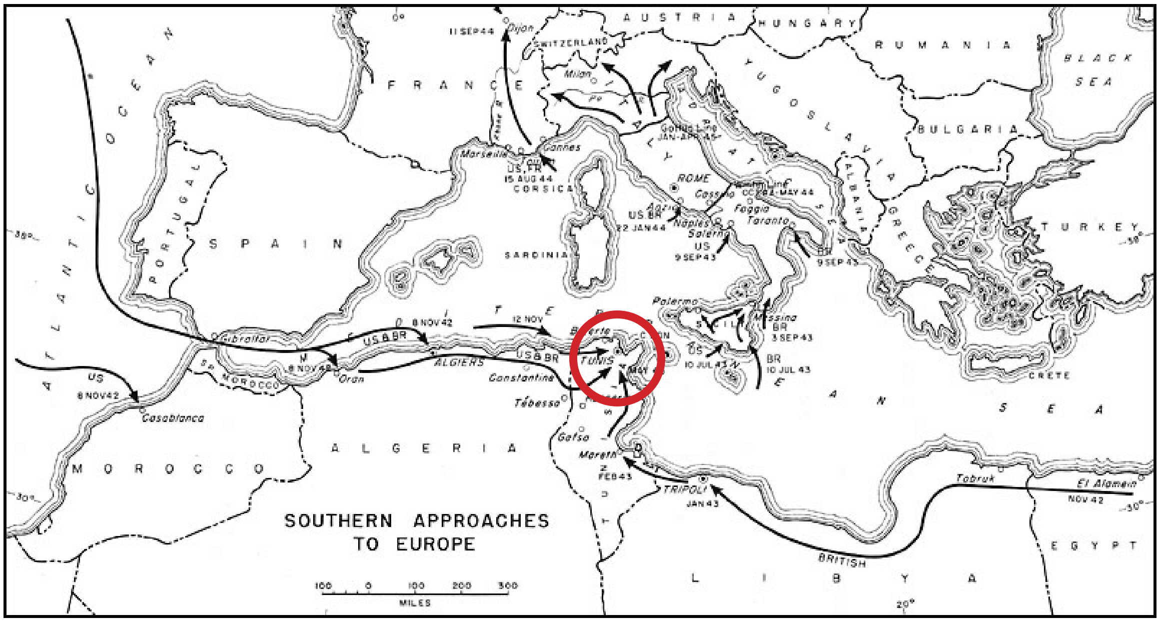
Within four years, with support from England, the Soviet Union, and Canada, the U.S. liberated North Africa, occupied Italy, freed France, and defeated Germany. This chapter tells the story of the allies' victory in Europe; the next chapter reports on their success in Asia.

Africa: War in the Desert

The struggle for North Africa began on June 10th, 1940, when Italy attacked British forces in Egypt. The British answered by driving Italy's army back into Libya. Before Britain could snuff out all of Italy's resistance, Hitler sent an army to Africa commanded by General Erwin Rommel. Rommel earned the nickname "The Desert Fox" because he found many ways to fool the commanders of larger British units. On one occasion, Rommel tricked a British commander into surrendering to a smaller number of German troops by dragging brush behind his tanks. This caused the British to believe that Rommel was getting reinforcements. By using similar tactics, speed and good intelligence, Rommel forced the British to retreat 350 miles. Only Rommel's lack of soldiers and supplies prevented a complete British collapse.

General Erwin Rommel (center)

In November 1942, the tide of battle turned against Rommel. On the fourth day of that month, and after building up a vastly superior tank corps, British General Bernard Montgomery managed to break through Rommel's lines at El Alamein. On November 8th, American troops landed at Casablanca and moved on to Tunisia toward Rommel's rear positions. In February 1943, Rommel cleverly turned west to defeat the inexperienced Americans at Kasserine Pass. However, he failed in his attempt to turn back and defeat Montgomery's forces. Rather than risk complete defeat, Hitler evacuated Rommel and his general staff but allowed the allies to capture nearly a half million German soldiers.



A map of the African campaign showing American forces under Pershing approaching from the west and British forces under Montgomery coming from the east. Rommel was trapped between them and 500,000 German soldiers surrendered.

With North Africa in their hands, the Allies decided to invade Italy through Sicily. A successful campaign would put them in a position to attack Germany by way of the Italian peninsula.

Sicily and Slow Advance Through Italy

On July 10th, 1943, 160,000 Allied soldiers landed on Sicily's southern coast. The Italians could put up only token resistance. German reinforcements, however, managed to delay the Allied conquest of Sicily for a month. Meanwhile, Italy's war-weary subjects ousted Mussolini and his unpopular government. A new government promptly began to negotiate a peace agreement with the British-American forces. However, when the new Italian government announced the agreement in September 1943, German troops marched into Rome and put Mussolini back in power.

In the fighting that followed, American and British generals faced a series of German defensive lines that took full advantage of the rivers, valleys, and mountains covering Italy. When Allied troops overran one line, German soldiers retreated to the next defensive position. As a result, it took the Allies eight months to advance the hundred miles from Naples to Rome, less than one-half mile per day. Allied forces finally captured Rome in June 1944. However, when the war ended 11 months later, parts of northern Italy still lay in German hands.

The Soviet Union: *Blitzkrieg* in Eastern Europe

On June 22, 1941, German armies launched a totally unexpected attack on the Soviet Union along a 200-mile-long front. On the first day of battle, German bombers destroyed most of the unsuspecting Soviet air force on the ground. With air superiority, 190 German, Italian, Hungarian, Finnish, and Romanian divisions marched across the Soviet frontier from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. German bombing broke down Soviet military lines of command and supply. Germany cut off and surrounded large parts of the Red Army by using 19 tank divisions and blitzkrieg tactics. In these great battles during a period of two months, the German army defeated 200 Soviet divisions and captured 1.5 million Russian soldiers. A six-week halt in the German advance to permit capture of the Ukraine—as well as the early arrival of winter—gave Stalin time to reorganize Soviet defenses. Nevertheless, by December 2nd, German tanks arrived at the outskirts of Moscow, where they caught sight of the onion-domed Kremlin towers. Further north, in Leningrad, Germany began a siege of that city that lasted three years and caused the death of one million civilians.

German bombardment of the main street in Leningrad

War in Russia

By the end of 1941, German troops had occupied most of European Russia. The coldest winter in 100 years and supply shortages caused the German advance to slow to a halt. Nevertheless, the battlefront reached from the gates of Leningrad in the north through the outskirts of Moscow to the Black Sea in the south. In December, Stalin threw his Siberian reserves into a desperate winter offensive against German lines approaching Moscow. By fighting from December 1941 to May 1942, the Red Army managed to create a protective zone around the nation's capital.

In the summer of 1942, Hitler ordered his generals to attack on a new front. This offensive had two objectives. One army was to take the oil fields in Georgia. The other army was to seize Stalingrad as a base for a future attack on Moscow. By August 23, 1942, Germany's General Paulus's 6th Army reached the Volga River 30 miles north of Stalingrad.

Stalingrad

Eager for the glory of taking the city named after Stalin, Hitler sent Paulus's tanks into street warfare. On the first day of the attack, Luftwaffe air raids killed 40,000 civilians—10 percent of the Stalingrad's population. Still, determined militia and Red Army assault groups fought German soldiers house by house in hand-to-hand combat. Soviet anti-tank guns, sent from new factories east of the Urals Mountains, blasted German tanks. German soldiers died in merciless battles in ruined factories and apartment buildings.


Soviets fighting in the streets of Stalingrad

On November 19, 1942, Soviet forces under Marshal Zhukov attacked German lines north and south of Stalingrad. The Soviets achieved complete surprise, as their tank columns smashed through lightly held defenses to encircle the 6th Army at Stalingrad. German generals had to decide whether to permit the 6th Army to retreat by fighting its way out of the trap or to leave it in place. Hitler chose not to retreat. The price was the loss of the 270,000 men of the 6th Army. What remained of this force surrendered to the Red Army on February 2, 1943.


Soviet tanks during the Battle of Kursk

After the liberation of Stalingrad, desperate Germans retreated to shorten their front and their supply lines. Hitler hoped to regain the offensive by counterattacking Soviet forces at Kursk. The Soviets received advance warning of German plans and hardened their defenses with deep mine fields and anti-tank guns. Led by nearly all of their tank units in the east, German forces launched their attack on July 5th, 1943. On August 3rd, the Red Army struck back and in a remarkable battle involving 8000 tanks threw the Germans back across the Dnieper River.

After the Battle of Kursk, the Germans were on the defensive in the USSR. The Red Army used more and better tanks, artillery, and rifles than the Germans had. Lend-Lease trucks from the U.S. provided transportation for Red Army troops. Allied bombing of factories in Germany cut into supplies of tanks and ammunition. Again and again, Soviet tank divisions cut through German positions, slashed lines of supply, and forced the surrounded troops to surrender. In


Stalingrad after the siege

February 1945, almost all of eastern Europe lay in Soviet hands. The Red Army's 215 divisions had pushed the German forces back to Germany's borders. However, the cost of victory had been high: 1700 cities and towns in the USSR lay in ruins and about 25 million Soviet soldiers and civilians had been killed.

Normandy: Operation Overlord

At the end of 1943, the Allies finally agreed upon a cross-Channel attack on Germany by way of France. This decision pleased Stalin because it would cause Germany to transfer soldiers from the USSR to France. "Overlord," as this operation was called, had actually been in preparation for a long time. Because British intelligence had cracked the German military code, Allied generals knew the troop strength of the units defending the Normandy beaches. German spies in England had been turned into double agents who sent false information back to their handlers in Germany. To confuse German generals as to the target of the cross-channel invasion, the Allies created fake armies and fooled the Germans by using camouflage, false radio, messages, dummy paratroop divisions, and radar-blinding devices. A network of French resistance fighters and RAF-supplied British commandos set up to attack the German rear.

Troops landing at Normandy

Thanks to these preparations, the Allied invasion fleet of 6100 ships achieved complete surprise at Normandy on June 6, 1944. Paratroopers took over roads leading to the beaches early in the day. Then, behind shelling from 600 warships, 150,000 men—including American, British, and Canadian troops—under the command of U.S. General Dwight Eisenhower, stormed ashore. Bombardments from 14,000 Allied bombers and fighters kept German heads down. Nevertheless, members of the first invasion group, as shown in the popular war movie *Saving Private Ryan,* suffered near 90 percent casualties. Later, soldiers towed portable harbors across the Channel and quickly installed pipelines to fuel the Allied war machine as the troops on beaches linked up and deepened. The German strategy, masterminded by Erwin Rommel, to drive the invaders back into the sea had thus failed.

Germany Surrenders

By mid-July, the Allied build-up in Normandy had become so strong that Hitler's reserves could no longer make the critical difference. Montgomery's 2nd Army of 250,000 men with 1500 tanks simply overwhelmed German manpower and armor in exhausting battles. The fact that the Red Army on the east front fought against three out of every four German soldiers during the war greatly helped the Anglo-American cause.

Destruction in Germany, March 1945

In face of the Allied breakout of more than 2,200,000 troops, the German army pulled back to defend their country's border. In December, as the Anglo-American forces gathered for the final assault on Germany, Hitler made one last desperate gamble. Secretly, he moved all available troops into position in the Ardennes Forest, as he had four and a half years before. On December 16th, under cover of cloudy weather, German soldiers attacked U.S. Army units and drove a deep bulge into American lines (hence the name "Battle of the Bulge"). Once they recovered from their surprise, Allied troops fought back bravely and stopped the German drive to the Channel. Better weather allowed the Allies to bomb German positions, while British and American armies counterattacked. Meanwhile, a Soviet offensive in Poland prevented the arrival of German reinforcements. By February, the demoralized Germans had been pushed back to the defensive Siegfried Line of 1939. The mighty Allied armies now stood at the eastern and western borders of a totally defeated Germany. On April 30th, 1945, Hitler committed suicide in his Berlin bunker, and a week later, his government surrendered. Victory had finally been achieved in Europe.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercise

Decide which one of the three campaigns described in this chapter you think was the most important in deciding the outcome of the war. Come to class ready to argue in favor of your choice, listen to the opinions of others, and be prepared to defend your own or change your mind.

B. Chronology of the War

Place the events listed below this chart into their proper place on the chart.

Year	African-Italian Front	Eastern Europe and Soviet Front	Normandy and French Front
1939			
1939			
1940			
1940			
1941			
1941			
1942			
1942			
1943			
1943			
1944			
1944			
1945			
1945			

The “desert fox” sent to Africa	Germany invades Poland	France occupied by Germany
May: Germany surrenders to Russians in Berlin	France attacked by Germany	Soviets succeed in driving Germans out of Stalingrad
Rommel outfoxes British in Africa	German troops still in Northern Italy when war ends	Preparations for cross-channel invasion
Occupation of France continues	Germany invades USSR	Italy invades North Africa
Soviets and Germans sign non-aggression pact	German armies outside Moscow	German retreat from USSR continues
500,000 German soldiers surrender/Allies take Sicily	Germany takes Paris	U.S. forces land in Casablanca in November
Leningrad and Moscow besieged	Germans attack Stalingrad	France under German rule
Allies take Rome	Battle of the Bulge	Feb.: Germans driven out of eastern Europe.
Mussolini becomes Hitler’s puppet/Allies take Naples	Feb.: 270,000 Germans surrender Aug: Huge tank fight in the Battle of Kursk	Feb: Allies ready to enter Germany
June: Cross-channel invasion	German retreat continues	Fighting continues in Italy

Note: Some events were discussed in previous chapters.

For Further Consideration

Considerable criticism has been levied against American leaders for relying so heavily on support from the Soviet Union to help win World War II. This gives rise to at least two important but different questions:

1. Should the U.S. have provided help in the form of Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union, or should it have made the Soviets fight Germany without help? Why or why not?

2. What difficulties in the post-World War II world can you imagine the Soviet Union's conquest of eastern Europe would pose to the U.S. and its other allies after the war? Explain.

Write a strong paragraph on one of the proceeding questions and come to class prepared to present your argument, listen to the opinions of others, and be prepared to defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 5. The Decision to Drop the Bomb
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter serves a dual purpose. First, it provides a quick summation of the major battles in the Pacific following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. The narrative expounds on the successful battles in the Pacific, from the Coral Sea to Okinawa. The second part of the chapter asks whether President Truman made the right decision regarding Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It focuses on the weakened state of Japan and on Emperor Hirohito's futile attempts to negotiate an "honorable" peace. Readers learn that the U.S. government refused any terms but an unconditional surrender, and to obtain that surrender it wouldn't consider any other means except using nuclear bombs to destroy a determined enemy's will to continue fighting. Students are asked to complete a chart by placing names and descriptions of battles next to the dates of the events they have to identify. The discussion question asks students whether destroying two cities with nuclear weapons was the right way to obtain the surrender the U.S. sought. The "For Further Consideration" section describes the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the subsequent Japanese surrender. Students are asked how these events affected their thinking about the decision to unleash the power of the atom on Japanese cities.

Objectives:

Students will:

- become familiar with the major battles in the Pacific Theater during World War II
- learn that the U.S. may have been able to obtain Japan's surrender without using nuclear weapons
- consider both sides of the argument whether the U.S. should have used nuclear weapons to secure Japan's surrender

Strategies:

Before class: Decide whether you want to spend one day or two on this chapter. My preference is for two days, but I will assume you will use one. If I am correct, assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Start class by reviewing students' answers to the Graphic Organizer. Once you are reasonably sure that all students have an adequate acquaintance with these events, begin discussion by asking the class how they feel about the U.S. being the only country that has used nuclear weapons in war. Proceed by asking whether anyone in the class could make a case that the U.S. should have informed the Japanese about its nuclear capacity and then negotiated an "honorable" surrender. Note that Hirohito wanted to enlist the Soviets in making arrangements for such a surrender. You might use Japan's willingness to defend itself by using bamboo spears wielded by 15 year-old boys and their grandfathers as an indication of their weakness or as evidence of an unrelenting determination similar to what the Japanese demonstrated at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Encourage students to make and to refute Stimson's arguments for dropping atomic bombs on Japanese cities in order to shock Japan into surrendering. In short, you may want to pose this question: Did the U.S. inexcusably use nuclear bombs on a helpless enemy looking for an opportunity to surrender, or was it necessary to use these weapons in order to convince an implacable foe to capitulate?

