27 The Cold War and the Fair Deal

1945–1952

Duck and cover A "duck-and-cover" air-raid drill in 1951 that was commonplace in schools across the country during the cold war. The drills began in 1949, when the Soviet Union set off its first nuclear weapon. Pictured above are American schoolchildren practicing ducking and covering in February 1951.

No sooner did the Second World War end than a prolonged "cold war" between communism and capitalism began. The awkward wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union collapsed during the spring and summer of 1945. With the elimination of their common enemy, Nazism, the two nations became intense global rivals who could not bridge their ideological differences over basic issues such as human rights, individual liberties, democratic elections, and religious freedom.

Mutual suspicion and a race to gain influence over "nonaligned" nations in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Central and South America further distanced the two former allies. The defeat of Japan and Germany had created power vacuums in Europe and Asia that sucked the Soviet Union and the United States into an unrelenting war of words fed by clashing strategic interests and political ideologies.

The postwar era also brought anti-colonial liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East that would soon strip Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States of their global empires. The Philippines, for example, gained its independence from America in 1946. The next year, Great Britain withdrew from Hindu-dominated India after carving out two new Islamic nations, Pakistan and Bangladesh (originally called East Pakistan). The emergence of Communist China (the People's Republic) in 1949 further complicated global politics.

The mere possibility of nuclear holocaust also cast a cloud of anxiety over the postwar era. The advent of atomic weapons made the very idea of warfare

focus questions

1. Why and how did the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union develop after the Second World War?
2. What was the impact of American efforts to contain the Soviet Union and the expansion of communism during Truman's presidency?
3. How did Truman expand the New Deal? How effective was his own "Fair Deal" agenda?
4. What were the major international developments during 1949–1950, and how did they alter U.S. foreign policy?
5. How did the Red Scare emerge after the Second World War? How did it impact American politics and society?

unthinkably horrific, which in turn made national leaders more cautious in handling disputes.

Truman and the Cold War

In April 1945, less than three months after Harry S. Truman had begun his new role as vice president, Eleanor Roosevelt calmly informed him, "Harry, the President is dead." When Truman asked what he could do to help her, the First Lady replied: "Is there anything we can do for *you*? For you are the one in trouble now." Truman was largely unknown outside of Washington. What everyone did know, however, was that he was not Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Truman had no wealthy family, had not traveled the world, and had not attended Harvard or Columbia. In fact, he had not gone to college.

Born in 1884 in western Missouri, Truman grew up in Independence, near Kansas City. Bookish and withdrawn, he was, he recalled, a bit of "a sissy" as a boy. He moved to his grandmother's farm after high school, spent a few years working in Kansas City banks, and grew into an outgoing young man.

During the First World War, Truman served in France as captain of an artillery battery. Afterward, he and a partner started a clothing business, but it failed miserably in the recession of 1922, leaving him in debt for the next twenty years. Truman then entered local politics under the tutelage of Kansas City's Democratic machine. In 1934, Missouri sent him to the U.S. Senate, where he remained obscure until he chaired a committee investigating fraud in the war-mobilization effort.

Truman was a plain, decent, lovable man who lacked Roosevelt's dash, charm, brilliance, and creativity. On his first full day as president, Truman was awestruck. "Boys, if you ever pray, pray for me now," he told reporters. "I don't know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay fall on you, but when they told me yesterday what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars and all the planets had fallen on me."

Washington politicos had low expectations of Roosevelt's successor. As Truman was seated waiting to be sworn in as the grieving nation's new president, a Democratic official said "he looked to me like a very little man as he sat" in a huge leather chair. An unreflective man whose famed decisiveness was rarely troubled by doubts or moral ambiguities, Truman was famously short-tempered, profane, and dismissive, and was notorious for his scrappy press conferences. ("If you ask smart-aleck questions, I'll give you smart-aleck answers.") He called publisher William Randolph Hearst "the No. 1 whore monger of our time," columnist Westbrook Pegler "the greatest character assas-

sin in the United States," and Richard Nixon "a shifty-eyed god-damned liar."

The plain-speaking man from Missouri resembled his hero Andrew Jackson in his decisiveness, bluntness, folksy manner, salty language, and raw courage. Despite his lack of executive experience, Truman was confident and self-assured—and he needed to be. Managing the transition from war to peace both at home and abroad was a monumental task. He was expected to lead America into a postwar era complicated by the cold war and the need to rebuild Europe and Asia.

Harry S. Truman The successor to Franklin Roosevelt who led the United States out of the Second World War and into the Cold War.

