In this chapter, you will learn about the United States in the post-war years. Americans became engaged in a global struggle to stop the spread of Communism. At home, the 1950s saw the birth of the Civil Rights Movement. African Americans used the courts to end racial segregation in public schools and other public places.
A. Shortly after World War II ended, the United States and the Soviet Union entered into a 45 year-long Cold War. Although Stalin had promised free elections in Poland, Soviet troops set up Communist governments in Eastern Europe.

B. In 1946, Communists rebelles challenged the Greek government and Stalin put pressure on Turkey. The Truman Doctrine, created to help Greece and Turkey, offered aid to any free people resisting Communism. In 1948, the Marshall Plan further offered economic aid to the war-torn countries of Europe.

C. Under the policy of containment, Truman and future U.S. Presidents sought to stop the spread of Communism in the world.

D. When the Western allies joined their occupation zones together to form West Germany, Stalin ordered a blockade of Berlin. The U.S. and its allies supplied West Berlin through the Berlin Airlift. In 1949, the Western allies formed NATO to give Western Europe protection with U.S. nuclear weapons.

E. In 1949, Mao Zedong led a Communist revolution in China. In 1950, Communist North Korea invaded South Korea, starting the Korean War. Truman came to the aid of South Korea and sent General Douglas MacArthur to lead U.S. forces. When MacArthur made public his interest in invading China and using nuclear weapons, Truman disagreed and removed him from command.

F. The Soviets and Americans entered into a nuclear arms race and a “space race.” The space race began when the Soviets sent Sputnik into space in 1957. The Americans responded by sending their first satellite into space the next year.

G. The Cold War led to fear of Soviet spies at home. Truman established Loyalty Review Boards to investigate “un-American acts.” Congress conducted checks through theHUAC. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were tried and executed as spies. The Venona Papers later showed some of these accusations.

H. Fear of Communists in government allowed Senator Joseph McCarthy to conduct hearings in Congressional committees. He never produced any proof, and he was later censured for his unsupported accusations against people.

I. Americans enjoyed new prosperity in the 1950s. Veterans enjoyed special benefits under the GI Bill. Americans produced new consumer goods and goods for markets in war torn Europe. Medicine made rapid advances with new antibiotics. Jonas Salk developed a successful vaccine to prevent polio.

J. In 1946, Truman issued an Executive Order ending racial segregation in the military. A major turning point in the Civil Rights Movement was reached in Brown v. Board of Education (1954). Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP persuaded the Supreme Court that segregated schools were “inherently unequal.”

K. In 1955, Rosa Parks sat in the white section of a segregated bus, leading to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the boycott, which successfully ended the city’s segregated bus system.

L. Dr. King and other civil rights leaders then tried to end segregation in other states. They staged sit-ins, freedom rides, and peaceful demonstrations.
M. In 1963, King and others led a March on Washington, where he delivered his "I have A Dream" Speech. This led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, making it illegal for hotels, restaurants and other business to practice racial discrimination.

N. African Americans faced hostility in the South, sometimes leading to violence. Governors George Wallace, Lester Maddox, and Orval Faubus and the Southern Democrats in Congress all opposed desegregation.

O. Presidential actions and Congressional legislation sought to address minority rights in the United States. Affirmative action programs required companies and institutions doing business with the federal government to actively recruit minority candidates.

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**Key Terms and People in this Chapter**

- Cold War
- Iron Curtain
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- Berlin Airlift
- Containment Policy
- Mao Zedong
- Korean War
- Sputnik
- House Un-American Activities Committee
- Rosenberg Trial
- Venona Papers
- "McCarthyism"
- Jonas Salk
- Civil Rights Movement
- Plessy v. Ferguson
- Brown v. Board of Education
- Thurgood Marshall
- Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Rosa Parks
- Orval Faubus
- Lester Maddox
- George Wallace
- Civil Rights Acts
- Affirmative Action
- Billy Graham

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**Essential Questions**

- Why did the United States and Soviet Union enter into the Cold War?
- Why did the Cold War last so long?
- How did Civil Rights leaders change American society?

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**The Cold War**

Although the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies during World War II, these two Superpowers soon became rivals in the Cold War. This war was "cold" only in the sense that, because of nuclear weapons, the two Superpowers never confronted each other directly in open warfare. However, their global competition led to frequent conflicts on every continent.
The roots of the Cold War lay in the competing ideological systems of the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States wanted to spread its system of democracy and free enterprise. The Soviet Union wanted to see other countries adopt Communism. It was inevitable that these two Superpowers would clash. Some of their most important differences were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Soviet Communism</th>
<th>American Democracy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political System</td>
<td>One political party, the Communist Party.</td>
<td>A multi-party democracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations</td>
<td>All labor groups and other associations are run by the Communist Party.</td>
<td>Unions and other organizations openly negotiate with employers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic System</td>
<td>Industries and farms are owned by the state; central planners determine the nation’s economic needs; limited private property; education and health care provided by the state.</td>
<td>Free enterprise system; private ownership of property; supply and demand determine prices; people meet their own needs with some limited government involvement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Religion is discouraged.</td>
<td>Free exercise of religion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Rights</td>
<td>Secret police arrest opponents; censorship; no free exercise of beliefs.</td>
<td>Freedom of the press and expression.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union, was supposed to be creating a classless society that helped all workers, but he actually established a brutal dictatorship over which he exercised absolute control. Suspected opponents and critics were arrested and often sent to gulags (forced labor camps) in Siberia.