I suggest you leave at least ten minutes for students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to share what they learned about the damage caused by the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ask students whether learning of the suffering by innocent civilians changes their opinion about the decision to obtain surrender by using nuclear weapons rather than exploring alternatives.

Chapter 5. The Decision to Use the Bomb
I-Chart

	World War II in the Pacific Theater	Damage done to Hiroshima and Nagasaki	Whether the U.S. should have used nuclear bombs to obtain Japan's surrender
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 5, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 5, Part II			
What I still want to learn			

Chapter 5—The Decision to Drop the Bomb

unconditional surrender	**bunkers**	***kamikaze***
incendiary bombs	**Home Islands**	**assassination**
Potsdam Conference	**casualties**	

Chapter 5—The Decision to Drop the Bomb

	Killing of a military or political leader	Japanese pilots who flew suicide attacks against enemy ships
The number killed or wounded; usually refers to losses in a battle or a war	The four major islands that make up most of Japan	Large underground shelters usually built for troops
Meeting of leaders from U.S., England, and Soviet Union during July 1945 to discuss postwar issues	Bombs that burn so intensely that oxygen gets sucked out of the air	Total surrender without any promises made by the victor to the defeated

Chapter 5

The Decision to Drop the Bomb

Introduction


General Leslie Groves

On December 6th, 1941, President Roosevelt met with a group of American scientists to discuss the possibility of building a nuclear weapon so powerful that it could destroy an entire city with a single blast. On the very next day, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Soon afterwards, President Roosevelt appointed General Leslie Groves to supervise the building of this awesome weapon under the code name of The Manhattan Project. This effort cost $2 billion, employed America's best nuclear physicists, and provided jobs for thousands. Yet, it was so secret that even Vice-President Harry Truman knew nothing about it.

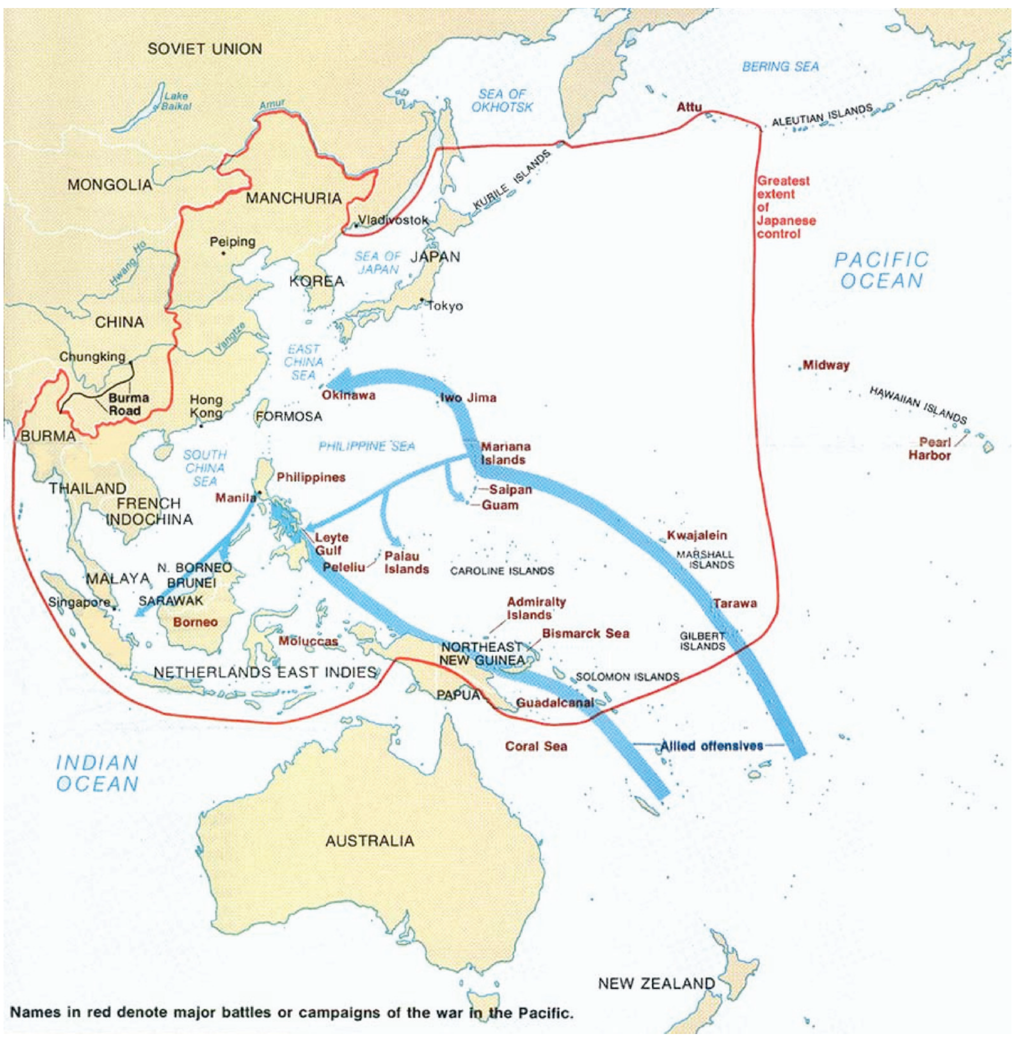
President Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945 shortly before scientists were ready to test the bomb. President Truman was informed of the plans to build it only after he first met with his cabinet. Not much later, it became Harry Truman's job to decide whether to use this weapon to force Japan into an unconditional surrender. Truman had to decide whether to kill well over 100,000 of the enemy's civilians in order to end World War II sooner, even though strong evidence existed that the Japanese were willing to discuss an "honorable surrender." This chapter attempts to supply the information that will help you decide whether President Truman made the right decision.

War Against Japan: Three American Victories

The first of three significant battles began on May 4th, 1942 in an area of the Pacific Ocean known as the Coral Sea. An American fleet intercepted Japanese invaders heading for New Guinea. Over four days, more than 250 aircraft bombed, strafed, and torpedoed their targets. This battle was the first in history in which opposing fleets never caught sight of one another. Although the U.S. and Japanese suffered roughly equal losses, the United States won the battle because it prevented the Japanese invasion of New Guinea and because it could more easily build new ships to replace the ones destroyed than Japan could.

In June 1942, Japan's Admiral Yamamoto devised a plan to attack and destroy U.S. carriers at Midway. U.S. fleet commander Admiral Nimitz learned of the plan because the U.S. had cracked the secret Japanese military code. Nimitz sent all available U.S. carriers to await the Japanese. On June 4th, U.S. torpedo bombers located and prepared to attack the Japanese carriers. The Japanese aimed their guns at the low-flying torpedo planes closing in on the carriers. While the torpedo planes were being destroyed by Japanese fire, a squadron of U.S. bombers caught sight of the Japanese carriers. The bombers swooped down unopposed from 19,000 feet and in five fiery minutes sank three of the four carriers along with the planes on board being refueled. The U.S. pursued and sank the fourth carrier the next day.

After its crushing defeat at Midway, the Japanese were determined to regain the upper hand. This need led to a seven-month long struggle for an island chain northeast of Australia. The Japanese began work on an airfield on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands during the summer of 1942. If completed, the airfield could have been used as a base from which to launch attacks against U.S. and Australian shipping. Twelve thousand marines landed on Guadalcanal in August to drive the Japanese off the island. However, they succeeded only in forcing the Japanese into the jungles around the airstrip. This maneuver led to a major land, air, and sea struggle. Time after time, Japanese ships carried invasion forces down the narrow waters between the two chains of islands known as the Solomons to complete their airbase. Each time, U.S. ships, planes, and troops beat them back. Finally, in February 1943 Japan's navy pulled out the last defenders. Japanese naval, aircraft, and troop losses had been larger than those of the United States and far more difficult to replace. Thus, the tide of war in the Pacific had definitely turned in favor of the United States.



Names in red denote major battles or campaigns of the war in the Pacific.

Offensive in the Pacific

With Japan on the defensive, the U.S. decided on a plan to attack the Japanese Home Islands. General MacArthur would command an assault on Japan by way of New Guinea and the Philippines. Meanwhile, Admiral Nimitz would oversee a naval advance on Japan from the east through the open waters of the central Pacific. Here, the U.S. could make effective use of its growing fleet of fast carriers to support transport ships and landing crafts, making it possible to land troops on the chain of islands controlled by Japan. In this way, American forces would manage to advance on two fronts while a submarine blockade and an aerial bombardment would reduce Japan's ability to wage war.

In October 1944, American forces under General MacArthur began to drive the Japanese out of the Philippines. There they found that American prisoners left behind in 1942 had been horribly mistreated by their Japanese jailers. In February 1945, U.S. Marines landed in Iwo Jima. The U.S. needed this rocky island, only 750 miles from Tokyo, as a refueling airfield the Japanese defenders chose to fight to the death rather than surrender. In the bloody battle that followed, nearly all of the only prisoners taken were soldiers too weak to commit suicide. Twenty thousand Marines were killed or wounded trying to uproot the stubborn enemy from their underground bunkers. The classic photograph of Marines raising the American flag over the island appears on the left.

Marines raising flag at Iwo Jima, February 23, 1945

The last of a series of stepping-stones to Japan was the island of Okinawa. On April 1st, 1945, U.S. Marines and Army units stormed the island's shores. While the Japanese army fought for every foot of Okinawa, the United States sank what was left of the Japanese navy. Using 3500 planes loaded with explosives and flown by suicide *(kamikaze)* pilots, the Japanese sank or damaged 280 U.S. ships during the battle for Okinawa. It took three months for the U.S. to conquer the island, but the hard-fought victory put U.S. troops 375 miles from Japan.

High-altitude bombing of Japan began in November 1944. In order to protect themselves, U.S. pilots flew their missions at night. Because of the distance and the darkness, these raids were not very effective. However, in May 1945, General Curtis LeMay changed the whole nature of air raids against Japan. Without first getting permission from his superiors, LeMay ordered his bomber crews to fly by day and stay close to the ground. Attacking with incendiary bombs, this first low-level raid burned 16 square miles of Tokyo, killed 88,000, and left 250,000 homeless. Army Air Corps generals in Washington were pleased with the results and made plans for more killer raids on cities. Eventually, air raids destroyed nearly one-half of Japan's 66 cities.

Defense of the Homeland

After Okinawa, the Japanese made elaborate preparations to defend their homeland. Since they lacked the planes to prevent bombing raids, enough ships to stop an invasion fleet, and the soldiers to defeat the Americans once they landed, they set up a three-step plan:

Japanese high school girls wave cherry blossom branches as a *kamikaze* pilot takes off

1. 4000 Japanese *kamikaze* pilots would fly planes loaded with explosives directly into US invasion ships.
2. A wall of gunfire would mow down the invaders as they landed.
3. Human wave attacks would drive surviving Americans into the sea.

Conditions in Japan

Japanese leaders who made plans for fighting U.S. forces knew little about how the average Japanese citizen stayed alive from day to day. Fire-starting bombs like the ones dropped on Tokyo had already destroyed many Japanese cities. Survivors spent night after sleepless night in crowded air-raid shelters. The Japanese suffered from a shortage of rice, vegetables, meat, and milk. Even the potatoes planted to improve their miserable diet were used to make aviation gasoline.

Japan's economic life had ground to a halt in the spring of 1945. Its factories lacked coal and iron, as well as any reliable means of transportation. Production of ships and planes practically stopped. The aircraft that the Home Islands possessed proved no match for superior American fighters, and Japanese airfields sat basically unprotected from American bombers.

Japan depended completely on the outside world for the food, raw materials, and fuel needed to continue the war and to feed its population. The U.S. naval blockade of Japan sealed it off from sources of supplies. Furthermore, five million Japanese soldiers in other parts of Asia had no way of returning to defend their homeland.

To strengthen their armed forces, the Japanese drafted 15-year-old boys; these teenagers served in local defense units with men old enough to be their grandfathers. Only one in ten soldiers had a gun, and many of these weapons were of an ancient, muzzle-loading design. The government asked civilians to cut bamboo and make spears to attack heavily armed U.S. invaders. Weakened by hunger, these boys and old men could barely knock over straw puppets when they trained with their sharpened bamboo poles.

The Movement to End the War

Many Japanese citizens must have suspected that their country had little chance in the face of the expected American invasion. Even the most peace loving, however, did not dare to speak out against the war. Spies and informers reported defeatist talk to government officials. No one in the highest circles of government openly argued that Japan ought to accept the Allied demand for unconditional surrender. Assassinations had long been used by those in power against political opponents and had succeeded in silencing all of them. Still, many high-ranking officials opposed the war. They had the support of Emperor Hirohito. Although removed from the day-to-day decision-making process of government, the emperor was able to work behind the scenes. He used his court and political privileges to help develop a peace plan. The peace faction would talk with diplomats from the Soviet Union to persuade them to enter the war on Japan's side. If that failed, Japan could ask the Soviets to arrange an honorable peace with the United States on some terms other than unconditional surrender. Japan's Supreme Council, called by the Emperor himself, decided to seek Soviet help in arranging a negotiated peace. On the day that Okinawa fell, the Emperor appointed his favorite cousin, Prince Konoye, to negotiate with the Soviets. However, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov was too busy preparing for the July Potsdam Conference to meet with Konoye. Evidence shows that U.S. leaders knew of Japan's intention to seek a negotiated end of the war, since U.S. intelligence agents who read Japan's messages wrote about these intentions in their diaries.

Arguments for and Against Using the Bomb

In a test conducted on the desert sands around Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945, the U.S. began the Nuclear Age by exploding the first atomic device. Not long after its mushroom-shaped cloud rose over the New Mexico desert, President Truman faced an extremely difficult decision. He had to decide whether to use nuclear weapons on Japanese cities without first showing the Japanese that he had the power to destroy them, and before exploring the possibility of negotiating surrender on terms acceptable to the U.S. and its allies.

Explosion of the first atomic bomb

As President Truman began the process of deciding whether to use recently created nuclear weapons against Japan, he appointed an interim committee to advise him. It was made up of various military officers, scientists, and state department officials. Almost from the beginning, committee members seemed to lean toward dropping atomic bombs on Japanese cities. They argued that large civilian casualties were already being caused by conventional air raids. In addition, an estimate of 500,000 U.S. casualties in an invasion, and potential post-war problems with the Soviets were also raised as reasons to drop the nuclear bombs on one or more Japanese cities. The Chairman of the Interim Committee, Henry L. Stimson, later reviewed some of the arguments supporting this decision:

> As we understood it in July, there was a very strong possibility that the Japanese government might determine upon resistance to the end, in all the areas of the Far East under its control. In such an event the Allies would be faced with the enormous task of destroying an armed force of 5 million men and 5 thousand suicide [*kamikaze*] aircraft, belonging to a race which had already demonstrated its ability to fight to the death.
>
> I felt to extract a genuine surrender from the Emperor and his military advisors, they must be administered a tremendous shock which could carry convincing proof of our power to destroy the Empire. Such an effective shock could save many times the lives, both American and Japanese, than it would cost.
>
> Nothing would have been more damaging to our effort to obtain surrender than a warning or a demonstration followed by a dud [bomb that would not go off]—this was a real possibility. Furthermore, we had no bombs to waste. It was vital that a sufficient effect be quickly obtained with the few we had.

A reason for opposing the use of the bomb was stated by Ralph Beard, undersecretary of the Navy:

> During recent weeks I have had the feeling that the Japanese government may be searching for an opportunity that they could use as an excuse to surrender. Emissaries from the US could meet with representatives from Japan on the coast of China and…[give them] information concerning the proposed use of atomic weapons, together with assurance the President might care to make with regard to the Emperor of Japan and the treatment of the Japanese nation following unconditional surrender. It seems quite possible to me that this represents the opportunity [to arrange for the terms of an honorable surrender] which the Japanese are looking for. The only way to find out is to try it out.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Name the battles or the events that occurred on the dates given on the chart and write a quick description along with the significance of each in the provided spaces.

Date	Battle/Event	Quick Description including significance
12/7/41		
5/4/42		
6/4/42		
2/43		
2/44		
2/23/45		
4/1/45		
4/12/45		
4/45		
7/16/45		
8/6/45*		
8/9/45*		
9/2/45*		

* For Further Consideration (optional)

B. Student Exercise:

Prepare a written argument in favor of or against dropping an atomic bomb on a Japanese city without further warnings, staging a nuclear bomb test as a demonstration, or negotiating with the Japanese emperor. Come to class ready to present your argument, listen to the views of others, and either defend or change your opinion.