He ended up doing better than anyone expected. A common man who became president at an uncommon time, Truman rose above his limitations to do extraordinary things. He never pretended to be something he was not; as he admitted, he was "an ordinary human being who has been lucky." During a visit in 1952, British leader Winston Churchill confessed to Truman that initially he had held him "in very low regard. I loathed your taking the place of Franklin Roosevelt. I misjudged you badly. Since that time, you, more than any other man, have saved Western civilization."

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR Historians have long debated the unanswerable question: Was the United States or the Soviet Union more responsible for the onset of the cold war? The conventional view argues that the Soviets, led by Josef Stalin, a ruthless Communist dictator, set out to dominate the globe after 1945. The United States had no choice but to defend democratic capitalist values. By contrast, "revisionist" historians insist that instead of continuing Roosevelt's efforts to collaborate with the Soviets, President Truman pursued a confrontational foreign policy that aggravated tensions. Yet such an interpretation fails to recognize that Truman inherited a deteriorating relationship with the Soviets. Both sides in the postwar world were captives of a nuclear nightmare of fear, suspicion, and posturing.

In retrospect, the onset of the cold war seems to have been inevitable. America's commitment to capitalism, political self-determination, and religious freedom conflicted dramatically with the Soviet Union's preference for controlling

its neighbors, enforcing ideological conformity, and prohibiting religious practices. Insecurity, as much as Communist ideology, drove much of Soviet behavior after the Second World War. Russia, after all, had been invaded by Germany twice in the first half of the twentieth century, and some 23 million people died as a result. Soviet leaders were determined to create loyal nations on their borders for protection. The people of Eastern Europe were caught in the middle.

CONFLICTS WITH THE SOVIETS The wartime military alliance against Nazism disintegrated after 1945 as the Soviet Union violated the promises it had made at the Yalta Conference and imposed military control and the Communist political system on the nations of Eastern Europe it had liberated. On May 12, 1945, four days after victory in Europe, Winston Churchill asked Truman: "What is to happen about Europe? An **iron curtain** is drawn down upon [the Russian] front. We do not know what is going on behind [it]." Churchill and Truman wanted to lift the "iron curtain" and help those nations develop democratic governments. But events during the second half of 1945 dashed those expectations.

As early as the spring of 1945 and continuing for the next two years, the Soviet Union systematically imprisoned half of the European continent. The Red Army ran amok, raping and killing the "liberated" citizens of Eastern Europe. Thereafter, the Soviets systematically installed "puppet" governments across central and Eastern Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia). Totalitarian regimes essentially turned once-proud nations into Soviet colonies. In their ruthless pursuit of total control, the Soviets eliminated all political parties except the Communists, created secret police forces, took control of intellectual and cultural life (including the mass media), undermined the Roman Catholic Church, and organized a process of ethnic cleansing whereby whole populations—12 million Germans, as well as Poles and Hungarians—were relocated from their homes in Eastern Europe, usually to West Germany or to prisons. More than 500,000 of the refugees died in the process. Anyone who opposed the Soviet-installed regimes was exiled, silenced, executed, or imprisoned.

Stalin's promises at the Yalta Conference to allow open elections in the nations of Eastern Europe controlled by Soviet armies had turned out to be lies. In a fit of candor, he admitted that "a freely elected government in any of these countries would be anti-Soviet, and that we cannot allow."

U.S. secretary of state James F. Byrnes tried to use America's monopoly on atomic bombs to pressure the Soviets to abide by the Yalta accords. In April 1945, he suggested to President Truman that nuclear weapons "might well put us in position to dictate our own terms [with the Soviets] at the end of the war." The Soviets, however, paid little attention, in part because their spies had kept them informed of what American scientists had been doing and in part because they were developing their own atomic bombs.

Throughout the spring of 1945, the Soviets created "friendly governments" in Eastern Europe, arguing that the United States had done the same in Italy and Japan after those nations had surrendered. The difference was that the Soviets prevented non-Communists from participating in the political process.

A few days before the opening of the conference to organize the United Nations in April, Truman met with Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov. The Soviets had just put in place a pro-Communist government in Poland in violation of Stalin's pledge at Yalta to allow free elections. Truman directed Molotov to tell Stalin that the United States expected the Soviet leader to live up to his agreements. "I have never been talked to like that in my life," Molotov angrily replied. "Carry out your agreements," Truman snapped, "and you won't get talked to like that."

Later, in July 1945, when Truman met Stalin at the Potsdam Conference, he wrote his mother that he had never seen "such pig-headed people as are the Russians." He later acknowledged that the Soviets broke their promises "as soon as the unconscionable Russian Dictator [Stalin] returned to Moscow!" Truman added, with a note of embarrassment, "And I liked the little son of a bitch."