THE YALTA AND POTS DAM CONFERENCES

In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at Yalta to plan the reorganization of Europe at the end of the war. They agreed on the formation of the United Nations. They also agreed that Germany would be divided into four occupation zones. Finally, the three leaders agreed to allow free elections in the countries they liberated from German rule. Stalin even pledged to allow free elections in Poland after the war.

However, when Truman met with Stalin six months later at the Potsdam Conference in Germany, serious differences began to emerge.

Churchill, FDR, and Stalin at Yalta.
THE COLD WAR BEGINS

After the war, the Soviets saw a growing threat from capitalist governments. Stalin wanted to insure the safety of the Soviet Union and greatly distrusted the West, which had delayed invading France until 1944. He decided to create a wall of satellite countries as a buffer against any future invasions. As a result, Stalin refused to allow free elections in Poland. He had no intention of losing control over the country through which Germany had invaded Russia twice in the previous 30 years. The United States also refused to share the secrets behind the atomic bomb. The Cold War now began in earnest. Soviet troops continued to occupy Eastern Europe. They placed local Communists in power in all the governments of Eastern Europe. Trade and contact between Eastern and Western Europe was cut off. An Iron Curtain fell over Eastern Europe, closing it off from the West. Over the next forty years, travel and communication between the East and West remained limited. Eastern European nations became “satellites” of the Soviet Union.

APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Speaking on a visit to Missouri, Winston Churchill told Americans in 1946 that “from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” What did Churchill mean by the phrase “iron curtain”?

THE ORIGINS OF U.S. CONTAINMENT POLICY

American leaders responded to the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe by developing a policy of containment. Under this policy, they did not attempt to overturn Communism where it already existed, but they resolved to prevent it from spreading further.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

When Communist rebels threatened Greece and Stalin pressured Turkey, Truman decided to offer these countries military aid. He felt it was important not to make the same mistake as the appeasers in Munich who failed to stand up to Hitler in 1938.
ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

In the Truman Doctrine, President Truman promised to support any country fighting Communism:

“I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted [conquest] by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.”

★ Do you think the United States should have offered aid to all nations facing such threats?

A historian, Stephen Ambrose, once wrote:

“Truman realized that he could never get the economy-minded Republicans — and the public that stood behind them — to shell out tax dollars to support a rather shabby King in Greece. Truman had to describe the Greek situation in universal terms, good versus evil, to get their support. In a single sentence, Truman defined American policy for the next twenty years. Whenever and wherever an anti-Communist government was threatened by insurgents, foreign invasion, or even diplomatic pressure, the United States would supply political, economic, and most of all military aid.”

★ What is Ambrose’s view of the Truman Doctrine?

THE MARSHALL PLAN, 1948

After World War II, much of Europe faced famine. Farm production across the continent had been destroyed by six years of war. Whole cities had been reduced to piles of rubble. Truman believed that people who were desperate and miserable were often attracted to Communism. His Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, proposed that massive aid be given to the countries of war-torn Europe to rebuild their economies.

Marshall believed this aid would create strong European allies and trading partners for the United States. It would also avoid the chaos that had followed World War I. The plan included aid to Germany and Italy, in marked contrast to the policies of the victors following World War I, who sought reparations from the defeated powers.

The Marshall Plan was extremely successful. It greatly benefited the American economy in helping to rebuild war-torn Europe. It also speeded the economic recovery of Western Europe and created good will towards the United States. From 1948 to 1952, European economies grew at an unprecedented rate.
A DIVIDED GERMANY AND THE BERLIN AIRLIFT, 1948

In 1948, the French, British and Americans decided to merge their zones of occupation into a single state, West Germany. Berlin, the old capital of Germany, was located in the Soviet zone. It had also been divided into four sectors, each occupied by a different power. The Soviets reacted to the merging of the Western zones by announcing a blockade of West Berlin, closing all highway and railroad links to the West.

The Western Allies refused to abandon West Berlin. They began a massive airlift to feed and supply the city. Within a year, Stalin lifted the Soviet blockade. The United States had met another test of the Cold War. The United States and its allies had shown that they would not retreat when faced with aggressive behavior by the Soviet Union.

APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Imagine you are working in the U.S. State Department in the late 1940s. Prepare a position paper for President Truman on the Marshall Plan or the Berlin Airlift. Specify the position you wish the President to take and support your position with reasons, facts, and evidence.