For Further Consideration: What did Nuclear Bombing Accomplish?

On August 4th, 1945, the U.S. had at least two A-bombs ready. President Truman gave the order to use them as soon as possible. On August 6th, the weather was perfect as the first of three planes approached Hiroshima from an altitude of five miles. It was 8:15 am. The *Enola Gay* released its single bomb over the center of the city. Immediately afterwards, the plane turned upward sharply to avoid the shock wave of the blast. The bomb plunged toward the city, where some 350,000 people were just starting their day's activities. It exploded 1850 feet above the ground, the altitude at which experts believed the bomb would have the greatest destructive effect.

In the city below, air raid sirens had already sounded the all clear. At that very moment, a blinding fireball exploded, raising temperatures briefly to one million degrees Fahrenheit. Within seconds, some 50,000 people, mostly civilians, were dead; fires started up to two miles away.

Altogether 71,379 people were killed or missing. Another 68,023 were seriously injured. Most of them were terribly burned and eventually died of radiation exposure. Nearly five square miles of the city were reduced to rubble, and eight out of every ten buildings in Hiroshima were destroyed.

The heat of the blast melted the eyes of soldiers that had witnessed the explosion from their positions at anti-aircraft guns. Children were killed instantly on their way to school and longshoremen died at their docks. What few medical supplies remained in Hiroshima soon got used up. The doctors who survived the blast were unable to do much more than ease the pain of the dying.

The human dimensions of this tragedy are best described by a single example, multiplied 71,379 times:

A first grader, Issaku Watanabe, was walking with a friend to their school at the instant of the explosion. Shocked and numbed, they turned in their tracks and started back to Issaku's house. On the way, Issaku's friend died. He himself, face inflated like a grotesque balloon, somehow managed to get home. The only clothes left on his body were a pair of underpants: even his shoes had disintegrated. By the time he reached home he was trembling all over.

While his mother ran to take him in her arms, he cried, "Don't touch me! Everything hurts so! Just let me sleep." In the house everything had been turned upside down. Issaku's mother managed to push two sofas together in the guest room. The boy lay down for a time. He could feel the skin in the palm of his hands had by now peeled completely away: he knew that his head was badly burned; his eyes and mouth grossly swollen.

What was she to do? There was no medicine in the house that could relieve the pains of such severe burns. In stricken silence, she sat down besides her suffering son; she was too saddened even to be able to cry…Some time later…Issaku was put on a wooden trestle and carried to a reception center. He was running a temperature. His mother kept putting wet towels on his forehead but they did no good. He was soon delirious, and at six in the morning he died… [1]

On August 7th and 8th, the stunned Japanese government gathered as much information as it could to learn exactly what happened in Hiroshima. At 5 p.m. on the 7th, Prince Konoye, the Emperor's representative, was finally granted a long-delayed meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. Molotov immediately informed the ambassador that the Soviet Union would declare war on his country within seven hours, thus ending all hopes that the USSR would help Japan.

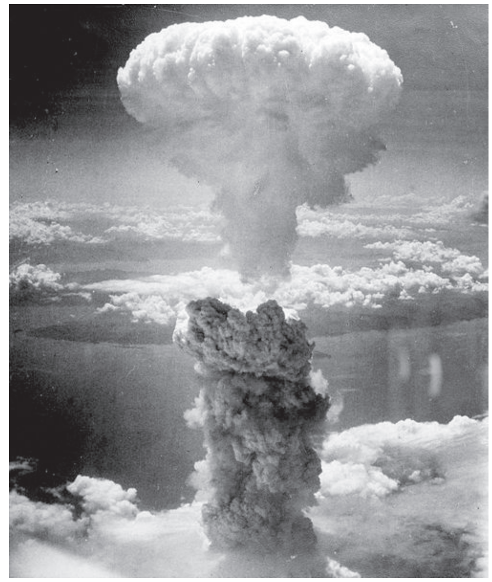
On August 8th, Soviet troops stormed across the Manchurian border and attacked Japanese forces. The Japanese army put up very little resistance.

On August 9th, the U.S. dropped a second atomic bomb, this time over the city of Nagasaki. Originally, this bomb had been scheduled for use on August 11th, but a great effort was made to prepare the bomb and a plane before several days of predicted bad weather. As a result, another 39,000 people died.

2 The Pacific War Research Society, *The Day Man Lost* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1972), pp. 245–246, 288.

Japan Surrenders

On August 10th, the Japanese government informed the Allies that it would agree to surrender if the emperor were allowed to keep his position as head of the government. The U.S. gave a vague reply, telling the Japanese that the emperor would be "subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied powers" who would "take such steps as [it] deems proper to bring about the terms of surrender." On August 15th, the emperor addressed the people of Japan and its armed forces, advising them that he had accepted the demand for unconditional surrender, and he asked his troops to lay down their weapons. Two weeks later, on September 2nd, 1945, the Japanese government formally surrendered to General Douglas MacArthur on board the battleship, the *USS Missouri.*



Atomic mushroom cloud over Nagasaki

The Japanese emperor was allowed to stay as titular (in name only) head of the government while the Allied Supreme Command established a constitutional monarchy in which Hirohito played a strictly ceremonial role. Under MacArthur's leadership, Japan established a democratic government and a strong economy based on the free enterprise model existing in the United States.

Nuclear Weapons Today

More than 60 years have passed since the U.S. destroyed two cities, immediately killing over 20,000 people and leaving tens of thousands to die from the bombs' after effects. Since then, nine nations have developed nuclear weapons of their own and others may be on the verge of obtaining nuclear weapons technology. The U.S. is still the only nation in the world that has ever used its nuclear weapons in war. The question still remains—did President Truman make the right decision in August 1945?

Come to class ready to tell your classmates what decisions Truman made, to describe the destruction that followed, and to explain what effect you think these events should have on the opinion of anyone who values human life.

Chapter 6. The Cold War and
Chapter 7. Divided Germany and the Berlin Blockade
Teacher Page

Overview:

Because Chapter 7 is a logical extension of the account begun in Chapter 6, the two are discussed in tandem.

Chapter 6 provides a brief review of the reasons both the U.S. and the Soviet Union became so suspicious of one another that what had been a fragile wartime alliance bloomed into a full-fledged cold war. That story starts with the rise of communism in Russia and the pronounced purpose of the ruling party to undermine capitalism. The story continues with the decision to exclude the Soviet Union from the Munich Conference, the Allies' delay in opening a second front during World War II, grudging concessions to the Soviets at Yalta, and the Soviet Union's failure to honor its agreements with England and the U.S. The chapter continues with a quote from Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, and it ends with the words of Henry Wallace, George Kennan, and John Foster Dulles explaining how the U.S. should respond to the Soviets' provocative behavior in eastern Europe. Students are asked to review the behavior of both sides from each side's perspective, and then explain why they agree with Wallace, Kennan, or Dulles and disagree with the other two.

Chapter 7 begins with an explanation of the post-World War II partition of Germany and Berlin. Students then learn about the dispute that led to the Soviet blockade of Berlin, and are asked how the Western powers should have responded: use tanks and the threat of nuclear war to blast their way through to Berlin (Dulles's brinksmanship), fly over the blockade (Kennan's containment), or allow the Soviet Union to incorporate the western sections of Berlin (Wallace's neo-isolationism). The epilogue (also serving as the "For Further Consideration" section) recounts the story of the successful Berlin Airlift. It also summarizes subsequent events that eventually led to the end of partition and a dramatic victory for the containment policy along the lines predicted by George Kennan.

Objectives:

Students will:

- realize that a case could be made that the acts by the Soviet Union that provoked hostile responses by the U.S. could be attributed to irrational fears rather than evil intent
- assess the arguments for and against neo-isolationism, containment, and brinksmanship in responding to Soviet provocations
- understand how Germany and Berlin were partitioned
- discuss what option the U.S. and Great Britain should have used to respond to

the Soviet blockade of Western Berlin
- realize that the containment policy worked

Strategies:

Before class: Assuming you will cover Chapters 6 and 7 in two days, assign Chapter 6 either up to or including the “For Further Consideration” section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Point out that the U.S. and the USSR were reluctant allies during World War II and became Cold War enemies. Proceed by asking your students how they answered the perspective-taking exercise from the Graphic Organizer. Try to help students see that the Cold War started in part because each side interpreted the actions of the other as indications of hostile intent. Once you have established this context, ask students to share their responses to the policy alternatives question and discuss the pros and cons of each approach. Tell students that they will be asked in the next chapter to apply their ideas to a specific instance of Soviet provocation.

Before class: Assign Chapter 7 either up to or including the “For Further Consideration” section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Begin class by reviewing the three policy options argued by Wallace, Kennan, and Dulles. Once assured that students understand all three positions, review the main events described in the chapter: the partition of Germany and the imposition of the blockade. Ask students to share what they advocated the U.S. and England should have done and have students defend their positions. Leave sufficient time to have advanced students share what they learned from reading the epilogue: the amazingly successful airlift and subsequent events based on the philosophy of containment that eventually resulted in the unification of Germany.

Chapter 6. The Cold War and Chapter 7. Divided Germany and the Berlin Blockade I-Chart

	How did the Cold War start?	What were three different ways in which the U.S. might have responded to Soviet provocations?	What was the Berlin Blockade and how did it end?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 6			
What I learned from Chapter 7			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 6— The Cold War

imposed	confiscated	dissidents
expropriation	intimately	vigilant
superfluous	blustering	

Chapter 6— The Cold War

	Careful and alert to danger	People who publicly disagree with their government's policies
Noisy, loud, and threatening	Closely and personally	To have taken something away
More than necessary	Taking money or property away from somebody; usually done by a government	To have forced something on somebody

Chapter 7—Divided Germany and the Berlin Blockade

counterparts	**ambivalent**	**Deutsche marks**
staunchly	**retaliation**	**confrontation**
revulsion	**vulnerable**	

	The act of facing down somebody or something directly	Deutsche = German; mark = name of German currency; no longer used
Likely to get hurt either physically or emotionally	The act of getting back at someone	Having mixed feelings about something
The condition of being disgusted	Loyally, dependably, or enthusiastically	People who play a very similar position in another organization or government

Chapter 6
The Cold War

Introduction


U.S. soldiers meet with their Soviet allies near the Elbe River during the closing days of WWII

Imagine being friendly with a classmate not because you especially like him or her, but because you have a mutual enemy. Your hours of cooperating with this person may have resulted in defeating your mutual enemy, but not in a relationship of trust.

The same could be said of teammates who do not get along as individuals but can cooperate in order to win the big game. More to the point, the same dynamic describes the relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during World War II. Neither side trusted the other. The U.S. suspected the communists would continue their stated goal of inciting a workers' revolution in all "capitalistic" countries. One result of this distrust was a failure to enlist Joseph Stalin in an attempt to contain Germany as Hitler pressured Czechoslovakia to give up its valuable territory adjacent to Germany. Stalin accepted a deal with Germany to divide Poland and gain control of Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. However, after German troops attacked the Soviet Union on June 22nd, 1941, the U.S. decided it needed Stalin on its side in order to defeat a mutual enemy. The U.S. therefore extended Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union, and the Soviets proved to be valuable allies. Three out of every four German soldiers who fought in WWII fought on the Russian front. During the war, the Soviets lost more than 1700 towns and villages and an estimated 25 million people. However, they managed to push Hitler out of their country after his armies had surrounded Leningrad, approached the gates of Moscow, and entered Stalingrad. As the war continued, Roosevelt and Churchill angered Stalin by delaying the opening of a second front in Europe that would draw German soldiers out of the Soviet Union. Finally, on June 6th, 1944—D-Day—the long-delayed cross–channel landing on the beaches of Normandy by British, American, and Canadian forces weakened Hitler's armies, and Germany surrendered less than a year later. Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union halted immediately after Germany surrendered, but following angry protests from the Soviets, it was resumed shortly afterward.

At the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, the reluctant allies, (the U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union) made important wartime agreements essential to keeping the peace after the war. They included a temporary division of Germany and Berlin among the allies and a promise by the Soviet Union to permit democracy in eastern Europe. Claiming that the Allies had imposed their form of governments on the areas they liberated from Germany (Italy in the case of the U.S., and Greece in the case of Great Britain), the USSR quickly converted the countries it had liberated from German control into Soviet satellite states. They confiscated private property, banned political parties, prohibited freedom of expression, and imprisoned dissidents. Winston Churchill, England's great wartime leader, called attention to the promises the Soviets made but had not kept. His speech became known for comparing the closing of eastern Europe to the lowering of an "iron curtain":

> From Stetting 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. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

All eastern European countries except Yugoslavia were occupied by the Soviet Union after WWII

How Should the U.S. Have Responded to Soviet Provocation?

The realization that the Soviet Union had become a dangerous empire with expansionistic ambitions caused a widespread policy debate in the United States. Various leaders expressed different and often conflicting views. The following strategies were considered not only during the 1940s and 1950s, but during the entire period (from 1946–91) known as the Cold War.

Neo-Isolationism: Henry Wallace

President Truman wanted to make it clear that the isolationist views expressed in the following speech did not represent those of his government. He therefore hastily removed Henry Wallace from his position as Secretary of Commerce for remarks made below.


Henry Wallace

[We must]…recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than the USSR has in the political affairs of Latin America. We may not like what the Soviets do in Eastern Europe. Communist land reform, industrial expropriation [government take-over of businesses], and suppression of basic liberties offends the majority of Americans. But whether we like it or not, the Soviets will try to socialize their sphere of influence, just as we try to democratize ours.

We must realize that we are reckoning with a force which cannot be handled successfully by a "get tough with the USSR" policy. "Getting tough" never brought about real and lasting peace…The tougher we get, the tougher the Soviets will get. What we need to do is find issues on which we and the Soviets can cooperate. Then we can negotiate agreements on these issues and thus build up a peace based on trust and mutual interest.

Containment: George Kennan

Unlike Wallace, George Kennan had been schooled in foreign policy. He was intimately acquainted with the internal workings of the Soviet Union, where he had served as U.S. ambassador for many years. In an 8000-word telegram and in an influential article titled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," Kennan advocated a rigorous policy to contain Soviet expansion:


George Kennan

[I]t is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. This will be done by the adroit [skillful] and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy. The Soviet threat cannot be charmed or talked out of existence.

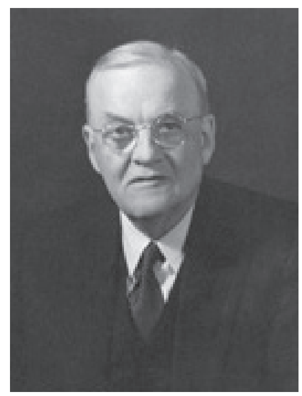
It is important to note, however, that such a policy [containment] has nothing to do with outward histrionics: with threats or blustering or superfluous gestures of outward “toughness.” While the Kremlin is basically flexible in its reaction to political realities, it is by no means unamenable to considerations of prestige…It can be placed by tactless and threatening gestures in a position where it cannot afford to yield.

[But] the United States has it within its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate and will promote tendencies…[to] the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. This eventually will bring Soviet leadership to adjust itself in one way or another to the logic of that [U.S-produced] state of affairs.

Liberation and Nuclear Brinksmanship: John Foster Dulles

For six years, John Foster Dulles served as President Eisenhower’s influential but controversial Secretary of State. Although Dulles’s advice was not always followed, it always rated serious consideration. He strongly voiced his opposition to containment and advocated what became known as “nuclear brinksmanship:”

[A] policy which only aims at containing Russia where it now is, is in itself an unsound policy; but it is a policy which is bound to fail because a purely defensive policy never wins against an aggressive policy. If our only policy is to stay where we are, we will be driven back. It is only by keeping alive the hope of liberation, by taking advantage of that wherever opportunity arises, that we will end this peril which threatens the world.



John Foster Dulles

We need a security system for ourselves and other free nations, a maximum deterrent at a bearable cost...Local defense must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power [the atom bomb]…

You have to take risks for peace just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. Of course we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to that verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer: Looking at Events from Different Perspectives

How would Soviet and American patriots have interpreted each of the events described below? Place your answers in the proper place on the chart.