THE CONTAINMENT POLICY

By the beginning of 1947, relations with the Soviet Union had grown ice cold. A year before, in February 1946, Stalin had proclaimed the superiority of the Soviet Communist system of government and declared that peace was impossible "under the present capitalist development of the world economy." His provocative statement suggesting an inevitable war between communism and capitalism led the State Department to ask for an analysis of Soviet communism from forty-two-year-old George Frost Kennan, the best-informed expert on the Soviet Union, then working in the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

Kennan responded on February 22, 1946, with a famous 5,000-word "Long Telegram"—the longest in the history of the State Department. He included considerable detail about Russian history, the pillars of Soviet policy, Stalin's "neurotic view of world affairs," and Russia's historic determination to protect its western border with Europe.

Kennan explained that the Soviet Union was founded on a rigid ideology (Marxism-Leninism), which saw a fundamental global conflict between Communist and capitalist nations and helped Soviet rulers justify their amoral

George F. Kennan A specialist in the history and behavior of the Soviet Union, American diplomat George Kennan developed the rationale for containment at the heart of the Truman Doctrine.

actions. They could not imagine "permanent peaceful coexistence" with capitalist nations and were "fanatically" committed to the necessity of perpetual tension and conflict. In this regard, Kennan implied, Franklin Roosevelt had mistakenly assumed that his personal diplomacy with Stalin would ensure that the Soviets behaved. Kennan insisted instead that Stalin needed external enemies to maintain his totalitarian power at home.

The Soviet goal, according to Kennan, was to build military strength while subverting the stability of the capitalist democracies. The best way for the United States to deal with such an ideological foe, he advised, was through patient, persistent, and firm efforts to "contain" Soviet expansionism, without resorting to war. The economic power of capitalist democracies was their greatest asset. Creating "unalterable counterforce" to Communist expansionism, Kennan predicted, would eventually cause "either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power" because communism, in Kennan's view, was an inherently unstable system that would eventually collapse.

New secretary of state George C. Marshall, the austere but much revered commander of the U.S. armed forces during the war, was so impressed by Kennan's analysis that he put him in charge of the State Department's Policy Planning office. No other American diplomat at the time forecast so accurately what would happen to the Soviet Union some forty years later. As Kennan recalled, "my reputation was made. My voice now carried."

Kennan later acknowledged that his "Long Telegram" suffered from excessive optimism and occasional vagueness. In its broadest dimensions, its call for "firm and vigilant **containment**" echoed the outlook of Truman and his advisers and would guide U.S. foreign policy for decades.

But how exactly were the United States and its allies to "contain" the Soviet Union's expansionist tendencies? How should the United States respond to

Soviet aggression around the world? Kennan left the task of "containing" communism to Truman and his advisers, most of whom, unlike Kennan, considered containment to be as much a *military* doctrine as a *political* strategy.

In 1946, civil war broke out in Greece between an authoritarian monarchy backed by the British and a Communist-led insurgency supported by the Soviets. On February 21, 1947, the financially strapped British informed the U.S. government that they could no longer provide economic and military aid to Greece and would withdraw in five weeks. Truman quickly conferred with congressional leaders, one of whom, Republican senator Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan, warned the president that he would need to "scare the hell out of the American people" about the menace of communism to gain public support for his aid program. Truman was eager to do so, for he had grown tired of "babying the Russians."

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE On March 12, 1947, President Truman gave a national radio speech in which he asked Congress for $400 million for economic and military assistance for Greece and Turkey. More important, the president announced what came to be known as the **Truman Doctrine**. To ensure congressional support, he intentionally exaggerated the danger of a Communist takeover in Greece. Like a row of dominoes, Truman predicted, the fall of Greece would topple the other nations of the eastern Mediterranean, then Western Europe. To prevent such a catastrophe, he said, the United States must "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

In this single sentence, the president established the foundation of U.S. foreign policy for the next forty years. In essence, he was declaring war on communism everywhere. In Truman's view, shared by later presidents, the assumptions of the "domino theory" made an aggressive "containment" strategy against communism a necessity.

Truman's speech generated widespread public support. The *New York Times* said that his message was clear: "The epoch of isolation is ended. It is being replaced by an epoch of American responsibility." At the State Department, Secretary of State Marshall announced that "we are now concerned with the peace of the entire world."

Still, Marshall and others feared that Truman's speech was unnecessarily provocative. George Kennan cringed at the president's "grandiose" commitment to "contain" communism *everywhere*. In Kennan's view, Truman's "militarized view of the Cold War" was a foolish *crusade*, an open-ended ideological confrontation without limits rather than a *policy* with an accompanying program of steps capable of implementation. Efforts to "contain" communism needed to

Marshall Plan The Marshall Plan, which distributed massive amounts of economic aid throughout postwar Europe, is represented in this cartoon as a rope wrapped around a tree that Europe is desperately trying to hold onto as it dangles off a cliff.

be selective rather than universal, political and economic rather than military; the United States could not intervene in every "hot spot" around the world. Walter Lippmann, the nation's leading political journalist, characterized Truman's policy of global anti-communism as a "strategic monstrosity" that would entangle the United States in endless international disputes and force it to partner with right-wing dictatorships—as turned out to be the case. Truman and his advisers rejected such concerns. In 1947, Congress approved the president's request for economic and military assistance to Greece and neighboring Turkey.