THE FORMATION OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT

In response to Cold War tensions, the United States, Canada, and ten Western European countries formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. NATO was based on the concept of collective security — each NATO member pledged to defend every other member if attacked. Through NATO, the United States extended its umbrella of protection from nuclear weapons to Western Europe. The Soviet Union responded by creating the Warsaw Pact with its Eastern European satellites in 1955.
FRICION BEHIND
THE IRON CURTAIN

Although Americans loudly condemned Soviet acts of force, the United States never directly intervened behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet leaders successfully suppressed an anti-Communist revolution that broke out in Hungary in 1956, erected the Berlin Wall in 1961 to prevent East Germans from escaping to the West, and invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 to overthrow a Czech reform government—all without active interference by the United States or its allies.

CONTAINMENT IN ASIA

Just when American statesmen believed their containment policy had checked the spread of Communism in Europe, the world’s most populous nation became Communist in Asia. This raised a new question: could American leaders check the spread of Communism, not only in Europe, but around the globe?

CHINA FALLS TO COMMUNISM, 1949

Since the 1920s, Chinese Communists had sought to overthrow the Nationalist government in China. They were helped by the Soviets after 1945. Led by Mao Zedong, they finally defeated the Nationalists in 1949. Nationalist leaders fled to the island of Taiwan. In China, Mao proceeded to create the world’s largest Communist state. The fall of China to the Communists was seen as a crushing blow for the United States as more than a quarter of the world’s population now came under Communist control.

President Truman refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the Communist government in China. Using its veto power in the United Nations, the United States also prevented the admission of “Red China” into the United Nations. Truman further pledged to protect the Nationalist government on Taiwan against any Communist attacks.

APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Imagine you are the U.S. representative to the United Nations in the 1950s. Write a speech arguing against the admission of “Red China” into the United Nations. Then write a short response from the Communist Chinese (PRC) government.
LEARNING WITH GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS

Complete the graphic organizer below describing some of the events of the early Cold War.

**Soviet vs. American Systems**

**The Truman Doctrine**

**The Marshall Plan**

**ROOTS OF THE COLD WAR**

**The Berlin Airlift**

**The Formation of NATO**

**Communist Victory in China**
THE KOREAN WAR, 1950-1953

Many Americans believed their government had not done enough to prevent the fall of China to Communism. This criticism of U.S. foreign policy affected American actions at the time of the outbreak of the Korean War.

THE KOREAN WAR BEGINS

Korea, a former Japanese colony, was divided into two zones after World War II. In North Korea, a Communist government was established. In South Korea, a non-Communist state was established with an elected government. In 1950, North Korean forces invaded South Korea in an attempt to unify the country under Communist rule. Stalin felt that Americans would not care enough to become involved in the conflict. The South Korean army was inefficient and unmotivated. Their troops fled south as the North Koreans advanced.

When he first learned of the invasion, President Truman was reminded of Nazi aggression before World War II. He immediately decided to oppose the North Koreans rather than giving in. Truman ordered U.S. forces into South Korea to resist the invasion. The Soviet Union had recently walked out of the United Nations in a protest, so the United States was able to pass a resolution sending U.N. troops, mostly U.S. soldiers, to South Korea. This action marked the first time an international peace organization successfully used military force to halt aggression.

THE TRUMAN-MACARTHUR CONTROVERSY

Truman sent General Douglas MacArthur to Korea to command U.N. forces. MacArthur landed his forces at Inchon, in the middle of the peninsula. This landing surprised the North Koreans by cutting off their main forces from the North, and reversed the entire military situation. It was also the second largest seaborne invasion in history. MacArthur then attacked North Korea, advancing north to the border between North Korea and China.

The threat of a large American force on China’s border brought a large Chinese army into the war, forcing MacArthur to retreat. MacArthur now wanted to liberate China from Communist control by invading China. He was willing to use atomic weapons if needed as the United States had done in Japan.
When President Truman refused his ideas, MacArthur criticized Truman to a Congressman, who reported this to the news media. Faced with public criticism from a commander in the field, Truman relieved MacArthur from his command. Truman believed this step was necessary to reassert civilian control over the military, although the step was unpopular at the time.

**THE WAR COMES TO AN END**

In 1952, Dwight Eisenhower, the former commander of Allied forces invading Western Europe on D-Day, was elected President. A Republican, “Ike” — as he was popularly called — pledged he would end the war if elected.

An armistice was signed between the United States and North Korea in 1953. The agreement provided for a “demilitarized zone” between North and South Korea and a transfer of prisoners of war. The armistice left Korea divided exactly as it had been before the North Korean invasion.

**APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED**

★ Write an essay on the reasons for the conflict in Korea and its relationship to Truman’s containment policy.

★ Pretend you are an editorial writer for a newspaper. Write an editorial about Truman’s controversy with MacArthur. Your editorial should give your opinion on whether Truman did the right thing in relieving MacArthur of his command.

★ Make your own hand-drawn map of Europe and Asia. Indicate the main areas that became scenes of conflict during the early years of the Cold War.
THE ARMS AND SPACE RACES

In 1945, America was the sole atomic power. American leaders had refused to share their atomic secrets with other countries. However, by 1949 the Soviet Union had developed its own atomic bomb, leading to a nuclear “arms race” between the two Superpowers. In 1952, the United States developed the hydrogen bomb, which was immensely more powerful than the original atomic bomb. The Soviet Union exploded its first hydrogen bomb only a year later, showing that the technology gap between the two Superpowers had greatly narrowed.