Event	American Perspective	Soviet Perspective
After taking power in Russia, communists continued advocating a workers' revolt in capitalist countries		
England and France did not invite the Soviet Union to participate in the Munich Conference		
The U.S. gave Lend-Lease aid to the USSR during WWII, but stopped this aid right after Germany surrendered		
The U.S. and England postponed the cross-channel invasion until June 1944		
The Americans complained that Soviets imposed communist, pro-Soviet governments in eastern Europe, but not when England supported friendly governments in Italy and Greece and, along with France, reasserted control over their colonies. Meanwhile, Jim Crow laws continued in Southern states in the U.S.		

B. Student Exercise

Assume the role of an adviser to President Truman during the early years of the Cold War. Carefully explain why you would have urged the president to follow one of the policies listed below and not one of the others:

a. Wallace's isolationism
b. Kennan's containment
c. Dulles's Liberation and brinksmanship

For Further Consideration:
Case Study for Response to Soviet Provocation

If instructed to do so by your teacher, read the next chapter in this unit up to but not including the epilogue, and plan to argue either Dulles' case for brinksmanship or Wallace's case for isolationism as the policy to follow in response to the Soviet blockade.

Chapter 7
Divided Germany and the Berlin Blockade

Introduction

The fate of Germany was one of the most important issues separating American and British negotiators from their Soviet counterparts during World War II. Would Germany be divided among the victorious allies, or would it be allowed to reunite? Would Germany also be forced to pay for the damages and loss of lives it caused during the war? These and many other questions were answered at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences in 1944 and 1945. Germany and its capital, Berlin, were temporarily divided among the victorious allies. Furthermore, (by verbal agreement) the U.S. and Great Britain would be allowed free passage by road, railroad, and plane from their zones to the capital (see map).

In this chapter you will learn that, despite its promise, the Soviet Union decided to stop all traffic to Berlin from the zones in Germany controlled by England and the U.S. You will have to decide what strategy the Allies should have used to respond to this provocation: isolationism, as Henry Wallace might have suggested; containment, as George Kennan would have counseled; or brinksmanship with the threat of massive retaliation, as John Foster Dulles might have advised.

Divided Germany

Germany soon became one source of disagreement among the victorious allies. The U.S. and Great Britain were intent on unifying Germany. France was ambivalent and, fearing a restored Germany would again launch an attack on the Soviet Union, the USSR was vehemently opposed to reunification. The U.S. and Great Britain combined their zones under a weakened unified government (called Bizonia) and made plans to issue a new currency in their zones as well as in Berlin. The Soviets objected. They had established a pro-Russian communist government in their zone while the U.S. and Great Britain encouraged a democratic, pro-Western government in their parts of Berlin. The Soviets believed that a new currency would represent a first step toward uniting the British, French, and American zones in both Berlin and West Germany into a single country. Soviet leaders became enraged when the U.S. and Great Britain brought 20,000 crates of the new Deutsche Marks into Berlin and their own zones on

June 18th, 1948. The Soviets feared that bringing new currency into the Allied zones would probably lead to combining them into a united, anti-communist West Germany. In retaliation, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin ordered all access halted to West Berlin by road or rail. The Soviets stopped cars and trucks at a checkpoint entering Berlin and turned them back; trains were similarly diverted. No passengers or cargo from the western zones were allowed to enter Berlin.

The U.S. and Great Britain now faced a difficult situation. Nearly two million staunchly anti-communist Germans lived in the French, British, and American zones in Berlin and depended on the West for their supply of food and fuel. Six thousand American and British soldiers occupied West Berlin. The purpose of the blockade, it seemed to them, was to drive French, British, and Americans out of the German capital. But what could the U.S. and Great Britain do?

One possibility, brinksmanship and massive retaliation, was to use U.S. tanks to accompany a convoy of trucks and force their way on the overland route through East Germany to Berlin. However, this had the potential of leading to a military confrontation in an area where Soviet troops outnumbered the West's by a ratio of 17 divisions to 1. In that case, the U.S. would have to use nuclear weapons. U.S. strategists had already devised a contingency plan to destroy 40 Soviet cities, knock out 30 to 40 percent of its fuel, and kill seven million workers with 133 atomic bombs. The Soviet Union at that time did not have a single nuclear weapon. The problem with this alternative was the revulsion with which the world would regard the U.S. for using such a horrible weapon on a former ally and killing millions of innocent people.

Another possibility, containment, involved flying over East Germany and supplying West Berlin by air. The idea behind this strategy was that the Soviets would not want to risk further escalation and would therefore have to allow the airlift to succeed. However, there was a shortage of available planes, and feeding two million people coupled with the problem of supplying enough fuel to last through the next winter would require nearly 5000 tons a day with 400 planes in constant service. Furthermore, there was no guarantee that the Soviets would not shoot American and British planes down as they entered East German airspace.

Under the final possibility, isolationism, the U.S. could stop currency reform completely and allow the western zones of Berlin, like all of eastern Europe, to fall into Soviet hands. Even if the blockade were lifted, West Berlin would still lie 110 miles within East Germany and would always remain vulnerable to Soviet aggression. The danger, of course, was whether inaction by the West might encourage further Soviet aggression.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises:

1. How did the Allies administer Germany and Berlin after World War II?

2. Why did the Soviet Union decide to block access to Berlin?

3. Write two paragraphs—one supporting one of the three alternatives (neo-isolationism, brinksmanship, containment) and another opposing one of the three alternatives. Come to class prepared to present your opinion, listen to the opinions of others, and defend your own or change your thinking.

For Further Consideration: Evaluating What Happened

President Harry Truman turned down Berlin Commanding General Lucius Clay's request for tanks to accompany a convoy of trucks through East Germany to deliver supplies. He also rejected Winston Churchill's suggestion to threaten the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons. He did authorize an airlift with the few aircraft on hand and gradually expanded it to involve 250 American and 150 British planes. Within six months, the airlift was delivering the required 4500 tons of food and fuel per day. Planes landed every three minutes, were quickly unloaded by waiting crews, and immediately returned to West Germany for the next trip. This spectacular airlift won international praise for the pilots who flew the planes and the governments that financed the operation. It was an impressive display of American power and goodwill and had an electrifying effect on western European morale and support for America's mission in Europe. Furthermore, the airlift made the Soviet Union look foolish and mean-spirited. Realizing he had miscalculated in judging the West's resolve, Stalin announced the lifting of the blockade in May 1949. However, President Truman decided to continue the airlift through September in order to make sure that West Berlin had adequate supplies to withstand another long disruption of traffic through the Russian zone.

German civilians watch an American plane take off during the Berlin Airlift

Along with the airlift, other American policies succeeded in containing Soviet expansion in Europe. The U.S. significantly bolstered the West German as well as other western European economies by implementing the Marshall Plan, which poured 12.8 billion dollars into receiving countries to help them recover economically from the damages caused by six years of war. American aid was so successful that, by 1952, production in Europe exceeded the pace of economic activity in the last year before the war.

The airlift enabled the French, British, and Americans to proceed with plans for the unification of West Germany. The West German government was formed in May 1949 with its capital in Bonn. It governed West Germany successfully until 1989, when the two Germanys were united; several years later, Berlin once again served as the capital of a unified and democratic Germany.

The West countered the Soviet's aggressive behavior in Europe by forming NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), a military alliance of western European countries, in 1949. The alliance included Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Eventually Greece, Germany, Spain, and Turkey joined. Among the western European countries, only Sweden, Austria, and Switzerland declined to become members. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the Cold War, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland joined NATO, and in 2004, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia were allowed to join.

Did the success of the airlift and subsequent U.S. policies in western Europe overwhelmingly prove that containment was the best policy for the U.S. to follow? Write a strong paragraph or two answering this question and come to class prepared to present your ideas, listen to what others have to say and either defend your opinion or change your mind.

Chapter 8. The Korean War
Teacher Page

Overview:

Chapter 8 begins a two-part sequence on the Korean War and the Truman-MacArthur controversy. The narrative starts with a brief summary of the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government and the so-called "loss of China." Readers are treated to excerpts from Joseph McCarthy's infamous Wheeling, West Virginia speech in which he attributed losses during the Cold War to communists in the U.S. government. Students also learn that the U.S. contemplated currying communist China's favor by cutting off relations with Chiang Kai-shek's government as part of a strategy to exploit the sometimes-strained relations between communist China and the USSR. This revelation is followed by a description of the two Koreas created at the end of World War II, Dean Acheson's infamous "Defense Perimeter" speech, and the Soviet-trained North Korean army's subsequent attack on South Korea, predicted by Congressman Walter Judd. Students are asked to make arguments from three different positions (neo-isolationist, containment, brinksmanship) regarding aiding South Korea. The "For Further Consideration" section asks advanced students to decide whether the U.S. should have applied the containment strategy and come to the aid of a country that it had indirectly stated it would not defend.

Objectives:

Students will:

- understand why Nationalist China fell to communist forces led by Mao Zedong (internal weaknesses, although Joseph McCarthy and others blamed it on the U.S. State Department)
- learn why there were two Koreas in 1949 and that neither were democratic
- decide whether the U.S. should have come to the defense of a country that it was not committed to defending, had little strategic value, and possessed no democratic traditions

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: I suggest that you start class by reviewing the concepts of containment, brinksmanship, and neo-isolationism and ask which policy President Truman should have followed. After a few minutes of discussion, review students' answers to the Graphic Organizer questions, make sure they understand the two interpretations of why Chiang Kai-shek lost China, and why two Koreas were created. Proceed by leading a discussion on whether the U.S. should have defended South Korea. I also suggest you use some method to make sure that you will have enough students on each side to have a meaningful debate in the class when students are asked to side with MacArthur or Truman.

Chapter 8. The Korean War
I-Chart

	Two explanations why China became communist	Why there were two Koreas and the ways in which they were different and similar	Reasons for and against coming to the aid of South Korea
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 8, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 8, through discussion			
What I'd still like to know			

Chapter 8—The Korean War

nepotism	Nationalists	Mao Zedong
state department	land reform	contingent
deploy	perimeter	articulate

Chapter 8—The Korean War

To express one's thoughts clearly	Depending on	Leader of communist revolution in China; still revered in that country
A boundary or border; often refers to a line of defense	Communist term for seizing lands of wealthy farmers and giving them to poor ones	Party in power in China after WWII; now in power in Taiwan
Military term referring to placing troops or supplies in a place so they will be ready when needed	The department of government responsible for foreign policy	Practice of giving good positions in government to relatives

Chapter 8—The Korean War

detonating	**impotency**	

Chapter 8—The Korean War

	Without the power to do something	Setting off something, like a bomb or a stick of dynamite

Chapter 8
The Korean War

Introduction


Chiang Kai-shek

In 1949, U.S. policymakers were seriously upset. A long civil war in China had resulted in victory for the Chinese communists, who had prevailed despite billions of dollars of economic and military aid given to the government of Nationalist president Chiang Kai-shek. During World War II, helping Chiang had represented part of a plan to support forces fighting against Japan, a common enemy. Aid to Chiang continued after WWII in the hope that he would win the 20-year-long civil war against communist leader Mao Zedong. Between 1947 and 1949, the U.S. spent billions of dollars continuing assistance to the Nationalists. Nevertheless, this policy failed because the Nationalists lost the support of the Chinese people. With their government and economy wracked by corruption, nepotism, and inflation, morale in Nationalist China lay at an all-time low. In the face of a spring offensive in 1949 by communist forces, Nationalist soldiers threw away their weapons and deserted. City after city fell to the communists, who already controlled much of the Chinese countryside. What was left of the Nationalist army escaped to the island of Taiwan and forced itself on the native Taiwanese people. Though the Nationalists still claimed to be the legitimate government of all of China, Mao Zedong and his communist soldiers had gained control of the Chinese mainland.


Mao Zedong

In Washington, D.C., President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson began forming a new policy regarding China. State Department experts were relatively sure that the United States stood in a position where it could play the two communist countries (China and the Soviet Union) off against each other. For this strategy to work, however, the U.S. would first have to cut its ties with Chiang Kai-shek. The State Department was prepared to allow Mao to finish the Chinese civil war by crossing over to Taiwan and defeating what remained of the Nationalist army. Thereafter, the U.S. was willing to extend diplomatic relations to communist China and allow its government to take Nationalist China's seat in the UN Security Council.

Two Koreas

In the wake of Chiang's downfall, the U.S. government assessed its commitments to other regions of Asia, particularly its support for South Korea. Like Germany, Korea had been temporarily divided between the victorious powers at postwar conferences with the Soviet Union. In this case, the Soviets received control over the land north of the 38th parallel, and the United States received similar powers over the area south of the 38th parallel. In its region, the U.S. attempted to establish a democratic government. However, South Korea's president, Syngman Rhee, acted more like a dictator than a democrat. In an attempt to suppress all left-leaning opponents to his regime, he imprisoned more Koreans than Japan had in the last years of its occupation. North of the 38th parallel, pro-Soviet strongman Kim Il Sung used communist ideology to justify a cruel tyranny. He claimed to support land reform, income redistribution, and other "progressive" policies similar to Soviet "reforms" in eastern Europe. In 1947, North Korea resisted calls from the United Nations to participate with the South in holding free elections to reunify Korea, as had been promised at a meeting in Moscow in December 1945. In the meantime, the Soviet Union supported President Kim's goal of building a 135,000-man army in the North and supplied it with 150 tanks, heavy artillery, and a credible air force. The Soviet Union withdrew its troops from North Korea in 1948. Meanwhile, the Republican-dominated U.S. Congress failed to provide the Truman administration with the funds it needed to station a strong contingent of U.S. troops in South Korea. The U.S. assigned a total of 500 military advisors to the Army of the Republic of South Korea (ROK) and helped it build its troop strength to 100,000 men. Fearing that Syngman Rhee would make good on his threats to invade North Korea, the U.S. decided not to provide the ROK with tanks, heavy artillery, and airplanes.

Note the locations of the Koreas, Japan, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Philippines

Three Speeches

The now infamous "Defense Perimeter" speech that Secretary of State Dean Acheson gave on January 12th, 1950 reflected the difficult commitments the U.S. was forced to make. In his speech, Acheson identified the countries in Asia that the U.S. was prepared to defend. He, in effect, drew an imaginary line defining U.S. commitments that encompassed the Aleutian chain of islands off Alaska, Japan, and the Philippines, but did not include South Korea, Taiwan, Cambodia, or Vietnam. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, future president Dwight Eisenhower, and the U.S. commander in Japan, Douglas MacArthur, supported this assessment of America's capacity to effectively deploy its limited forces in light of Soviet military superiority. However, Republican Congressman Walter Judd made a speech severely criticizing the lack of commitment to defending South Korea and Taiwan. Judd predicted this would encourage a communist attack in the areas not within the perimeter the U.S. had pledged to defend.

While Judd's speech is not well known today, a speech given on February 9th, 1950 by Senator Joe McCarthy is still regarded as a watershed in American history. The speech put the place where it was given (Wheeling, West Virginia) on the map and blazed the name of the man who delivered it across national headlines. McCarthy captured and articulated a feeling that the loss of eastern Europe, the China disaster, Russia detonating an atomic bomb (in 1949), and several spy cases were all signs that America was losing the Cold War. McCarthy offered his countrymen a simple explanation: communists had infiltrated the U.S. government.

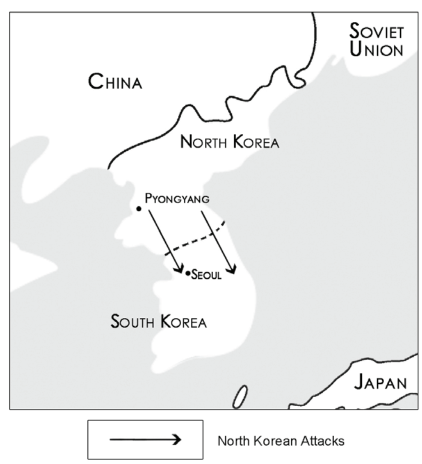
> The reasons why we find ourselves in a position of impotency [in international affairs] is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous action of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. The bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been worst. In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly infested with Communists.

Senator Joseph McCarthy

South Korea Attacked

Walter Judd's prediction came true. On June 25th, 1950, at 4 a.m. Korean time, North Korean troops led by 100 Soviet-made tanks crossed the 38th parallel at three different points. The next day, the United Nations Commission at the border confirmed the facts of the attack. North Korean forces that had been seen massing at the border drove the South Korean Army helter-skelter down the Korean peninsula.