THE MARSHALL PLAN In the spring of 1947, most of postwar Europe remained broke, shattered, and desperate. Factories had been bombed to rubble; railroads and bridges had been destroyed; millions were homeless, starving, and jobless; and political unrest was growing. By 1947, Socialist and Communist parties were emerging in many European nations, including Italy, France, and Belgium. The crises among the struggling European democracies required bold action.

The United States stepped into the breach. In May 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall delivered a speech at Harvard University in which he outlined America's policy toward Europe in nonideological terms. Building upon suggestions given him by George Kennan and others, he called for massive financial and technical assistance to rescue Europe, including the Soviet Union.

What came to be known as the **Marshall Plan** was intended to reconstruct the European economy, neutralize Communist insurgencies, and build up foreign markets for American products. As Truman said, "the American [capitalist] system can survive only if it is part of a world system." But the Marshall Plan was also part of Truman's effort to contain the expansionist tendencies

of the Soviet Union by reestablishing a strong Western Europe anchored in American values. The Americans, said a British official, "want an integrated Europe looking like the United States of America."

In December 1947, Truman submitted Marshall's proposal to Congress. Initially, Republican critics dismissed it as "New Dealism" for Europe. However, two months later, on February 25, 1948, a Communist-led coup in Czechoslovakia, the last nation in Eastern Europe with a democratic government, ensured the Marshall Plan's passage.

From 1948 until 1951, the Marshall Plan provided $13 billion to sixteen European nations. The Soviet Union, however, refused to participate and forced the Eastern European countries under its control—Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia—to refuse to participate as well.

The Marshall Plan (officially called the European Recovery Plan) worked as hoped. By 1951, Western Europe's industrial production had soared to 40 percent above prewar levels, and its farm output was larger than ever. England's *Economist* magazine called the Marshall Plan "an act without peer in history." It became the most successful peacetime diplomatic initiative in American history.

DIVIDED GERMANY Although the Marshall Plan drew the nations of Western Europe closer together, it increased tensions with the Soviet Union, as Stalin saw it as a way to weaken Soviet influence in the region. The breakdown of the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union also left the problem of postwar Germany unsettled. In 1945, Berlin, the German capital, had been divided into four sectors, or zones, each governed by one of the four principal allied nations—the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

The devastated German economy continued to languish, requiring the U.S. Army to provide food and basic necessities to millions of civilians. Slowly, the Allied occupation zones evolved into functioning governments. In 1948, the British, French, and Americans united their three administrative zones into one and developed a common currency to be used in West Germany as well as in West Berlin, a city of 2.4 million people, which was more than 100 miles inside the Soviet occupation zone of East Germany. The West Germans also organized state governments and began drafting a federal constitution.

The political unification of West Germany and its economic recovery infuriated Stalin, who was determined to keep Germany weak. And the status of divided Berlin had become a powder keg. In March 1948, Stalin prevented the new West German currency from being delivered to Berlin. Then, on June 23, he ordered the Soviet army occupying eastern Germany to stop all road and

Family reunion A girl gives her grandmother a kiss through the barbed wire fence that divides the Dutch-German frontier in 1947.

rail traffic into West Berlin. The blockade, he hoped, would force the United States and its allies to leave the divided city.

The Americans interpreted Stalin's blockade as a tipping point in the cold war. "When Berlin falls," predicted General Lucius D. Clay, the U.S. Army commander in Germany, "western Germany will be next. Communism will run rampant." The United States thus faced a dilemma: risk a third world war by using force to break the Soviet blockade or begin a humiliating retreat from West Berlin, leaving the residents to be swallowed up by communism.

Truman, who prided himself on his decisiveness ("the buck stops here"), made clear his stance: "We stay in Berlin—period." The United States announced an embargo against all goods exported from Soviet-controlled eastern Germany and began organizing a massive airlift to provide food and supplies to West Berliners.

By October 1948, the U.S. and British air forces were flying in 7,000 tons of food, fuel, medicine, coal, and equipment to Berlin each day. To support the airlift and prepare for a possible war, thousands of former military pilots were called back into service. Truman revived the military draft, and Congress provided emergency funds to increase military spending.

Through the iron curtain German children greet a U.S. cargo plane as it flies into West Berlin to drop off much-needed food and supplies.