MASSIVE RETALIATION

American leaders in the 1950s decided to rely more on nuclear weapons for defense than on a large military force. These nuclear weapons acted as a deterrent — the Soviet Union was supposed to be deterred from attacking because if it did, the United States would destroy it with nuclear weapons. Massive retaliation was cheaper than maintaining a large military force, but it was also far less flexible. American leaders soon realized that in most situations, nuclear weapons simply could not be used. Such mass destruction could only be justified if a nation’s very survival were at stake.

THE SOVIETS LAUNCH SPUTNIK, 1957

During World War II, Nazi German scientists had made great strides in building rockets. After the war, each Superpower began its own missile program. In 1957, the Soviet Union launched the first man-made satellite into space. Sputnik was little more than the size of a basketball and weighed 184 pounds. It orbited the Earth once every 98 minutes with a radio transmitter that did little more than issue a frequent beep that allowed it to be tracked. Sputnik ushered in a new age of space exploration and started a “space race.” It raised the fear that the Soviet Union might use missiles to send nuclear bombs to the United States. Americans felt they were falling behind the Soviets. The federal government started new programs in science education and also launched its own first satellite into space in 1958.
THE COLD WAR AT HOME

As the Cold War grew more intense, Americans became more concerned with their own internal security.

THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Following World War II, Americans feared a possible Communist menace inside the United States. President Truman ordered the establishment of Loyalty Review Boards to investigate individual “un-American” activities, such as participation in the American Communist Party. Many Americans were accused of “un-American” actions on very little evidence. These victims were often unable to defend themselves or even to know who had accused them. The process violated their constitutional rights.

Congress decided to conduct its own loyalty checks through its special House Un-American Activities Committee. This committee questioned actors, directors, writers, and others about their possible Communist sympathies. Those identified as present or former members of the Communist Party were frequently “blacklisted” and lost their jobs. Some, like Alger Hiss, were later prosecuted for perjury. Those who cooperated with the committee were often asked to inform on others.

THE ROSENBERG TRIALS

In 1950, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were charged with selling national secrets to the Soviet Union about making the atomic bomb. The Rosenbergs were found guilty and executed for spying. Like the Sacco and Vanzetti case in the 1920s, many Americans doubted the Rosenbergs’ guilt. However, in 1997, the National Security Agency released the Venona Papers. This was a secret effort by the United States to gather and decode messages sent in the 1940s by Soviet military intelligence agents. The Venona Papers revealed the identities of several Americans who had spied for the Soviet Union, including Julius Rosenberg. It showed that some Soviet agents had in fact penetrated American government, science and industry during the Cold War.

THE McCARTHY HEARINGS

The fall of China increased fears of internal subversion. In 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy shocked Americans by claiming that he knew the names of hundreds of Communists who had infiltrated the U.S. State Department and other government agencies. Like the Red Scare of the 1920s, McCarthy’s allegations created fears of a Communist conspiracy. After three years of hearings, McCarthy never provided any real proof for his charges. He was censured (formally criticized) by the Senate. Although McCarthy never proved any of his claims, his witchhunt frightened many Americans. The term “McCarthyism” has become identified with making harsh accusations without evidence.
APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Using the Internet or your school library, research the HUAC or the McCarthy hearings. Identify a person who appeared before one of the committees. Indicate what took place during that person's appearance. Then tell what happened to his or her career after testifying. Write a brief paper summarizing what you learned.

LEARNING WITH GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS

Complete the graphic organizer below, describing the effects of the Cold War in the early 1950s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arms Race / Massive Retaliation</th>
<th>&quot;Space Race&quot; / Sputnik</th>
<th>House Un-American Activities Committee</th>
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</table>

HOW COLD WAR TENSIONS INTENSIFIED

Rosenberg Trial / Venona Papers

"McCarthyism"

Korean War
THE EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY, 1953-1960

FOREIGN POLICY UNDER EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower gave control of foreign policy to his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, a devoted anti-Communist. Dulles sought to contain the spread of Communism by preventing the Soviets from gaining additional influence.

In 1957, Eisenhower announced he would send U.S. forces to any Middle Eastern nation that requested help in defending against Communism. This extension of the containment policy became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. The United States also signed a series of treaties around the world to contain Communism.

DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER EISENHOWER

The 1950s were a period of recovery and economic growth. Millions of veterans returned home from World War II. They benefited from special benefits for war veterans, including low mortgage rates and educational grants. People whose lives had been disrupted by the Great Depression and the war could now turn their attentions to work and raising families.

As in the 1920s, products for consumers, such as automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, and televisions, helped stimulate economic growth. Eisenhower signed the Interstate Highway Act (1956), which created a system of federal highways. Americans were not just producing for themselves, but also for the rest of the world, which was still recovering from wartime destruction. Because of the Cold War, defense spending remained high. One result of this increased spending was a wave of prosperity and the growth of the middle class.