News of the war reached President Truman at his home in Independence, Missouri. He returned to Washington the next day and closeted himself with Secretary of State Dean Acheson and other presidential advisors. Their immediate problem: decide what response the U.S. should make to this unprovoked attack on a country the United States had not pledged to defend.



Defend South Korea?

The most important consideration was whether fighting a war in Korea was worth the potential cost in men and money that it would entail. Strong reasons existed not to come to South Korea's defense. It made little sense for the U.S. to spend valuable resources and troops on an Asian country some 13,000 miles away that had little strategic value, no important resources, and was ruled by a dictator. It seemed a better use of limited funds to use the U.S. military to defend western European democracies from the possibility of an attack by the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the U.S. risked losing any chance of friendship with communist China if it engaged in a battle with its neighbor, North Korea; America might even get dragged into a land war in China. Surely the U.S. had some interests to defend in Korea, but it could not be asked to come to the defense of every country attacked by communist forces.

Powerful arguments also existed for not allowing the North Koreans, with the support of Soviet weapons and Soviet-trained troops, to take over South Korea. One lesson learned from the failure to stop Hitler early on was that the U.S. had to oppose aggression before the aggressor became too powerful. Furthermore, America's failure to come to South Korea's aid could be interpreted as a sign of weakness and an invitation for the Soviets to attack other U.S. interests, such as West Berlin. Containment had worked in western Europe as well as in Greece and Turkey. Wasn't it now time to apply George Kennan's doctrine to Asia as well, or would the U.S. allow communists to swallow another country and impose their cruel system on an additional 20 million people? In Senator McCarthy's words, the time for appeasing communists bent on world conquest was over.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Identify the person or explain the phrase in the first column.

Person/phrase	Identification/Explanation
Chiang Kai-shek	
Mao Zedong	
“Loss of China”	
Plan to become friendly with China	
“Defense Perimeter” speech	
Kim Il Sung	
Syngman Rhee	
Speech by Walter Judd	
Speech by McCarthy	
Attack on South Korea	
Decision Truman had to make	

B. Student Exercise:

Write three short speeches about whether the U.S. should have come to South Korea's aid: one advocating Wallace's isolationism, another supporting Dulles's brinksmanship, and a third proposing Kennan's containment idea.

For Further Consideration

Do you think the U.S. should have come to the aid of South Korea? Why or why not? Write a paragraph on this question and come to class prepared to present your ideas, listen to the opinions of others, and either defend or change your opinion.

Chapter 9. The President and the General
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter continues the story of the Korean War and concentrates on the issues raised in the controversy between President Truman and General MacArthur. It recounts the seesaw struggle in Korea, including the stand at Pusan, the risky but successful landing at Inchon, and the UN's rapid advance across the 38th parallel up to the Yalu River boundary with China. The story continues by describing the unexpected counterattack by Chinese forces, the resulting embarrassing retreat by UN troops, the stabilization of the lines south of the 38th parallel, and the bloody stalemate north and south of the 38th. The chapter covers the dispute between President Truman and General MacArthur over goals for fighting the war, the battlefield tactics involving widening the war in search of these goals, and who—the field commander or the president—should make the final decision. All students are asked to write essays covering this controversy, and the "For Further Consideration" section provides excerpts from speeches by both the president and the general defending their positions on these issues.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn of the critical turning points in the Korean War: Pusan, Inchon, the Chinese counterattack, and the stalemate around the 38th parallel
- understand the issues in the Truman-MacArthur controversies about what the war's goals should be, what tactics to use, and who should make the final decisions
- discuss whether Truman was right to advocate containment, avoid escalation, and insist on his role as commander-in-chief

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Begin by reviewing how the war started, Truman's decision to contain North Korea, and the rationales for containment, brinksmanship, and neo-isolationism. Make sure that students know the high points of the war, Pusan, Inchon, China's involvement, and the stalemate around the 38th parallel. Review the issues (goals, tactics, and who should make the final decision) in the Truman-MacArthur controversy before students argue over those questions. Expect students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to make major contributions. Leave time at the end of class to discuss what happened after MacArthur's removal—a truce leading to well over 50 more years of a divided Korea, a brutal communist dictatorship in the North now run by Kim Il Sung's son, and a cat-and-mouse game over North Korea obtaining nuclear weapons while the U.S. still maintains troops in a prosperous South Korea in order to protect it from the hostile North. Was MacArthur right after all?

Chapter 9. The President and the General
I-Chart

	The war in Korea	The controversy over relieving MacArthur of his command	The aftermath of the decision
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 9, Part I			
What I learned in class from Chapter 9.			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 9—The President and the General

stalemate	**impasse**	**reinforcements**
liberated	**undetected**	**initiated**
appeasement	**Manchuria**	

Chapter 9—The President and the General

In military terms, more troops or weapons	A point where no more progress can occur	Situation where neither side can win
To have caused something to begin	Not seen or noticed	Freed from any kind of restraint
	Province (like a state) in China just north of Korea	To give something up in order to avoid further conflict

Chapter 9
The President and the General

Introduction

President Truman

President Truman decided to come to South Korea's aid in order to contain North Korea. When the war seemed to turn into a bloody stalemate, Douglas MacArthur, the U.S. general in charge of all forces fighting against North Korea, asked his government for permission to use all available resources—including nuclear weapons—in order to break the impasse. When the general failed to obey orders by continuing to publicly demand permission to expand the war, President Truman relieved him of his command. Prepare to defend or to criticize Truman's decision to fire MacArthur.

General Douglas MacArthur

The U.S. Decides to Defend South Korea

President Truman decided that the U.S. could not afford to allow communist North Korea to overrun non-communist South Korea. His first action was to ask the Soviet Union to urge their client state to halt its attack and withdraw its forces. Truman's second step was to have his ambassador to the UN introduce a motion asking North Korea to stop its attack. When these peaceful requests failed, the president ordered U.S. forces to assist South Korean troops in stopping the invasion.

Rush to Combat

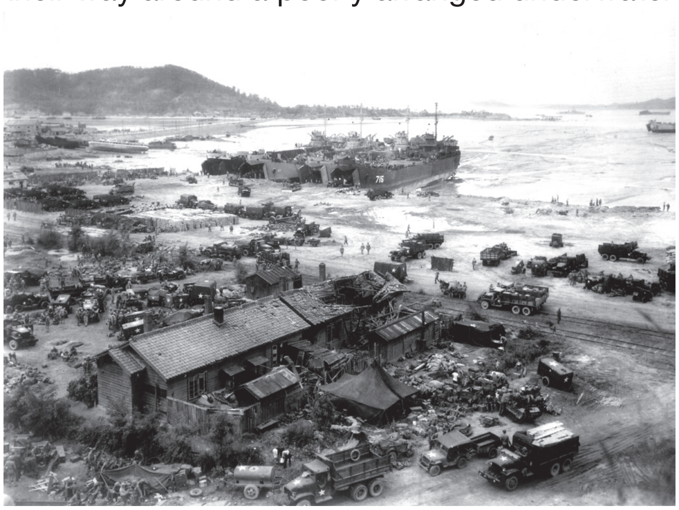
On June 27th, 1950, the same day the UN asked member countries to aid the Republic of [South] Korea (ROK), the U.S. announced that it was providing military assistance. The very next day U.S. airplanes bombed North Korean troops. Within two weeks, the UN created a united command, and Truman immediately appointed General Douglas MacArthur to take charge of UN forces. All together, 16 countries came to South Korea's defense, but the U.S. supplied two-thirds of the men, money, and equipment. More than 33,600 Americans died while defending South Korea.

Pusan and Inchon

When U.S. air support failed to stop the North Koreans from completing their capture of Seoul, the South's capital, the U.S. rushed more troops to Korea. The communist advance continued despite heroic and energetic resistance by the outnumbered U.S. soldiers. Prodded by General Douglas MacArthur, General Walt H.

Walker ordered his troops to stop retreating and hold their ground. Within a week, UN forces completed a long defense perimeter around Pusan, in the southwest corner of Korea. A desperate struggle began as North Korean troops hurled themselves against UN defenses. With reinforcements arriving daily, UN forces managed to mount a brief though unsuccessful counterattack.

Meanwhile, General MacArthur was hatching a bold plan for a quick end to the war. He decided not to rely on an attempt to break through enemy lines at Pusan, nor to start a long drive to Seoul against a well-prepared enemy. Instead, MacArthur decided to land the greater part of his forces far behind enemy lines at Inchon, the port city to Seoul. Since the ocean tide in this area reached a height of 31 feet, the invasion would involve a great risk, or in MacArthur's words, a "desperate gamble." The invaders would have to achieve complete surprise. They had to land in a brief interval during the highest tide and then wait for the next high tide before they could receive reinforcements. At first the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff totally opposed the plan, but MacArthur persisted and at last won their reluctant approval. The daring operation took place on September 15th. With a task force of 260 ships, MacArthur's invaders managed to avoid two typhoons, thread their way around a poorly arranged underwater minefield, and scale an unguarded seawall. Within three days, U.S. troops had driven the ill-prepared enemy out of Inchon. Two weeks after the initial landing, General MacArthur accompanied South Korean President Syngman Rhee to Seoul, where Rhee addressed the Korean parliament. In the meantime, General Walker led U.S./UN forces in a breakout of the Pusan perimeter. After some hard fighting, they began chasing the communists northward, and 50,000 U.S./UN troops prepared to cross the 38th parallel.


The landing at Inchon

At this point the Korean War might have been over. The main UN objective—freeing South Korea—had been achieved; the enemy had been routed; and South Korea reestablished its government in its pre-war capital. However, few decision makers in Washington, D.C. were ready to "leave the table just as the food was being served." Truman, his advisors, MacArthur, and the victorious UN soldiers wanted to continue the war until all of North Korea had been liberated. England and India were not so sure and wanted UN forces to stop their attack at the 38th parallel. However, President Truman managed to push a resolution through the UN which authorized an invasion of North Korea for the purpose of ensuring “conditions of stability throughout Korea.” The Truman administration advised MacArthur to continue the attack unless China or the Soviet Union looked like they would enter the war. General MacArthur assured Truman and the Joint Chiefs that intervention by China would result in a “great slaughter” of Chinese troops.

The march northward proceeded at breakneck pace. Convinced that a hasty attack would destroy what was left of the North Korean army, UN units competed with one another to see who could cover more territory and capture more enemy soldiers. In the process, UN units badly overextended themselves—far ahead of their supply lines, out of communication with one another, and often low on food, fuel, and ammunition. General MacArthur and his staff ignored repeated warnings by China that it would not allow UN forces to reach the Chinese border, which was marked by the Yalu River.

Unbeknownst to MacArthur, U.S. intelligence, or UN forces, 300,000 Chinese soldiers had slipped across the Yalu River and were preparing to attack UN forces. When the attack came on October 25th, UN troops were caught by surprise, but within ten days the Chinese forces had disappeared. MacArthur then planned an offensive that started on November 24th. A rapid advance to the Yalu River, the general promised, would end the war and bring UN troops home by Christmas. However, the Chinese counterattacked two days after Thanksgiving. Thousands of Chinese soldiers, who had remained undetected in North Korea, attacked the 250,000-man UN forces at night. “[S]warming over hills, blowing bugles and horns, shaking rattles... and shooting flares into the sky,” as one observer described them, the Chinese totally surprised UN troops and forced them to retreat hundreds of miles. UN forces could not take advantage of their air support against Chinese troops, who attacked at night. Seoul fell for the second time on January 5th, and the retreat of UN forces continued for another 70 miles. The retreat did not stop until 8th Army commander Walt H. Walker was killed in battle and was replaced by General Mathew Ridgeway. By March, UN forces were in command once more, Seoul was liberated for the second time, and UN forces once again approached the 38th parallel.

MacArthur Fired: the Issues and the Reaction

From his command post in Japan, General MacArthur blamed much of the defeat suffered by UN forces on the lack of support for its armies. General MacArthur wanted a complete military victory—he did not believe in fighting a limited war. He continually pressured his government for more freedom to fight the war without any restrictions. Orders from Washington irritated him, and he occasionally spoke out publicly against the government, taking it to task for not allowing him to take the actions he thought necessary. President Truman repeatedly told the general to obey orders and refrain from publicly criticizing his administration. Finally, on April 11th, 1951, the president carried out a decision he had made several days earlier and relieved the general of his command.

The differences between President Truman and General MacArthur that led to the General's dismissal may be summarized as follows:

Goal in Korea	
MacArthur: No Substitute for Victory	**Truman: Contain Communism Without a Worldwide War**
MacArthur firmly believed that the main aim of any war was to win, and that victory meant the liberation of North Korea. He saw any half-hearted measure as no better than appeasement, and felt such measures would allow the enemy to regroup and start another war as soon as the U.S. let its defenses down.	President Truman was determined to fight only a limited war in Asia for the purpose of containing aggression against South Korea. He did not want to risk World War III or commit too many scarce resources in a strategically unimportant sector at the expense of opening Europe to Soviet attack.
Tactics **Use Nuclear Weapons?**	
MacArthur wanted to use nuclear weapons, which the U.S. possessed in far larger numbers than the Soviets.	Truman ruled this out because the U.S. possessed too few nuclear bombs, the mountainous terrain in Korea would make them largely ineffective, and world opinion would not support such a move.
Attack Bases in China?	
MacArthur wanted to bomb Chinese bases and factories in Manchuria and to destroy the bridges crossing the Yalu River from China to North Korea. He believed this would allow him to destroy enemy troop concentrations, prohibit enemy armies from entering Korea, and destroy the enemy's source of supplies.	Truman believed that the Chinese might bomb U.S. airfields in Korea and aircraft carriers in Korean waters. He thought bombing China might escalate hostilities and bring the Soviet Union into the war.

Have Chiang Invade China?	
MacArthur wanted to allow Chiang Kai-shek's forces to invade mainland China, which he hoped would trigger a revolution against the communist government or at least draw Chinese troops out of Korea.	Truman opposed this plan for fear that it would involve the U.S. in a land war in Asia—the "wrong war at the wrong time, the wrong place, and against the wrong enemy" as U.S. General Omar Bradley put it. Besides, Mao Zedong had defeated Chiang Kai-shek two years earlier.
Who Should Make the Decision?	
MacArthur thought the important decisions on how to fight the war needed to be made by the field commander who, MacArthur claimed, was trained for that role, experienced in combat, and close to the field of battle.	Truman claimed that, according to the U.S. Constitution, the president was commander-in-chief of the armed services and the final authority in deciding what could and could not be done on the field of battle.

MacArthur Gets a Hero's Welcome

Truman's advisors had warned him that firing MacArthur would be a very unpopular decision, but they had no idea that Truman's action would unleash an overwhelming outpouring of support for MacArthur. Two hundred and fifty thousand Japanese came out to wish the General well when he left Tokyo. One hundred thousand well-wishers gave him a hero's welcome when he arrived in Hawaii. Crowds of 500,000 greeted the General in San Francisco, and the airport in Washington, D.C. was crowded at midnight when the General arrived at the nation's capital. While popular opinion certainly favored General MacArthur in his dispute with President Truman, future generations are not as convinced.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place the events listed below in the correct chronological order on your chart and include some important information opposite to each event.

Event	Information about Event

Inchon landing	MacArthur fired	UN forces approach Yalu River
UN forces stabilize lines at Pusan	Stalemate around 38th parallel	UN troops retreat south of 38th parallel
Chinese army attacks UN forces	Seoul liberated—first time	U.N. forces cross 38th parallel—first time
	Seoul liberated—second time	

B. Student Exercise

Decide whether Truman should have fired MacArthur. Base your decision on at least three items from the chart, describing each man's goals, tactics, and decision-making authority. Write a short essay to support your decision.