At times it seemed that the two superpowers were on the verge of war. For all the threats and harsh words, however, the **Berlin airlift** went on for eleven months without any shots being fired. Finally, on May 12, 1949, the Soviets lifted their blockade, in part because bad Russian harvests had made them desperate for food grown in western Germany. The Berlin airlift was the first major "victory" for the West in the cold war, and the unprecedented efforts of the United States and Great Britain to supply West Berliners transformed most of them from defeated adversaries into devoted allies. In May 1949, as the Soviet blockade was ending, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) was founded. In October, the Soviet-controlled German Democratic Republic (East Germany) came into being.

FORMING ALLIANCES The Soviet blockade of Berlin convinced the United States and its allies that they needed to act together to stop further Communist expansion into Western Europe. On April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed by twelve nations: the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, and Portugal. Greece and Turkey joined the alliance in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982.

The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, the largest defensive alliance in the world, declared that an attack against any one of the members would be considered an attack against all. The creation of NATO marked the high point of efforts to "contain" Soviet expansion. In 1949, Congress provided $1 billion in military equipment to NATO members. By joining NATO, the United States—for the first time since its alliance with France during the Revolutionary War—committed itself to go to war on behalf of its allies. Isolationism was dead.

- How did the Allies decide to divide postwar Germany at the Yalta Conference?
- What was the "iron curtain"?
- Why did the Allies airlift supplies to West Berlin?

REORGANIZING THE MILITARY The onset of the cold war and the emergence of nuclear weapons led Truman to restructure the way the U.S. armed forces were managed. In 1947, Congress passed the **National Security Act**, which created a Department of Defense to oversee the three military branches—the Army, Navy, and Air Force—and the National Security Council (NSC), an advisory group of the government's top specialists in international relations. The act made permanent the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a wartime innovation bringing together the leaders of all branches of the armed forces. It also established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to coordinate global intelligence-gathering activities.

In 1952, Truman created the National Security Agency (NSA) within the Defense Department. Its charge was to "encrypt" government communications to ensure their privacy and to intercept the communications of other nations. The NSA also provided surveillance of Americans targeted as potential threats.

A JEWISH NATION: ISRAEL At the same time that the United States was helping to form new alliances, it was helping to form a new nation. Palestine, the biblical Holy Land, had been a British protectorate since 1919. For hundreds of years, Jews throughout the world had dreamed of returning to their ancestral homeland of Israel and its ancient capital Zion, a part of Jerusalem. Many Zionists—Jews who wanted a separate Jewish nation—had migrated there. More arrived during and after the Nazi persecution of European Jews. Hitler's effort to exterminate the Jews convinced many that their only hope for a secure future was to create their own nation.

Late in 1947, the United Nations voted to divide ("partition") Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. The Jews readily agreed, but the Arabs were fiercely opposed. Palestine was their ancestral home, too; Jerusalem was as holy to Muslims as it was to Jews and Christians. Arabs viewed the creation of a Jewish nation in Palestine as an act of war, and they attacked Israel in early 1948. Hundreds were killed before the Haganah (Jewish militia) won control of most of Palestine. When British oversight of Palestine officially expired on May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, the Jewish leader in Palestine, proclaimed Israel's independence. President Truman officially recognized the new Israeli nation within minutes, as did the Soviet Union.

One million Jews, most of them European immigrants, now had their own nation. Early the next morning, however, the Arab League nations—Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt—invaded Israel, beginning a period of nearly constant warfare in the Holy Land. Mediators from the UN gradually worked out a truce agreement, restoring an uneasy peace by May 11, 1949, when Israel

joined the United Nations. Israel was allowed to keep all its conquered territories, including the whole Palestine coast.

The Palestinian Arabs lost everything. Most of them became stateless refugees who scattered into neighboring Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt. Stored-up resentments and sporadic warfare between Israel and the Arab states have festered ever since, complicating U.S. foreign policy, which has tried to maintain friendships with both sides but has usually tilted toward Israel.

Expanding the New Deal

For the most part, Republicans and Democrats in Congress cooperated with President Truman on issues related to the cold war, though often grudgingly. Senator Claude Pepper, a liberal Democrat from Florida, insisted that if Franklin Roosevelt were still alive, "we'd be getting on better with Russia." Republican senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio accused Truman of "appeasing Russia, a policy which has sacrificed throughout Eastern Europe and Asia the freedom of many nations and millions of people." On domestic issues, however, Truman faced widespread opposition. The cost-cutting Republicans in Congress hoped that they could end the New Deal as the war drew to a close.