Housing Boom. This was a time of high birth rates, known as the “baby boom.” This boom and the G.I. Bill (Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944) helping veterans led developers to build cheaper, mass-produced housing. Home ownership increased by 50%. The movement of middle-income families to the suburbs led to a declining urban tax base and decaying inner cities.

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY

Economic Prosperity. The demand for consumer goods reached all-time highs. Millions of autos and TV sets were sold. The use of refrigerators and other appliances became widespread. The gross domestic product doubled between 1945 and 1960. America dominated world trade.

Conformity. In the 1950s, there was a greater emphasis on conformity. Unusual ideas were regarded with suspicion. Fear of Communism strengthened the dislike of non-conformist attitudes.
THE IMPACT OF GEOGRAPHY ON HISTORY

For much of the nineteenth century, rural Americans had migrated to cities. In the middle of the twentieth century, this pattern shifted. The building of highways and the construction of new homes after World War II allowed millions of city-dwelling Americans to move to suburbs — areas where homeowners enjoyed grassy backyards and fresh air, but were close enough to city centers to work and shop there. As suburban populations grew, freeways became more congested. Suburbanites began to shop in local malls, and some suburbs grew so large that they became cities themselves.

ADVANCES IN MEDICINE

The post-war period saw many advances in medicine. The success of antibiotics in treating infections gave new hopes for cures. In 1953, Jonas Salk developed the first vaccine for polio, a disease that attacks the central nervous system and can cause paralysis or death. Polio paralyzed thousands of American children each year. Salk used a dead virus as the basis for his vaccine. He tested it on himself and his family before setting up a field test with almost two million volunteers. Other medical advances during this period included a measles vaccine, the first heart transplant, and the discovery of streptomycin, an antibiotic to treat tuberculosis.

APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Use the Internet or your school library to research a medical advance from the 1950s. Create a short PowerPoint presentation describing the advance, explaining how it was made, and evaluating its impact on American society.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

One of the key developments of the 1950s was the struggle of African Americans for equal rights. The Civil Rights Movement became a major turning point for American society.

Its success led to later efforts by women, other ethnic minorities, the disabled, the young, and the old to obtain equal opportunities, making America the open and pluralistic society it is today.
ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

At the end of the Civil War, the United States had held out the promise of equality to Americans of all races, but this promise was cut short in the aftermath of Reconstruction. Many Americans felt that the treatment received by African Americans was inconsistent with the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Indeed, it seemed ironic for America to pose as the defender of freedom and democracy around the world, while denying equality to many of its citizens at home.

THE TRUMAN YEARS, 1945–1953

In 1947, Jackie Robinson became the first African-American baseball player to cross the “color line” and join the major leagues. The same year, the Truman administration issued a report, To Secure These Rights, calling for civil rights laws. The following year, Truman proposed civil rights legislation to Congress that did not pass. When he was re-elected, Truman demanded his inauguration be integrated. In 1948, he also issued executive orders to desegregate the armed forces and end discriminatory hiring practices in the federal government. These orders set precedents for later civil rights legislation.

BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1954

Civil rights were won in large part through litigation — resolving disputes in court. The Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education was central to the success of the Civil Rights Movement.

BACKGROUND

After Reconstruction, Southern states passed laws requiring the segregation of races in public places, including public schools. In Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of these state segregation laws. The Court had ruled that the “separate-but-equal” standard was constitutional. States could provide segregated facilities to different races, so long as they were equal in quality. Although schools were supposed to be equal, most schools in the South were greatly inferior to white ones. Starting in the 1930s, NAACP lawyers began challenging this “separate-but-equal” doctrine through the American court system.

In Sweatt v. Painter (1950), the NAACP won a case involving the right of Herman Sweatt, an African American, to attend the Law School at the University of Texas at Austin. Texas argued that its constitution prohibited integrated education. Texas even created a separate law school for African Americans, just to keep Sweatt out. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that this separate school failed to qualify as “separate but equal” since differences in its facilities, such as the isolation of its students from future lawyers being trained in Austin, with whom its students would later interact.
In 1953, NAACP lawyers appealed a Kansas court ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. Linda Brown and other African-American students had been denied admission to an all-white public school near their homes. The NAACP alleged that segregated public schools denied African-American children the “equal protection” of the law due to them under the Fourteenth Amendment. In addition, the NAACP lawyers argued that the education received by African-American students was inherently (by its very nature) inferior since it sent African-American children the message that they were not good enough to be educated with others.

**THE BROWN DECISION**

Thurgood Marshall argued the case for the NAACP. In May 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court.

**ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN**

The decision of the Warren Court in *Brown* stated:

“We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does .... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.”

★ Why was it important to the Court that the facilities were “inherently unequal”?

★ Do you think the Court was right in holding that racial segregation in public schools was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment? Explain the reasons for your answer.