For Further Consideration: In Their Own Words

Never before in American history had a dismissed general been asked to speak before a Joint Session of Congress, but General MacArthur was given that honor. President Truman was left to explain MacArthur's dismissal to the American people via radio. Excerpts from their speeches are printed below:

General MacArthur	President Truman
I called for reinforcements, but was informed that reinforcements were not available. I made clear that if not permitted to destroy the enemy built-up bases north of the Yalu, if not permitted to utilize the friendly Chinese Force of some 600,000 men on Formosa, if not permitted to blockade the China coast to prevent the Chinese Reds from getting succor from without, and if there was to be no hope of major reinforcements, the position of the command from the military standpoint forbade victory. We could hold in Korea by constant maneuver and in an approximate area where our supply line advantages were in balance with the supply line disadvantages of the enemy, but we could hope at best for only an indecisive campaign with its terrible and constant attrition upon our forces if the enemy utilized its full military potential have constantly called for the new political decisions essential to a solution. It has been said in effect that I was a warmonger. Nothing could be further from the truth. I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting… But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there can be no substitute for victory…	Since the end of World War II—we have been working with other free nations to check the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union before they can result in a third world war. That is what we did in Greece [and Berlin] when that nation was threatened by aggression of international communism. … The question we have had to face is whether the Communist plan of conquest can be stopped without general war. Our Government and other countries associated with us in the United Nations believe that the best chance of stopping it without general war is to meet the attack in Korea and defeat it there. That is what we have been doing. It is a difficult and bitter task. But so far it has been successful. So far, we have prevented World War III. So far, by fighting a limited war in Korea, we have prevented aggression from succeeding and bringing on a general war. We do not want to see the conflict in Korea extended. We are trying to prevent a world war not to start one. The best way to do this is to make plain that we and the other free countries will continue to resist the attack. But you may ask: Why can't we take other steps to punish the aggressor? Why don't we bomb Manchuria and China itself? Why don't we assist Chinese Nationalist troops to land on the mainland of China? If we were to do these things we would be running a very grave risk of starting a general

The Communist threat is a global one. Its successful advance in one sector threatens the destruction of every other sector. You cannot appease or otherwise surrender to communism in Asia without simultaneously undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe.	war. If that were to happen, we would have brought about the exact situation we are trying to prevent. If we were to do these things, we would become entangled in a vast conflict on the continent of Asia and our task would become immeasurably more difficult all over the world. What would suit the ambitions of the Kremlin better than for military forces to be committed to a full-scale war with Red China? I believe that we must try to limit war to Korea for these vital reasons: to make sure that the precious lives of our fighting men are not wasted; to see that the security of our country and the free world is not needlessly jeopardized; and to prevent a third world war.

Using the ideas presented by both Truman and MacArthur, and referring to their goals, their tactics, and who should have made the final decision, state whether you agree with Truman or with MacArthur. Support your argument in an essay or in a prepared speech long enough to cover the topic and come to class prepared to present your ideas, listen to the opinions of others, and either defend your position or change your mind.

Chapter 10. McCarthy and McCarthyism
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter provides a brief review of Joseph McCarthy's professional life, starting with his search for an issue to spark his sagging prospects in the 1950 election and ending with his censure in 1954. In between, students will read parts of McCarthy's famous Wheeling, West Virginia speech; learn how he distorted histories of suspected leftists; ruined the careers of Senator Tydings and Owen Lattimore; and exposed his own bullying tactics to the nation during the televised hearings investigating suspects in the armed forces. Students learn that McCarthy believed that the U.S. was losing the Cold War because of communists in the government. The hysteria unleashed by the senator's often repeated charges resulted in thousands of lost jobs, a countless number of banned books, scores of blacklisted entertainers, and innumerable tarnished politicians. Students are asked to consider what they learned about the containment in Europe, Chiang's defeat in China, and the Korean stalemate when deciding whether to attribute losses in the Cold War to failed government policies. They are also asked whether McCarthy presented credible evidence of what he claimed was "the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation."

The "For Further Consideration" section covers the unusual case of Alger Hiss, who was cited in McCarthy's Wheeling, West Virginia speech. After reading a narrative that could be used to support or to refute the charges against Hiss, students are asked whether they think he was guilty as charged by Senator McCarthy.

Objectives

Students will:
- learn that Senator McCarthy attributed foreign policy reverses in the U.S. to influences of communists and traitors in the State Department
- realize that many innocent Americans were adversely affected by these charges and the atmosphere of fear they created
- discuss whether McCarthy was probably right or completely wrong in claiming that U.S. losses in the Cold War were due to what he called "the enemy within"

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: One way of starting your discussion is to review the two major issues raised by McCarthy's charges: (1) that there were traitors in the U.S. government, and (2) that these traitors had influenced policies that were in some ways responsible for U.S. losses in Europe and Asia.[1] You may want to start discussing the first charge by reviewing the Wheeling, West Virginia speech and the number of communists and sympathizers McCarthy alleged had infiltrated the State Department. Next, ask whether McCarthy offered a credible characterization of the person mentioned in the Lee list and if he put forth a convincing case against Owen Lattimore. This would be a good time to have students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to tell what they know and what they have concluded about the Hiss case. Proceed by asking students to review what happened to individuals who challenged McCarthy and recount examples of what occurred to people suspected of being outright communists, mere sympathizers, or just plain "dupes." Follow this up with an examination of the three foreign policy issues addressed in this unit as a whole: containment as applied to the Berlin Blockade; the abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek, and the stalemate in Korea. Were these examples of completely misguided policies that could be attributed to the influence of traitors, or were they realistic policy decisions that contained communism without risking a much wider war?

1 Another way of approaching this class is to demonstrate McCarthy-like techniques of grilling others by attributing every statement critical of the U.S. as evidence of disloyalty. I have employed this technique successfully with my classes on numerous occasions, but I only advise people to use it to if they're sure that they can carry it off.

Chapter 10. McCarthy and McCarthyism
I-Chart

	Who was Joe McCarthy, and what did he scare many Americans into believing?	Was the U.S. losing the Cold War because of communists in the State Department?	Were there many communists, sympathizers, or “dupes” in high levels of government?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 10, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 10, Part II			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 10—McCarthy and McCarthyism

braggart	impotency	Anti-totalitarianism
traitorous	infiltrated	allegations
National Socialism	espionage ring	corroborate

Chapter 10—McCarthy and McCarthyism

Opposed to one-party rule or rule by a dictator	A lack of strength or power to do something	Someone who constantly boasts about his or her achievements, family, possessions, etc.
Claims of wrongdoing without having proof	To have secretly crossed over enemy lines or to have joined an enemy group under false pretenses in order to cause harm or gather information	Disloyal; betraying a person, group, or an idea
To provide evidence that backs up a claim	Group that spies or gathers information on an opponent	Nazis called themselves National Socialists; they believed in one-party rule and having the government completely control the economy

Chapter 10—McCarthy and McCarthyism

hoax	blacklisted	acquaintance
fifth column		

Chapter 10—McCarthy and McCarthyism

Someone who is known on a casual basis	Put on a list of people to be excluded	An act to trick somebody into believing something that is not true
		A group of people who secretly undermine a larger group; often refers to spies and/or traitors

Chapter 10
McCarthy and McCarthyism

Introduction

It was January 1950, and Joseph McCarthy was upset. He had been a U.S. Senator from Wisconsin since 1946 and had little to show for the years he had been in office. He had a reputation as a drunkard, a braggart, and a weak legislator who, though a Republican, often voted with the Democratic Party. But now he faced a reelection campaign with nothing he could use to stir up the electorate.

Senator McCarthy

While Senator McCarthy dined one night in January with three friends, the conversation drifted to finding an issue that could help his campaign. After discarding such subjects as a guaranteed a monthly pension for the retired, the subject of communism came up. Why not make a campaign issue out of the presence of known communists in the U.S. government?

In this chapter, you will be asked to decide whether Senator McCarthy was a patriot who showed Americans that communists in their government were responsible for the U.S. losing the Cold War, or a fraud whose irresponsible charges harmed thousands of loyal citizens.

The Enemy Within

Armed with an issue, McCarthy approached party leaders to arrange a speaking tour. His first stop was Wheeling, West Virginia, where on February 9th, 1950, he unleashed a torrent of criticism against the Democratic Party:

> Six years ago, there were within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the anti-totalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, there are 800,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500,000,000. In other words, in less than six years the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us. This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victories and American defeats in the Cold War.
>
> The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation. It has not been the less fortunate who have been selling this nation out, but rather those who have had all the

> benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer—the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs. The bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been worst.
>
> In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly infiltrated by individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy. [2]

Senator McCarthy was totally unprepared for the sensation his speech caused. When asked at his next stop for the list of card-carrying communists in the State Department, the Senator said he would turn the names over to Secretary of State Dean Acheson if Acheson would only call. The next day Senator McCarthy responded to an inquiry from the State Department that he had been misquoted. When McCarthy finally began to reveal names, he actually relied on an old list developed by an obscure investigator by the name of Robert Lee. The list had been circulating around Washington since 1947 and cited unproved allegations against men and women who had at some time worked in the State Department. Many were no longer employed there.

Exaggerated Claims?

Using his talent for drama, Senator McCarthy made some notable changes in the allegations on the list. For example:

Unproved allegation on the Lee List	McCarthy's accusation in his speech
This employee is with the Office of Information and Educational Exchange in New York City. His application is very sketchy. There has been no investigation. Though he is 43 years of age, his file reflects no history prior to June 1941.	This individual…is with the Office of Information and Education. According to the file, he is a known Communist. I might say that when I refer to someone being a known communist, I am…merely giving what is in the file. The individual also found his way to the Voice of America Broadcast. Apparently the easiest way to get in is to be a Communist.

2 In the absence of any known recordings of McCarthy's West Virginia speech, the above is quoted from a speech given in the U.S. Senate on February 20, 1950, making the same charges. Senator McCarthy used different numbers when referring to the presence of communists in the State Department—sometimes charging there were 57, sometimes 81, and other times 205.

The Lattimore Case

Despite the drama of his charges, Senator McCarthy had not been able to name one previously unknown communist who had substantially influenced America's foreign policy. Finally, McCarthy came up with a name: Owen Lattimore. He claimed every school child knew Lattimore was "the architect of our Far East policy," and that he was "Alger Hiss's [a State Department official accused in the late 1940s of being a Soviet spy] boss in the espionage ring at the State Department." McCarthy added that his own credibility would stand and fall on the Lattimore case.

Though he had served as an advisor on several occasions, Owen Lattimore was not even a regular employee of the State Department. Lattimore's public record included a letter of praise for his services on behalf of China from Chiang Kai-shek, opposition to various actions taken by the Soviet Union, and criticism of his most recent book by the communist press. However, all of this was discounted when Louis Budenz, an admitted ex-communist, testified before the Tydings Committee, an investigative subcommittee charged with looking into McCarthy's charges. Budenz told the committee that he had heard Lattimore was considered by insiders to be a fellow communist. Budenz's charges were never corroborated. Nevertheless, McCarthy's reputation as a fighter against communism soared while Lattimore's reputation as an impartial scholar suffered.

Further History of McCarthy and McCarthyism

The Tydings Committee completed its investigation of McCarthy's charges against Lattimore and the numerous (at least 57 and at the most 205) communists McCarthy claimed were in the State Department. The committee issued a report calling McCarthy's accusations a hoax riddled by numerous willful falsehoods. In response to this criticism, McCarthy labeled the committee report "a disgrace…a green light to the Red fifth column in the United States."

Publicly opposing Senator McCarthy was akin to committing political suicide, since much of the public believed his claims. The chairman and namesake of the Tydings Committee, Senator Millard Tydings, lost his bid for reelection to a relatively unknown opponent. William Benton, a Republican who introduced a resolution to oust McCarthy from the Senate, was characterized by McCarthy as "having established himself as a hero for every Communist and crook in and out of government." Benton did not survive his next bid for reelection. McCarthy even took on General George C. Marshall—former Supreme Commander of U.S. forces in World War II, Secretary of State under Truman, and author of the Marshall Plan—and blamed him for the "loss of China." He essentially accused him of sabotaging U.S. policy, saying, "If Marshall were merely stupid, the laws of probability would

General George C. Marshall

dictate that part of his decisions would serve this country's interest." Marshall later resigned from his position in government.

The vicious nature of the charges introduced by Senator McCarthy did not prevent Republicans from using them as part of their political campaign in 1952. The Republican Party platform accused Democrats of "shielding traitors to the nation in high places," and "working unceasingly to achieve their goal of National Socialism." They claimed they had appeased the Soviet Union at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, caused the "loss of China" by denying military aid to Chiang Kai-shek, and conducted the Korean War "without a will to victory." Vice-presidential candidate Richard Nixon labeled the Democratic presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson, as "Adlai the Appeaser…who got his Ph.D. from Dean Acheson's [Truman's Secretary of State] college of cowardly communist containment."

However, if Republicans thought they were immune from McCarthy's accusations, they were mistaken. As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, McCarthy continued his investigation of the State Department after Eisenhower became president. As a result, State Department employees were summarily fired, and 30,000 books suspected of favoring communism were removed from overseas libraries; some were actually burned. Inspired by the success of McCarthy's investigative techniques, private citizens and local government officials continued the hunt for communists, "communist sympathizers," and "unwitting dupes" of communist agents. The results were truly sensational. Anyone seeking a government job had to take a loyalty oath; failure to do so provided sufficient grounds to deny anyone government employment. Vigilante committees had books removed from local libraries. Well over 100 movies, radio, and television writers, as well as actors, singers, and musicians with somewhat suspicious backgrounds found themselves blacklisted. Many on this list could not find work in their chosen profession for years. Some got blacklisted and even imprisoned for refusing to testify that acquaintances had attended Communist Party meetings. In Indiana, professional wrestlers were investigated for communist connections, and in Washington, D.C., the FBI investigated shoeshine men. Even schools fell under the spell of McCarthyism: school committee races often became filled with charges of disloyalty, teachers were questioned and fired, books were banished from the classroom, curriculum was altered, and courses were introduced on the evils of communism.

While fear of communist subversion swept the nation, McCarthy made two strategic mistakes. The first mistake was to question the loyalty of men in the U.S. Army. The second mistake was revealing his often brutal and unscrupulous questioning techniques in 35 days of widely watched televised hearings. Horrified by what they saw on TV, the American public turned against Senator McCarthy. Politicians who had used McCarthy's accusations to advance their own political careers shied away from the senator. Newspapers no longer reported his charges. President Eisenhower said McCarthy was not welcome in the White House. In 1954, the U.S. Senate censored McCarthy. Three years after his censor, Senator Joe McCarthy died of sclerosis of the liver, probably caused by his excessive drinking. Nevertheless, the debate over the validity of his charges continues to this day.

Evaluations

Two contrasting views of McCarthy are presented below. The first expresses the views of a man who thinks the U.S. is still influenced by people who are not completely loyal to their own country. The second quote comes from a Swedish newspaper and was written during McCarthy's heyday:

A Positive View of McCarthy	A Negative View of McCarthy
Joe McCarthy's great achievement was that he helped popularize a deep public animosity toward Communism and its agents. McCarthy attacked liberalism itself, exposing its fraud by proving liberals' willingness to side with Communist infiltration and treason, to glamorize the brutality of Communist governments. Liberalism and Communism are both infected with the same materialistic secular virus and have such philosophical affinity that usually they cannot be distinguished. Their identical world-view creates a "strong affinity between the Communists and New Dealers; between the progressive and totalitarian visions of the maximalist [excessively controlling] state." [3]	Those of us who shout loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all to frequently those who, by our words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—The right to criticize * The right to hold unpopular beliefs. * The right to protest. * The right of independent thought. The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood, nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. [4]

3 "Senator Joe McCarthy, Anti-communist," http://members.tripod.com/~wwx2/mccarthy.html
4 *Congressional Record*, 81st Congress, 2d session (June 1, 1950), pp. 7894-7895.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place each of the following events in chronological order on the chart provided for that purpose:

Chart of Events

Events to place in chronological order

McCarthy needs an issue to use in his upcoming Senate campaign	McCarthy exaggerates contents on Lee list
Tydings's committee calls McCarthy's charges a "hoax riddled by falsehoods"	Senate censors McCarthy; Eisenhower won't have him in the White House
Lee list is completed	McCarthy gives speech in Wheeling, West Virginia
McCarthy hearings are televised	Tydings is defeated in bid to be re-elected
Persecution of suspected communist sympathizers continues	Mao's communist army triumphs in China; Soviets end Berlin blockade

B. Student Exercises

1. Come to class with notes to help you support one of the following statements:

    A. Joseph McCarthy did Americans a favor by (1) exposing traitors in the government without causing widespread violations of people's rights (2) correctly pointing out that the U.S. appeased the Soviet Union in Europe, lost China by not giving enough help to Chiang, and failed in Korea.