FROM WAR TO PEACE In September 1945, Truman called Congress into a special emergency session at which he presented a twenty-one-point program to guide the nation's "reconversion" from wartime back to peacetime. Massive government spending during the war had ended the Great Depression and brought about full employment, but Truman's postwar challenge was to ensure that the peacetime economy absorbed the millions of men and women who had served in the armed forces and were now seeking civilian jobs. During the second half of 1945 and throughout 1946, some 700,000 people in uniform, mostly men, returned to civilian life. By 1947, the armed forces had shrunk from 12 million to 1.5 million.

Fears of massive unemployment in defense-related industries led people to worry about another depression. A *New York Times* headline predicted: "5,000,000 EXPECTED TO LOSE ARMS JOBS!" Truman called for unemployment insurance to cover more workers, a higher minimum wage, construction of massive low-cost public housing projects, regional development projects to put military veterans to work, and much more. A powerful Republican congressman named Joseph W. Martin was stunned by the scope of Truman's proposals. "Not even President Roosevelt," he gasped, "ever asked for so much at one sitting."

Drugstore in Bronxville, N.Y. America quickly demobilized after the long war effort, turning its attention to the pursuit of abundance.

Truman's primary goal was to "prevent prolonged unemployment" while avoiding the "bitter mistakes" that had produced wild price inflation and a recession after the First World War. He also wanted to retain, for a while, the wartime controls on wages, prices, and rents, as well as the rationing of scarce food items. Most of all, he wanted to minimize unemployment as workers in defense plants were laid off and millions of military veterans went looking for civilian jobs. Truman called on Congress to *guarantee* every American a job.

Congress refused to go that far. Instead, it approved the Employment Act of 1946, which authorized Truman and the federal government "to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." Liberals were disappointed by the new president's inability to win over legislators. "Alas for Truman," said the *New Republic*, there was "no bugle note in his voice" to rally public opinion. "What one misses," said Max Lerner, an influential journalist, "is the confident sense of direction that Roosevelt gave, despite all the contradictions of his policy."

Throughout 1946, Republicans and conservative southern Democrats in Congress balked at most of Truman's efforts to revive or expand New Deal

programs. The Great Depression was over, critics stressed. Different times demanded different programs—or none at all.

The end of the war caused short-term economic problems but not the postwar depression many had feared. Many women who had been recruited to work in defense industries were shoved out as men took off uniforms and looked for jobs. At a shipyard in California, the foreman gathered the women workers and told them to go welcome the troop ships as they pulled into port. The next day, all of the women were let go to make room for male veterans.

Still, several shock absorbers cushioned the economic impact of demobilization. They included federal unemployment insurance (and other Social Security benefits) and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, known as the GI Bill of Rights, under which the federal government spent $13 billion on military veterans for education, vocational training, medical treatment, unemployment insurance, and loans for building houses and starting new businesses.

WAGES, PRICES, AND LABOR UNREST The most acute economic problem Truman faced was the postwar spike in prices charged for consumer goods. During the war, the government had frozen wages and prices and banned strikes by labor unions. When wartime economic controls were removed, prices for scarce consumer items shot up, spurring labor unions to demand pay increases. When raises were not provided, a record number of postwar strikes erupted in 1945–1946, exacerbating the shortages of consumer goods. Workers at General Motors went on strike for almost four months, making it much more difficult for people to buy a car. Never before or since had so many American workers walked off the job in one year.

Labor disputes crippled the crucial coal and railroad industries. Like Theodore Roosevelt before him, Truman grew frustrated with the stubbornness of both management and labor leaders. He took federal control of the coal mines, whereupon the mine owners agreed to union demands. In May 1946, Truman threatened to draft striking railroad workers into the military if they did not go back to work. His threat, probably illegal, did the trick, but it embittered many workers who had long voted Democratic. A leading union official announced that organized labor "is through with Truman."

Truman's efforts to control rising prices were equally controversial. On June 30, 1946, he lifted wartime controls on consumer prices. Within days, prices for groceries skyrocketed, rising in two weeks as much as they had risen in the previous three years. So Truman restored price controls. Ranchers were so upset by the president's change of course that they refused to sell their cattle for slaughter. Suddenly, there was a "beefsteak" crisis as consumers complained that the supply of food was worse than it had been during the war.

Time magazine's Washington-based political reporter alerted his editor that Truman was so unpopular "he could not carry Missouri now."

On October 14, just three weeks before the midterm congressional elections, Truman announced that he was removing price controls on meat. Steaks and hamburger meat soon appeared on grocery shelves, but prices again soared. A Republican political strategist loved the turn of events, telling his colleagues that "the tide is sweepin' our way." And it was.

POLITICAL COOPERATION AND CONFLICT During the congressional election campaigns in 1946, Republicans adopted a simple, four-word slogan: "Had Enough? Vote Republican!" Using loudspeakers, Republicans drove through city streets saying, "Ladies, if you want meat, vote Republican." A union leader tagged Truman "the No. 1 Strikebreaker," while much of the public, upset by the unions, price increases, food shortages, and the scarcity of automobiles and affordable housing, blamed the strikes on the White House.