The *Brown* decision overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* and marked the end of legal segregation in public schools. It was a key turning point in the Civil Rights Movement.
In a subsequent ruling, the Court held that desegregation in public schools should be conducted “with all deliberate speed.” Enforcement of the decision was left to the lower federal courts, which were to oversee that local school districts complied with the order. Because the phrase “with all deliberate speed” was vague, many states were able to delay the Court’s order to desegregate their schools. It would take many more years before the Brown decision was fully implemented.

**THE MARCH TO EQUALITY**

The Supreme Court had overturned legal racial segregation in the public schools, but this still left other segregation laws — known as “Jim Crow” laws — in place throughout the South. These laws prevented African Americans from sharing beaches, theaters, restaurants, water fountains, or public buses with whites.

**THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT, 1955–1956**

In December 1955, Rosa Parks, an African-American seamstress and local NAACP member, refused to surrender her bus seat to a white passenger in Montgomery, Alabama. When Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat, local African-American leaders began a boycott of the city’s public buses. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), a pastor in Montgomery, was the leader of the boycott. The boycott lasted 13 months and brought Rosa Parks, Dr. King, and their cause before the attention of the world. King rallied the boycotters at meetings in his church. They carpooled to take each other to work. King himself was arrested and his home was bombed, but the boycott lasted and the case was eventually taken to federal court. The court ruled that segregation on the buses operated by the city of Montgomery violated the “equal protection” clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The boycott had shown that African Americans could unite successfully to oppose segregation.

**CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957**

In 1957, the Eisenhower administration passed the Civil Rights Act to increase African-American voting in the South. The act created the Civil Rights Commission and established a Civil Rights Division in the U.S. Justice Department. The law gave federal courts the power to register African-American voters. Registration procedures were so complex the act proved ineffective, but it helped set the pattern for later civil rights legislation.

**LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, 1957**

Most Southern states delayed putting the Brown decision into effect. Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas was a World War II veteran and a liberal Democrat, who favored segregation.
Governor Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to surround the all-white Little Rock High School to prevent nine African-American students from entering the building. Faubus also refused to provide protection to the African-American students, known as the "Little Rock Nine," who were being threatened by angry mobs. Some historians claim that Faubus simply acted to win white segregationist votes, but his actions hurt the students and defied the law. President Eisenhower ordered federal troops to Little Rock to ensure that the Little Rock Nine could attend school.

**ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN**

On September 24, 1957, President Eisenhower issued this Executive Order:

"... Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable. In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This became necessary when my Proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice still continues ...."

In your opinion, was President Eisenhower justified in issuing this Executive Order? Explain your answer.

The following year, Governor Faubus closed the school down and asked for a postponement of the integration plan. The Supreme Court ruled against any delay and forced the reopening of the school.

Governor Faubus was only one of several Southern Governors who claimed the federal government was interfering in state matters and pledged to resist desegregation in order to maintain the *status quo* (the existing system). In 1964, restaurant-owner Lester Maddox rose to national attention when he wielded an axe handle at African Americans seeking to enter his "whites-only" restaurant. When ordered by the courts, Maddox sold his restaurant rather than admit African Americans. Appealing to the white electorate, Maddox ran for Governor of Georgia and was elected.

In 1963, Alabama Governor George Wallace received national attention when he stood at the door to the University of Alabama in a symbolic attempt to prevent two African-American students from enrolling at that school. He cited the constitutional right of states to operate their public schools, but was forced to step down.
CONGRESSIONAL BLOC OF SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Southern Democrats in Congress banded together to obstruct attempts to pass federal civil rights legislation. Many of these Southern legislators held important committee chairmanships, which gave them the power to prevent such legislation from even coming to the floor of Congress for a vote.

SIT-INS AND FREEDOM RIDES IN THE SOUTH, 1960–1961

In 1960, African-American students held a sit-in at a “Whites Only” lunch counter in North Carolina. The tactic was soon copied by other students throughout the South. In 1961, interracial groups rode buses in Freedom Rides in the South. As a result of these protests, downtown stores finally agreed to desegregate lunch counters and hire African-American workers. The Freedom Riders sought to overturn racial segregation on public transportation. They created confrontations so that the federal government would be forced to intervene. These riders often faced the risk of violence and even death from those who opposed integration.

KING’S LETTER FROM A BIRMINGHAM JAIL, 1963

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. emerged in the late 1950s as the leader of the Civil Rights Movement. Like Thoreau and Gandhi before him, King believed in non-violence — that passive resistance to unjust laws could change the attitudes of oppressors. During the 1950s and 1960s, King achieved international fame for carrying out resistance to injustice through civil disobedience. King believed that if the government passed an unjust law, people should oppose it with non-violent tactics such as peaceful marches, boycotts, picketing, and demonstrations.