    Or:

    B. Joseph McCarthy (1) made almost entirely unsupported charges that there were communists and traitors in the government, but these charges sparked widespread violations of people's basic rights. (2) McCarthy was also wrong in criticizing the policy of containment in Europe, abandoning Chiang in China, and not fighting to win in Korea.

2. **(Optional)** Write an essay in which you support one of the previous statements.

For Further Consideration: The Strange Case of Alger Hiss

> Alger Hiss…is representative of a group in the State Department [that] sold out the nation which had given him so much.
>
> —Joseph McCarthy, 1950

Alger Hiss

When Senator McCarthy gave his famous Wheeling, West Virginia speech in 1950, he singled out Alger Hiss as an example of a privileged American who used his high position in government service to betray his country. Slim, tall, and handsome, Hiss fit McCarthy's characterization of the product of the "finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs." His career included working for a Supreme Court Justice, advising President Roosevelt at Yalta, helping found the UN, and heading the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His friends included Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, whose public defense of Hiss was characterized by McCarthy as an indication that President Truman's closest advisors "endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust." For this reason we will give some careful attention to the case of Alger Hiss. Was Alger Hiss really an agent of the Communist Party working on behalf of the Soviet Union as charged, or was he an innocent victim of false charges and a misguided public looking for scapegoats for losses in the Cold War? The following account may help you form an opinion on this, one of the most important cases of the McCarthy Era.

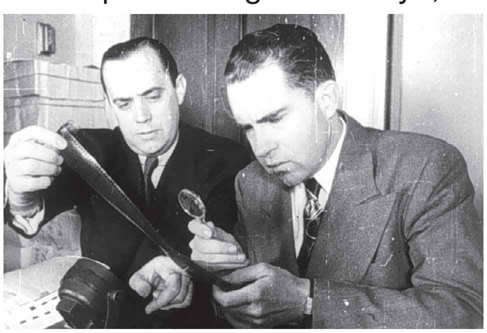
Hiss Accused

In August of 1948, Congress was getting ready to adjourn. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had been busy trying to find communists in government, but the public had gradually lost interest in what many saw as a "witch hunt"; consequently, President Truman planned to ask Congress to discontinue the committee. However, when Time magazine editor—and admitted former Communist Party member—Whittaker Chambers testifies before the committee that he had close contact with fellow Communist Party member Alger Hiss between 1934–37, HUAC found itself reenergized. Two days later, Hiss testified that he never even met Chambers. The stories were so

Chambers testifies before HUAC while Hiss (circled) listens in the background strikingly different that a sub-committee of HUAC, headed by freshman Congressman Richard Nixon, recalled Chambers. On cross-examination, Chambers gave a detailed account of Hiss's personal life. This account included the shape of Hiss's house, the arrangement of his furniture, the terms of endearment he used to address his wife, and even his excitement in finding a rare warbler while bird watching along the Potomac River. Chambers also claimed that he had been a frequent guest in the Hiss household, that Hiss had given a car to a member of the Communist party, and that he had unsuccessfully tried to talk Hiss into quitting the party.

Confronting this damaging testimony, Hiss came close to losing his composure. He claimed that most of the details of his personal life were publicly available and many people knew his bird-watching habits. When pressed, Hiss admitted that he might have known Chambers under the name of George Crosley, and that he might have given or sold his car to Crosley. Yet Hiss continued to insist that he had no communist friends and that he never joined or worked for the Communist Party.

Chambers, now more confident, extended his charges against Hiss. He said that Hiss was not only a member of the Communist Party, but had actually provided him with stolen documents from the U.S. State Department. These documents, Chambers claimed, contained important American secrets and were passed on to Soviet officials. A typewriter belonging to Alger Hiss was supposedly used to type some of these documents, which were then copied onto microfilm. Pressed to corroborate this testimony, Chambers suddenly remembered that he had given some of the documents to a nephew living in Brooklyn, New York. Chambers went to Brooklyn where his nephew had stored them in an abandoned elevator shaft. He then took them to his farm in Maryland, where he kept them in his bedroom. Fearing that Hiss might send agents to find these incriminating documents, Chambers claimed he hid them in a hollowed-out pumpkin on his farm. He turned them over to investigators led by Congressman Richard Nixon, who had thoughtfully brought a photographer along to get a picture of him examining the evidence.

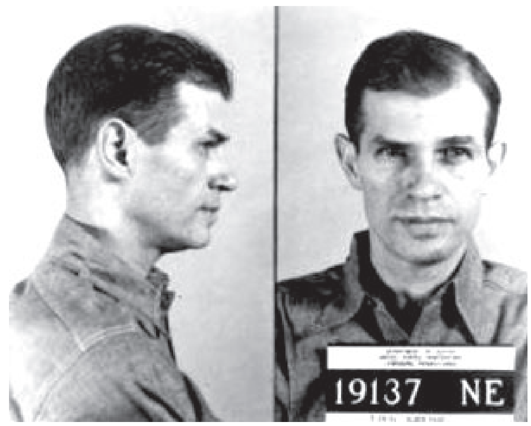

Congressman Nixon (right) examining the famous "pumpkin papers."

With this sensational evidence in his hand, New York prosecutor Thomas Murphy convened a grand jury which indicted Hiss on two counts of perjury, one based on Hiss's claims he did not see Chambers after 1936, and the other that he lied about passing secret State Department documents to him. Because the statute of limitations had expired and he lacked eyewitnesses, Murphy could not charge Hiss with treason.

At his trial, Hiss's lawyers charged the FBI with constructing the typewriter used to type the "pumpkin papers" and brought forth dozens of character witnesses who testified on behalf of their client. The lawyers argued that this attack on Hiss was an attempt to discredit liberal Democrats. Hiss's defense team also found a witness to refute the only government informant other than Chambers who testified that Hiss was a member of the Communist Party. However, the defense failed to forcefully challenge changes in Chambers's testimony concerning when he (Chambers) left the Communist Party. These changes seemingly were made to coincide with the latest dates on the "pumpkin papers."

The prosecution made an impression by producing the registration to the car that Hiss sold to William Rosen, an alleged communist; the document was signed in Hiss's handwriting. Most damaging to Hiss were the documents supposedly typed on Hiss's typewriter and the failure of Hiss's defense team to refute the FBI's expert witness that this indeed was the typewriter once owned by the Hiss family. Hiss later claimed (and witnesses corroborated this claim) that the typewriter was not in his family's possession at the time the documents were typed. [5]

Alger Hiss was found guilty of both charges in his second trial (the first had resulted in a hung jury.) He spent 44 months in jail, where he was a model prisoner. He never held another important job, got divorced from his wife, and spent the rest of his long life claiming his innocence. The Hiss trial is considered one of the most important of the 20th century, and many still debate Hiss's guilt or innocence.



Alger Hiss's mugshot

Your Opinion:

Do you think that Hiss was guilty of perjury, and that his position in the State Department supported Senator McCarthy's charge that the U.S. government was riddled with members of the Communist Party intent on betraying their country? Write a strong paragraph of no more than 250 words answering this question, and come to class prepared to defend your conclusion.

5 Whether the controversial papers actually contained important government secrets had not been established.

Chapter 11. The Cuban Missile Crisis
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter reports on the growing rift between the U.S. and the Castro government beginning shortly after he assumed power. The narrative continues by describing the ill-fated attempt to overthrow Castro with the CIA- sponsored invasion by Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs. As the story continues, with the Soviet Union beginning to install nuclear missiles in Cuba capable of striking Washington, D.C. President Kennedy convenes the Executive Committee (EXCOMM) to help him determine how to respond. The chapter presents the pros and cons of three possibilities: bomb the missile sites and invade Cuba, blockade Cuba, or negotiate a solution to the crisis. Students are instructed to come to class prepared to discuss the reasons for the breakdown in Cuban-American relations and to meet in groups to simulate the deliberations of EXCOMM. The “For Further Consideration” section explains how the crisis was resolved and asks students who read it to explain and evaluate the solution that avoided a nuclear war but left the U.S. with Castro on its doorstep for more than 50 years.

Objectives:

Students will:

- assess different views of why relations between the U.S. and Cuba deteriorated after Castro came to power
- realize just how close the U.S. and the Soviet Union came to nuclear war over the issue of Soviet missiles stationed in Cuba
- weigh the three alternatives (bomb, negotiate, and blockade) discussed as possible responses to the Soviets’ provocation
- learn that the solution to the crisis avoided nuclear war but left a communist Cuba at our doorstep for more than 50 years

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the “For Further Consideration” section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Place students in groups of no more than five at the beginning of the class to avoid interrupting the flow of conversation later on. Start by asking students what they know about Cuba, why and when it became a communist country, and what America’s Cuban policy has been and remains to this day. Proceed by asking students to share their responses to the first Student Exercise question and to explain what they believe were the reasons behind the deterioration of Cuban-American relations. You may want to take this story as far back as U.S. aid to Cuba during and after its struggle for independence and the imposition of the Platt Amendment. Ask students to decide whether Castro asking for nuclear missiles represented an aggressive or a defensive move. Assign each group the task of deciding which of the alternatives—bombing, negotiating, or blockading—they would advocate. After 7–10 minutes, ask students from each group to share their group's consensus, and allow the discussion to flow between groups.

Leave time for students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to share their knowledge and evaluation of the results of the crisis that left Cuba under communism but avoided a nuclear war. You may also note that the three responses (bomb, blockade, or negotiate) have a more than passing similarity to the doctrines of brinksmanship, containment, and neo-isolationism they studied earlier as responses to Soviet provocations.

Chapter 11. The Cuban Missile Crisis
I-Chart

	Reasons that Cuba asked the Soviets to install nuclear missiles capable of reaching the U.S.	What were the three alternatives President Kennedy considered as a response to this provocation?	How the Missile Crisis was resolved
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 11, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 11, Part II			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 11—The Cuban Missile Crisis

propaganda	**left-leaning**	**deteriorate**
exile	**hemisphere**	**impasse**
confiscate	**surveillance**	**operational**

In working order and ready to be used	A point from which no more progress to a solution can be made	To lose quality and strength
Watching someone or a group over a period of time, usually when they are suspected of planning an illegal act	A half of the globe; could be the Eastern, Western, Northern or Southern half	Holding political beliefs favorable to liberalism and/or socialism
To take something from someone without paying them for it; often done by a government or an authority	A person who has left his or her native country, or the state of having been expelled from a country, community, or organization	Often-false information spread to achieve a certain purpose

Chapter 11—The Cuban Missile Crisis

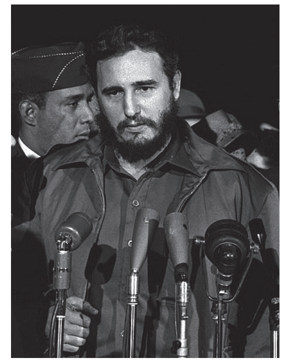
hawks	**escalate**	

Chapter 11—The Cuban Missile Crisis

	To respond to something in a way that provokes a stronger response	People who want to take aggressive foreign policy actions, such as war

Chapter 11
The Cuban Missile Crisis

Introduction:


Fidel Castro

On January 1st, 1959, Fidel Castro overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator of Cuba, Fulgencio Batista, and assumed control of the entire island. Castro's victory ended a six-year-long guerilla campaign with a triumphant march into Havana. Despite U.S. support for Batista and anti-American propaganda by Fidel Castro, the U.S. had outwardly welcomed the left-leaning dictator.

Cuban-American relations began to deteriorate soon after Castro seized power. The U.S. allowed Cuban exiles to come to America with their bags packed with treasure looted from the Cuban government. Castro began appointing communists to fill important government posts. Americans were shocked by show trials held in soccer stadiums, as aroused crowds yelled their verdict of "guilty" and then prisoners were executed. There were no appeals for trials, and no impartial juries. Castro's disregard for democracy continued when he announced that he would postpone holding the fair elections he had promised.

Cuban-American Relations Get Worse

Meanwhile, American officials did not prevent Cuban exiles from using the Florida Keys to launch raids on their former homeland. Castro's legislature passed the Agrarian Reform Act, which took valuable lands from wealthy Cubans and Americans without paying for them. Soon afterward, the United States announced it would no longer purchase sugar, Cuba's most important export, at above world-market prices. Castro turned to the Soviet bloc to sell his sugar and buy weapons. The U.S. responded by breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba. In March 1960, the CIA began to prepare Cuban exiles to invade their homeland with U.S-supplied weapons. The CIA hoped to spark a spontaneous uprising that would lead to Castro's overthrow.

The Bay of Pigs Invasion

By the time President John F. Kennedy took office in January 1961, relations with Cuba had reached a serious impasse. During the presidential campaign, Kennedy had been exceedingly critical of the previous administration for allowing Castro to come to power, confiscate property belonging to Americans, and establish economic ties with the Soviet Union. By this time, the CIA had trained over 1300 Cuban exiles in Guatemala for an invasion of Castro's Cuba. Believing the CIA's promise that their invasion would succeed, President Kennedy decided to proceed with the operation.

The ill-fated attempt to end Castro's regime began on April 17th, 1961. By the next day, so many things had gone wrong that there was no chance for success. Despite elaborate plans to destroy the Cuban air force before the mission started, Castro's forces remained in control of the skies, sank exile supply ships, and strafed the beaches where the exiles landed. In three days, 1100 exiles were captured or killed. Castro proudly marched the survivors through the streets of Havana in order to embarrass the "Yankee imperialists."

The Missile Crisis Begins

Following his triumph, Fidel Castro convinced Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev to install missiles armed with nuclear warheads in Cuba. These missiles would be capable of reaching targets deep within the United States. Castro believed this step was necessary in order to avoid a full-scale invasion of his country by U.S. armed forces. Khrushchev knew that the U.S. had installed missiles along the USSR's borders and thought the U.S. should have a taste of its own medicine. The stage was set for a major confrontation. You will be asked how President Kennedy should have responded to this threat.

Pictures of missile sites taken by reconnaissance planes

Historians agree that the U.S. never came closer to nuclear war than it did during the 13 dangerous days between the 16th and the 29th of October 1962. On the morning of the16th, President Kennedy learned that the Soviet Union was mounting nuclear warheads in Cuba on missiles capable of reaching cities as far away as Washington, D.C. Quickly reacting to this devastating news, the young president summoned a group of specially selected advisors to decide what to do about this frightening state of affairs. For almost two weeks, 26 men selected for their expertise and experience in military and foreign affairs met for long hours in secret sessions to help the president navigate his way through this crisis.


President Kennedy, Secretary of State Rusk, and Secretary of Defense McNamara during an EXCOMM meeting

Among the important members of this Executive Committee (EXCOMM) were the president's brother, Bobby; his Secretary of State, Dean Rusk; the Secretary of Defense, Robert MacNamara; and the Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Maxwell Taylor. As the crisis continued, Soviet ships steamed into Cuban waters, the construction of missile sites proceeded, and a U.S. surveillance plane was shot down over Cuba. In the meantime, discussions took place at the UN about the crisis, and the Kennedy administration conducted fevered consultations with American allies, as well as back-door talks with Soviet leaders. At the same time, the EXCOMM members engaged in soul-searching discussions and heated debates. They considered variations of each of the following positions:

1. **Conduct an air strike to knock out the missiles before they become fully operational; possibly invade Cuba as well.**

    Advocated by the military and some civilian "hawks," this option presented the distinct advantage of eliminating the military threat posed by the missiles while showing the Soviet Union that the U.S. was committed to defending its interests. At the same time, this option gave the U.S. the opportunity to rid the hemisphere of Castro's communist regime that had been a thorn in America's side—and a threat that lay only 90 miles from Florida. Support for this position became almost overwhelming when EXCOMM members learned that the Russians had shot down a U-2 spy plane surveying Cuba to determine whether the missiles were ready to be fired.

    One problem the military option presented was the distinct possibility that an air strike couldn't eliminate all the missiles immediately, leaving others capable of striking American cities. Another was that an attack on Cuban missile sites was bound to kill Soviet technicians and could result in a military response from the Soviet Union. The most frequently mentioned danger was that the Soviets might attack U.S. forces stationed in West Berlin, which lay deep in the heart of East Germany. Such an attack, in turn, would call for U.S. retaliation. No one knew for certain whether escalation could stop short of a nuclear war. Therefore, two problems with the invasion option were the chances of a high cost in Cuban and American lives coupled with the need for the U.S. to occupy a resentful and hostile country if the invasion succeeded.