Labor unions had emerged from the war with more power than ever before. Some 14.5 million workers, more than a third of the workforce, were now unionized. Members had tended to vote Democratic, but not in the 1946 elections, which gave the Republicans majorities in both houses of Congress for the first time since 1928. "The New Deal is kaput," one newspaper editor crowed. The *Chicago Tribune* claimed that Americans had "won the greatest victory for the Republic since Appomattox." The president, taunted the *United States News*, "is a one-termer." Even many Democrats had soured on Truman, circulating a slogan that expressed their frustration: "I'm just Mild about Harry."

The new Republican Congress that convened in early 1947 reflected the national discontent. It curbed the power of unions by passing the **Taft-Hartley Labor Act** of 1947 (officially called the Labor-Management Relations Act). The law allowed employers to campaign against efforts to form unions and outlawed unions from coercing workers to join or refusing to negotiate grievances.

The Taft-Hartley Act also required union leaders to take "loyalty oaths" declaring that they were not members of the Communist party, banned strikes by federal employees, and imposed a "cooling-off" period of eighty days on any strike that the president deemed dangerous to the public welfare. Yet the most troubling element of the new bill was a provision that allowed state legislatures to pass "right-to-work" laws that ended the practice of forcing all wage workers at a company to join a union once a majority voted to unionize.

In a show of support for organized labor, Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, which unions called "the slave-labor act." He denounced the "shocking" bill as "bad for labor, bad for management, and bad for the country." Working-class

Fight for desegregation Demonstrators led by activist A. Philip Randolph (left) picket the Democratic National Convention on July 12, 1948, calling for racial integration of the armed forces.

Democrats were delighted. Many unionists who had gone over to the Republicans in 1946 returned to the Democrats because of Truman's strong support. Journalist James Wechsler reported that "Mr. Truman has reached the crucial fork in the road and turned unmistakably to the left."

Congress, however, overturned the president's veto, and Taft-Hartley became law. The number of strikes dropped sharply thereafter, and representatives of management and labor learned to work together. At the same time, by 1954, fifteen state legislatures, mainly in the South and West, had used the Taft-Hartley Act to pass "right-to-work" laws forbidding union-only workplaces. Those states thereafter recruited industries to relocate because of their low wages and "nonunion" policies.

CIVIL RIGHTS Another of Truman's challenges was the bigotry faced by returning African American soldiers. When one black veteran arrived home in a uniform decorated with combat medals, he was welcomed by a white neighbor who said: "Don't you forget . . . that you're still a nigger."

The Second World War had changed America's racial landscape in important ways, however. As a *New York Times* editorial explained in early 1946, "This is a particularly good time to campaign against the evils of bigotry, prejudice, and race hatred because we have witnessed the defeat of enemies who tried to found a mastery of the world upon such cruel and fallacious policy."

African Americans had fought in large numbers to overthrow the Nazi regime of government-sponsored racism, and returning veterans were unwilling to put up with racial abuse at home. The cold war also gave political leaders added incentive to improve race relations. The Soviets often compared racism in the United States to the Nazis' brutalization of the Jews. In the ideological contest against capitalism, Communists highlighted examples of American racism to win influence among the newly emerging nations of Africa.

Black veterans who spoke out against racial bigotry often risked their lives. In 1946, two African American couples in rural Georgia were gunned down by a white mob. One of the murderers explained that George Dorsey, one of the victims, was "a good nigger" until he went into the army. "But when he came out, he thought he was as good as any white people."

In the fall of 1946, a delegation of civil rights activists urged President Truman to condemn the Ku Klux Klan and the lynching of African Americans. The delegation graphically described incidents of torture and intimidation against blacks in the South. Truman was horrified: "My God! I had no idea that it was as terrible as that! We've got to do something."

Truman thereupon appointed a Committee on Civil Rights to investigate violence against African Americans. A year later, with Truman's endorsement, the commission issued a report, "To Secure These Rights," which called for a federal anti-lynching bill, abolition of the poll tax designed to keep poor blacks from voting, a voting rights act, an end to racial segregation in the armed forces, and a ban on racial segregation in public transportation. Southern Democrats were furious. South Carolina governor J. Strom Thurmond warned Truman that the southern Democratic vote was no longer "in the bag." Thurmond would soon leave the party to form the Dixiecrats in opposition to Truman.

On July 26, 1948, Truman took a bolder step when he banned racial discrimination in the federal government. Four days later, he issued an executive order ending racial segregation in the armed forces. The air force and navy quickly complied, but the army dragged its feet until the early 1950s. By 1960, however, the armed forces were the most racially integrated of all national organizations. Desegregating the military was, Truman claimed, "the greatest thing that ever happened to America."