When Dr. Martin Luther King led a march in Birmingham, Alabama, he was arrested. Television then revealed to the nation the brutal tactics often used by the police to break up peaceful demonstrations. Dr. King wrote a “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” explaining the reasons why African Americans could no longer patiently wait for their constitutional rights. His critics felt that the fight against racial segregation should take place in the courts and not in the street. King argued that civil disobedience was justified not only because it was effective, but because “everyone has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws.”
ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" was one of the most important documents of the Civil Rights Movement. Despite its practical origins, the document is considered a classic work of protest:

"We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct action that was 'well timed' in the view of those who have not suffered from segregation. For years I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This 'Wait' has always meant 'Never.' We must come to see ... that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.'"

Select an example from American history that illustrates Dr. King's point that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, 1963

In 1963, Dr. King and other Civil Rights leaders organized a March on Washington to pressure Congress to pass the new Civil Rights bill then before Congress. A quarter of a million people attended the march. It was the largest demonstration for human rights in U.S. history.

ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

At the Lincoln Memorial, Dr. King delivered his "I Have A Dream" Speech, which looked forward to the day when Americans of all colors would live peacefully together:

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Write a paragraph comparing how the conditions described on pages 273–278 with those you experience today differ. Has Dr. King's dream been fulfilled?

The March on Washington ended with a special meeting between Dr. King, other leaders of the march, and President John F. Kennedy at the White House.

Only a few months after the March on Washington, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. After his tragic assassination, there was a new willingness in Congress to pass legislation he had proposed before his death.
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

On the plane ride back to Washington, D.C., Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was immediately sworn in as President. A Texan, Johnson had been the Democratic leader in the Senate in 1957, and had helped to steer the Civil Rights Act of 1957 through Congress. With the lobbying efforts of Civil Rights supporters, President Johnson was now able to push an even more important bill through Congress. The Southern Democratic bloc tried to stop the bill with ceaseless speeches, but they were prevented by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate.

The resulting Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, or ethnic origin in hotels, restaurants, and all places of employment doing business with the federal government or engaged in interstate commerce. The act cut off federal aid to school districts with segregated schools. Finally, the act gave the federal government the power to register voters and to establish the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce the act’s provisions. What this meant was that all businesses involved in interstate commerce could no longer discriminate.

THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE VOTING RIGHTS

After passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Civil Rights leaders turned their energies to registering African-American voters and encouraging them to vote.

| Twenty-Fourth Amendment (1964) eliminated poll taxes in federal elections. |

| THE ROAD TO EQUAL VOTING RIGHTS |

Selma Marches. In 1965, Dr. King went to Selma, Alabama, to organize a march demanding the vote for African Americans. When demonstrators were attacked, President Johnson reacted by introducing a voting rights bill.

Voting Rights Act of 1965. This act ended poll taxes, suspended literacy tests where they were used to prevent African Americans from voting, and led to a substantial increase in the number of African-American voters.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, 1965

In 1965, President Johnson signed an Executive Order requiring employers with federal contracts to take positive steps to raise the number of their minority employees to correct past imbalances. Later, women were added. This went beyond not discriminating: companies and institutions were now required to actively recruit minority candidates.

Affirmative action programs increased minority representation in colleges, the professions, and many businesses. The act had some unintended consequences. Some critics challenged these programs as a form of reverse discrimination. In Regents of University of California v. Bakke, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld affirmative action, but not the use of racial quotas. Many affirmative action programs have been phased out over time as America has become a more pluralistic society.
One prominent supporter of civil rights was **Billy Graham**, a Christian preacher and spiritual adviser to several U.S. Presidents. Graham rose to fame for his staunch anti-Communism. He became an outspoken opponent of segregation. Graham paid to bail out Dr. King from jail and made a public revival tour with him in 1957. That same year, Graham also advised President Eisenhower to send federal troops to help the Little Rock Nine. During his lifetime, Graham preached to millions of people in almost 200 countries. He was one of the first preachers to address large crowds behind the Iron Curtain, calling for world peace.

![Billy Graham, preacher and adviser to Presidents.](image)

### APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Imagine a meeting taking place today between Thurgood Marshall, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Orval Faubus, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Billy Graham. Write an imaginary dialogue in which each looks back and explains why he acted as he did, and tells how he feels about his actions now. You may want to act out your dialogue.

### LEARNING WITH GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS

Complete the timeline below by describing some of the milestones in the struggle for civil rights.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>President Truman Orders Integration of Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Brown v. Board of Education Decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Montgomery Bus Boycott Begins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Civil Rights Act of 1957

Integration of Little Rock High School in Arkansas

Freedom Rides / Lunch Counter Sit-ins

March on Washington

Civil Rights Act of 1964 / Twenty-fourth Amendment

Selma Alabama March

Voting Rights Act of 1965

Affirmative Action
CHAPTER STUDY CARDS

Roots of the Cold War

★ **Ideological Differences.** The Soviet Union was Communist; the U.S. was a democracy based on the free enterprise system.
★ **Soviet Occupation of Eastern Europe.** The Soviet army occupied Eastern Europe at the end of World War II and set up local Communist governments.
★ **Iron Curtain.** The Soviets cut-off Eastern Europe from Western Europe.
  - Division of Germany into West and East.
  - Berlin Airlift. Soviets blockaded Berlin; U.S. sent in supplies; Soviets end blockade.