2. **The U.S. could blockade Cuba to prevent Cubans from receiving Soviet supplies. The blockade could begin by stopping military supplies and gradually tighten to include crucial items such as oil and spare parts.**

The advantage of this response was that any military opposition by the Soviets would take place close to the U.S., which would give the Americans a distinct advantage. Furthermore, Soviet leaders would have ample time to reconsider their decision to place missiles in Cuba and order their ships to leave Cuban waters. Though a blockade of a nation not at war is considered illegal under international law, the U.S. could get around this fact by calling the action "quarantine."

The disadvantage of choosing the quarantine strategy was that it might not prevent the completion of the missile sites because the necessary materials could already be in Cuba. Furthermore, if Soviet ships continued arriving in Cuban waters, the U.S. would have to stop and board or sink them. Sinking another nation's ship, whether armed or not, is an act of war and could (as in Option 1) lead to a nuclear confrontation. Furthermore, the Soviet Union could respond by blocking U.S. access to West Berlin—a situation which could then also escalate into a nuclear war.

3. **Negotiate a solution to the crisis.**

The U.S. had installed Jupiter missiles in Italy and Turkey that were capable of reaching Soviet cities. The U.S. might offer to dismantle the missiles it had installed in these countries if the Soviet Union would dismantle its missiles in Cuba. Furthermore, the U.S. could promise that it would make no more attempts to overthrow Fidel Castro's government in Cuba. The obvious advantage to the negotiation strategy was that it could resolve the crisis peacefully and avoid a nuclear war.

The disadvantage to negotiations was that the U.S. might give the impression that it was weak and willing to back down in the face of the Soviet threat. With missiles removed from Turkey (even though these missiles were obsolete), the Soviet Union could claim it had forced the U.S. to retreat under pressure. This might then encourage further Soviet challenges to U.S. interests, including West Berlin. Furthermore, by backing down the U.S. would commit itself to ending attempts to overthrow Fidel Castro's dictatorship in Cuba and face the prospect of allowing a hostile communist country to exist just 90 miles away. Finally, no guarantee existed that the Soviet Union would actually dismantle its missiles; the Soviets might simply drag out negotiations and continue to install nuclear warheads.

A Time to Act

The standoff over the construction of Soviet missiles reached its most dangerous stage on October 26th. On that day, the situation went as follows:

- A U.S. reconnaissance plane was shot down over Cuba, resulting in the death of its pilot.
- Work on constructing missile silos continued. The U.S. had no way of knowing if any installations were ready for use.
- Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev had made an offer to dismantle his missiles in Cuba and take them back to the Soviet Union in exchange for the U.S. removing its missiles from Turkey, but then seemed to withdraw the offer.
- The U.S. was involved in midterm elections and Democrats did not want to appear “soft on Communism.”

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises:

1. Explain the breakdown in the relations between the U.S. and Cuba from the point of view of an American (if your first name begins with letters between A–K) and from the point of view of a Cuban (if your first name begins with letters L–Z).

2. Decide how you would have advised President Kennedy to respond to the threat of Soviet missiles 90 miles from the U.S. by first deciding on your goal:
   a. To rid Cuba of its missiles, even if it means risking a nuclear war
   b. To come to an agreement with the Soviet Union that would make both countries more secure
   c. To prove to the world that the United States will stand up to protect itself no matter what the cost may be
   d. To avoid a Third World War

3. Based upon your understanding of the crisis and your goals, come to class prepared to argue which of the three major options considered by EXCOMM President Kennedy should have followed:
   a. Negotiate
   b. Quarantine
   c. Bomb and invade

B. In class

Follow your teacher's instructions and form groups of no more than five students where you will discuss your opinions and try to reach an agreement on what course of action the U.S. should have taken during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Share your group's conclusions in a general discussion with your entire class.

For Further Consideration: Resolution of the Crisis

The Missile Crisis was resolved without nuclear war. President Kennedy decided to "quarantine" Cuba, and Soviet ships turned back rather than risk challenging what was actually an American blockade. Meanwhile, back-door agreements between the U.S. and the Soviet Union resolved the conflict. The Soviets dismantled and removed their missiles from Cuba. The U.S. agreed that, after a decent interval, they would dismantle the missiles with nuclear warheads it had installed in Turkey and Italy. The Soviets agreed not to supply Cuba with nuclear weapons if the U.S. refrained from making further attempts to overthrow the Cuban government by the force of arms. As a result, Cuba has remained a communist country for another 50 years—a pain in the side of the U.S., but not a dagger in its heart. The two countries have coexisted; Castro has remained its dictator until ill health caused him to resign and turn the reigns of power to his brother Raul; and since the Soviet Union stopped supporting the Cuban economy, living conditions for average Cubans have deteriorated. Thousands upon thousands of Cubans have left their homeland and settled in the U.S., where many have prospered. The U.S. continues not to trade with Cuba while encouraging other countries to follow suit. In short: nuclear war was avoided, the Cuban people have for years lived under a communist dictatorship, and the combined wealth of Cubans living in the U.S. exceeds the wealth of all of the Cubans who stayed in their native land.

President Kennedy signing the proclamation to "quarantine" Cuba

In retrospect, did President Kennedy make the right decision to blockade Cuba and then reach an agreement with the Soviet Union? Come to class prepared to explain how the missile crisis was resolved and then explain whether you think that President Kennedy made the right decision. Write a strong paragraph to support your opinion and come to class prepared to present it, listen to the opinions of others and defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 12. The End of the Cold War
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter begins with a description of life behind the Iron Curtain. Students are told that the series of successful and largely peaceful rebellions against Soviet-backed communist regimes in eastern Europe can be attributed to three factors: the awareness of the better life in Western democracies, Mikhail Gorbachev's promise of *glasnost* and *perestroika,* and the Soviet premier's willingness to allow different forms of socialism among the satellite nations. The chapter includes references to Lech Walesa and Solidarity in Poland, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the spreading freedom that led to the Soviet Union unraveling into 16 separate republics. Finally, the chapter hails the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a victory for the U.S. and a vindication of the policy of containment.

Objectives:

Students will:
- learn about life behind the Iron Curtain
- understand what Gorbachev's advocacy of *glasnost* and *perestroika* had to do with the fall of the Iron Curtain
- learn of the importance of Lech Walesa, the Solidarity union, and the Berlin Wall

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Ask students to compare their lives to those of adolescents living behind the Iron Curtain. If any students had a relative or an acquaintance that lived behind the Iron Curtain, be sure that you encourage them to speak. After several minutes of sharing, ask your students whether they knew anything about *glasnost*, *perestroika*, Lech Walesa, Solidarity, the Berlin Wall, or Gorbachev before they read this chapter. Make sure they know these as well as the other names and terms on the Graphic Organizer. Continue class by asking students who wrote essays accounting for the fall of the Soviet Empire to share their conclusions with their classmates. If time permits, ask students who answered the "For Further Consideration" question to explain their evaluation of the containment policy.

Chapter 12. The Cold War Ends
I-Chart

	Life behind the Iron Curtain	Importance of Walesa, Gorbachev, *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and the Berlin Wall	Reasons for the breakup of the Soviet empire
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 12,			
What I learned from class discussion			
What I would still like to know			

norm	**“toeing the line”**	**minimal**
decentralization	**maneuver**	**exodus**
component		

Chapter 12—The Cold War Ends

	A flight or leaving—such as when Moses and Israelites left Egypt	The least possible
	A planned movement, usually requiring skill and often applied to a military setting	Doing what is expected; obeying
A part of something	A shift in power in a political entity to a less central place	Average, customary, or expected

Chapter 12
The Cold War Ends

Introduction

This chapter tells the story of how people lived in eastern European Soviet satellite countries, and how the Soviet empire collapsed. You will learn about the difficult lives people led under Soviet oppression, how they obtained some measure of independence and autonomy, and why the Soviet Union itself no longer exists.

Life Behind the Iron Curtain

Eva Kende describes her life in Hungary while her native country was still under Soviet domination:

> We were, from the early grades on, all members of the young pioneers, a politicized version of Scouts, because not joining would have been suicidal for us and our families. We attended long political speeches, standing on one foot from exhaustion while the speaker droned on about the "glorious Soviet Union," or how "our pal Rákosi" [the Soviet-supported dictator of Hungary] was building a prosperous future just for us. We also created bulletin boards with pictures and slogans depicting "father Stalin," the Russian revolution, the splendid cooperative farms, and the heroic factory workers breaking the norm. We stood in silence, wooden-faced when the principal announced Stalin's death, repressing our secret feelings of hope, joy or even elation at the news. We all did well in not letting our thoughts and emotions get us and our families into trouble.

Life behind the Iron Curtain was difficult for ordinary people. Men in this so-called "worker's paradise" toiled for long hours and little pay. Workers often remained idle as old and outdated machines broke down or parts and raw materials weren't available. Rewards did not come from hard work but from belonging to the Communist Party, pretending to be good communists, and never complaining about a system that afforded them few rights or privileges. Women spent a good part of their lives (up to two hours on the average day) standing in line, waiting for foods that often were not available. Consumer goods such as soap, toothpaste, and shoes were of uniformly poor quality and provided no opportunity for consumer preferences. Obtaining even poor quality television sets, refrigerators, and stoves required weeks of waiting. Even for the few who could afford them, it could take years to acquire luxuries like an automobile. Apartments were inexpensive but often not available, and most newlyweds spent years living with in-laws or parents before they could get a place they could call their own. However, public transportation, health care, and education were free or inexpensive.

Few people dared to complain about their poor living conditions. The secret police were everywhere. Also, anyone might be a paid informer; neighbors, relatives, and even clergy might tell the authorities if they thought you did not believe in socialism or were an “enemy of the state.” In East Germany, the feared and hated Stasi (the secret police) had files on six million of the 16 million people living in that country.

Rebellions against the regime were few and far between: East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In Hungary, brave protestors, armed with matches and bottles filled with gas, battled Soviet tanks. Twenty-five hundred freedom fighters died, but 200,000 Hungarians managed to flee their Iron Curtain prisons. Soldiers from several satellite countries suppressed Czechoslovakia’s “Velvet Revolution” of 1968 with hardly any bloodshed.

End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe: Iron Curtain Pierced

The Iron Curtain finally came down in eastern Europe in 1989 with a series of bloodless revolutions. One of the underlying causes for this collapse was the growing awareness that life in the West was much better than life in the Soviet empire. Leaders of Iron Curtain countries couldn’t keep television and radio stations from broadcasting the dirty little secret that people living in western Europe and the United States had a higher standard of living and much more freedom than people living behind the Iron Curtain. In the West, people did not have to wait in line for hours to buy groceries. They could choose between different brands of soap and toothpaste, they could buy a car on credit right off the lot, and they could choose from a variety of newspapers. They also did not have to share a crowded apartment with in-laws and did not have to belong to any political party in order to get or keep a job.

End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe: Enter Mikhail Gorbachev


Mikhail Gorbachev

In the Soviet Union, leadership after the Cuban Missile Crisis fell out of the hands of Nikita Khrushchev and into a long line of men whose main interest was the survival of the communist empire under the control of the Soviet Communist Party. They allowed few improvements in the lives of their people. However, they made no important changes before the death of Leonid Brezhnev in 1982. The unexpected death of both men appointed to replace him brought Mikhail Gorbachev, a reformer, into power. Gorbachev made some important changes in order to increase the efficiency of the stagnant Soviet economy and allow for more freedoms within an oppressive system. Gorbachev called for two things, *glasnost* (openness, full discussion, and disclosure of information) and *perestroika* (political and economic restructuring.) He did not intend to introduce democracy and a free enterprise economy, but merely wanted to improve the lives of his people.

One of the first important changes Gorbachev made was to improve his relationship with the West—and particularly with the United States. He opened disarmament talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and he surprised the American leader by offering to reduce the number of missiles that both sides had pointed at each other. (Up until then, disarmament talks had consisted of slowing down the rate of increase in missiles.) This willingness to actually reduce weapons and allow inspections satisfied President Reagan, who had once called the Soviet Union the “Evil Empire.” Now his motto regarding the Soviets became “trust but verify.”

While Gorbachev wanted to charm the American president, he also let Soviet satellite nations believe that they no longer had to fear Soviet retaliation if they made internal reforms. Indeed, in 1988, Gorbachev let the satellites know that “unity does not mean uniformity” and that “[t]here is no model of socialism to be imitated by all.”


Lech Walesa

Gorbachev’s remarks seemed to bestow his support for events taking place in Poland and Hungary. Poland had since 1981 been in the throes of a workers’ rebellion led by Lech Walesa, the head of the organization he called “Solidarity.” A strike by shipyard workers that began in 1981 led to Walesa’s arrest and imprisonment. Released after 18 months in jail, Walesa went back to organizing Polish workers. Several years of martial law did not deter him, and in 1989 Walesa managed to negotiate a deal with the communist government of Poland to hold free elections. Solidarity won all the seats it was allowed to contest and, in effect, became the government of Poland. True to his doctrine of not imposing a single model of socialism for satellite countries, Gorbachev did not send Soviet soldiers into Poland.

Hungary was the next Soviet satellite to become independent. Following the brutal suppression of Hungary’s 1956 revolution, Moscow had given the Hungarians considerable autonomy. The push for more freedom in Hungary, inspired in part by events in Poland, came when the local Communist Party divided into two wings: old-line communists and reformers. After considerable internal maneuvering, the Party decided to hold free elections the following spring.

Even before the promised elections took place, Hungary’s government had decided to open its border with Austria, a country that had obtained its autonomy in 1955. Since Austria had an open border with West Germany, 33,000 East Germans traveled from East Germany to Austria and on into West Germany. This put pressure on the government of East Germany to allow a more direct path out of the country. Due to a bureaucratic error, word leaked out that the wall dividing east from West Berlin would be opened. Spontaneously awakened to the benefits of freedom and encouraged by West Germany, millions of East Germans swarmed over and through the wall separating East from West Berlin. Within two months, the entire leadership of communist East Germany resigned, and democratic elections were scheduled for the following year.

The fall of the Berlin Wall[1]

The End of the Soviet Union

Freedom quickly spread to other satellite countries. In quick succession, Czechoslovakia followed Germany's example. In the same year, Romanians and Bulgarians overturned the communist governments that controlled their countries. In 1990 and 1991, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia broke away from the Soviet Union, which had incorporated them shortly before World War II.

It was only a matter of time before the Soviet Union itself would break up into a combination of republics that had been ruled by tsars for centuries before the communists seized power in 1917. Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union had not made him a popular leader. Opposed on one side by old-line communists who hoped to return to the Soviet Union of Leonid Brezhnev, and on the other side by nationalists who wanted to form their own countries, Gorbachev was forced to resign. Boris Yeltsin succeeded him. The day after Gorbachev resigned from power, the Supreme Soviet (highest Soviet legislative body) dissolved itself and with it the Soviet Union. The once feared superpower had broken into 16 separate republics, each with its own government, army, laws, and national interests.

The collapse of the Soviet Union was definitely a great moment for the United States. Among the many things it seemed to prove was the success of the policy of

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containment. Just as George Kennan had advised the U.S. in 1947, "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies" had over the long haul succeeded in preventing Soviet expansion without resorting to nuclear war or abandoning America's allies in Europe and in Asia.

The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises:

1. Compare the life of an average teenager in the United States to life behind the Iron Curtain as described by Eva Kende.

2. Account for the order of events from the success of Solidarity to the breakup of the Soviet Union. Which do you think was the most crucial in leading to the fall of the USSR? Why?

B. Graphic Organizer:

Identify or define and explain each of the following:

Soviet satellite nations	
Eva Kende	
Stasi	
Leonid Brezhnev	
Hungarian Revolution	
Mikhail Gorbachev	
glasnost	
perestroika	
Ronald Reagan	
Lech Walesa	
Solidarity	
Berlin Wall	
Boris Yeltsin	
Containment	

For Further Consideration: Did Containment Work?

The author of this text credits the practice of containment policies to the breakup of the Soviet Union. Explain why you think containment was or was not the best policy for the U.S. in two of the following provocations:

a. the Berlin blockade
b. the attack on South Korea and the resulting stalemate
c. the Cuban Missile Crisis

Come to class with two strong paragraphs and be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.