Attempts at Containment in the Cold War

★ **Truman Doctrine, 1947:** Sought to help Greece and Turkey; doctrine promised U.S. assistance to all free peoples resisting Communism.
★ **Marshall Plan, 1948:** U.S. gave economic aid to reduce the appeal of Communism.
★ **Creation of NATO:** Alliance of U.S., Canada, and Western Europe. Members pledged a common defense against aggression.
★ **Warsaw Pact.** Pact of Soviet satellites created to counter the threat of NATO.

Korean War (1950–1953)

★ **Cause.** Communist North Korea invaded South Korea to reunify the country.
★ **Highlights.** U.S. enters war under U.N. resolution to defend South Korea.
  - MacArthur's landing at Inchon in North Korea turned tide; fearing invasion, China entered the war.
  - War ended in a stalemate, as borders remained the same as before the war.
★ **Truman-MacArthur Controversy.** Truman dismissed General MacArthur for wanting to use atomic weapons against Communist China and for openly criticizing the President.

Arms and Space Race

★ **Massive Retaliation.** U.S. tries to rely mainly on nuclear weapons for defense.
  - Deterrent. Destructiveness of nuclear arms to act as deterrent to attack.
★ **Sputnik (1957).** Soviet launch of Sputnik sets off a "space race."

Cold War and American Security

★ **House Un-American Activities Commission.**
★ **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg Trials.**
★ **Venona Papers.** Confirmed the existence of some spies in American government.
★ **McCarthy Hearings:** "McCarthyism."

Truman and Eisenhower Administrations (1945–1960)

★ **Truman Presidency.** Executive Order to desegregate armed forces and end unfair hiring practices for federal jobs (1948).
★ **Domestic Policy Developments.**
  - Housing boom. G.I. Bill provided loans to help returning veterans buy new homes and attend college.
  - Period of economic prosperity.
  - Move to suburbs by many Americans.
★ **Foreign Policy Developments.**
  - **Eisenhower Doctrine.** Extended U.S. containment policy to the Middle East.

Civil Rights Movement

★ **Plessy v. Ferguson (1896).**
  - Allowed "separate but equal" facilities.
★ **Brown v. Board of Education (1954).**
  - Ended segregation in public schools
  - Separate facilities: "inherently unequal."
★ **Highlights of the Civil Rights Movement.**
  - Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955)
  - Integration in Little Rock H.S. (1957)
  - Civil Rights Act (1957)
  - Civil Rights Act (1964)
  - Sit-ins and Freedom Rides (1960s)
  - Voting Rights Act (1965)
  - **Affirmative Action (1965).**
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

- Major beliefs of Dr. King:
  - Belief in non-violent, civil disobedience.
  - Modeled his actions after those of Thoreau and Gandhi.
- "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."
  - King explained why African Americans could no longer wait for equality.
  - Delivered his "I Have A Dream" Speech.
  - Eventually led to passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Other Important Individuals

- George Marshall. Army chief of Staff to FDR; Secretary of State to Truman; creator of the Marshall Plan.
- Douglas MacArthur. Led U.S. forces in Pacific and Korea; dispute with Truman over nuclear weapons led to his dismissal.
- Thurgood Marshall. NAACP attorney; was first African American on Supreme Court.
- Rosa Parks. Montgomery bus boycott.
- Southern Governors resisting integration: George Wallace, Orval Faubus, and Lester Maddox.

CHAPTER 13 CONCEPT MAP

THE COLD WAR IN EUROPE AND ASIA

KOREAN WAR
1950–1953

Liberate China from Communist Control
Communism in China
Led by Mao Zedong

North Korea Invades South Korea

COMMUNISM IN CHINA

MARSHALL PLAN (1948)

DIVISION OF GERMANY
Four Zones of Occupation

BERLIN AIRLIFT

ADOPTED POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

FEAR OF A COMMUNIST WORLD REVOLUTION

THE ROOTS OF THE COLD WAR

Soviets set up satellites in Eastern Europe

Iron Curtain

Stalin fails to hold elections in Poland

U.S. fails to share its atomic secrets

Shuts Eastern Europe off from West

SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM VS. U.S. ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cold War at Home

Fear of Communist Threat

Creation of Loyalty Review Boards

INVESTIGATED THOSE ACUSED OF DISLOYALTY

Making Accusations Without Evidence

"McCarthyism"

TRIAL OF THE ROSENBERGS

 "Separate But Equal" Policy

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

Court Upheld "Separate But Equal" Policy

AMERICA IN THE COLD WAR AND CIVIL RIGHTS YEARS

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955–1956

Integration of Little Rock High School

Brown v. Board of Education

Civil Rights Act of 1964

March on Washington

Sit-Ins Freedom Rides

COLD WAR AT HOME

Court Upheld "Separate But Equal" Policy

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

"Separate But Equal" No Place in Public Education

Brown v. Board of Education

Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955–1956

Integration of Little Rock High School

Civil Rights Act of 1964

March on Washington

Sit-Ins Freedom Rides