JACKIE ROBINSON Meanwhile, racial segregation was being dismantled in a much more public area: professional baseball. In April 1947, the Brooklyn Dodgers roster included the first African American to play major

Jackie Robinson Robinson's unfaltering courage an[illegible]rior athletic skills prompted the integration of sports, drawing African American [illegible]tino spectators to the games. Here, he greets his Dominican fans at Trujillo [illegible] School in Santo Domingo.

league baseball: Jack Roosevelt "Jackie" Robinson. He was born in 1919 in a Georgia sharecropper's cabin, the grandson of slaves. Six months later, his father left town with a neighbor's wife, never to return. Robinson's mother moved the family to Pasadena, California, where Jackie became a marvelous all-around athlete. At UCLA, he was the first athlete in school history to letter in four sports: baseball, basketball, football, and track. After serving in the army during World War II, he began playing professional baseball in the so-called Negro Leagues. He did so well that major league scouts reported that he could play in the big leagues.

At that point, Branch Rickey, the president and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, interviewed Robinson for three hours on August 28, 1945. Rickey asked Robinson if he could face racial abuse without losing his temper. Robinson was shocked: "Are you looking for a Negro who is afraid to fight back?" Rickey replied that he needed a pathbreaking "Negro player" with "guts enough *not* to fight back." Robinson assured him he was the best candidate to integrate baseball: "If you want to take this gamble, I will promise there will be no incident." He then signed Robinson to a contract for $600 a month. Rickey

explained to his critics that he had found a terrific player who was a strong, quiet warrior of incomparable courage capable of looking the other way when provoked. And he was often provoked.

Soon after Robinson arrived for preseason practice, many of his white Dodger teammates refused to take the field with him. Manager Leo Durocher would have none of that. As he told the team, "I don't care if the guy is yellow or black, or if he has stripes . . . I'm the manager of this team, and I say he plays."

During the 1947 season, teammates and opposing players viciously baited Robinson. Pitchers hit him, base runners spiked him, and spectators booed him and drenched him in beer, even as he led the Dodgers to the National League championship and eventually six World Series appearances. In Cincinnati, Reds fans posted a sign reading: "Robinson: We are going to kill you if you attempt to enter a ball game as Crosley Field." Hotels refused him rooms, and restaurants denied him service. Hate mail arrived by the bucketful. One sportswriter called Robinson "the loneliest man I have ever seen in sports."

On the other hand, black spectators were electrified by Robinson's courageous example and turned out in droves to watch him play. A headline in a Boston newspaper expressed the prevailing sentiment: "Triumph of Whole Race Seen in Jackie's Debut in Major League Ball." As time passed, Robinson won over many fans and players with his courage, wit, grit, and talent. As sportswriter Red Smith observed, Robinson was an example of "the unconquerable doing the impossible." During his first season with the Dodgers, Robinson stole twice as many bases as anyone else in the National League, and he was named Rookie of the Year. Between 1949 and 1954, Robinson had a batting average of .327, among the best in baseball. Yankees catcher Yogi Berra said "he could beat you in a lot of ways."

Robinson's very presence on the field with lily-white teams forced spectators sitting in racially divided bleachers to confront the hypocritical reality of segregation. Other teams soon began signing black players. Racial attitudes were changing—slowly. In 1947, Robinson was voted the second most popular American, behind singer Bing Crosby. "My life," Robinson remembered, "produced understanding among whites, and it gave black people the idea that if I could do it, they could do it, too, that blackness wasn't subservient to anything."

MEXICAN AMERICANS In the Far West, Mexican Americans (often grouped with other Spanish-speaking immigrants as *Hispanics* or *Latinos*) continued to experience ethnic prejudice. Schools in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California routinely segregated Mexican American children from whites. The 500,000 Latino veterans were especially frustrated that their efforts in the war were not rewarded with equality at home. They were frequently

denied access to educational, medical, and housing benefits available to white servicemen. Some mortuaries even denied funeral services to Mexican Americans killed in combat. As a funeral director in Texas explained, "the Anglo people would not stand for it."

To fight such prejudicial treatment, Mexican American war veterans led by Dr. Hector Perez Garcia, a U.S. Army major who had served as a combat surgeon, organized the American GI Forum in Texas in 1948. Soon there were branches across the nation. Garcia, born in Mexico in 1914 and raised in Texas, stressed the importance of formal education to Mexican Americans. The organization's motto read: "Education Is Our Freedom and Freedom Should Be Everybody's Business."

At a time when Mexican Americans in Texas averaged no more than a third-grade education, Garcia and five of his siblings had completed medical school and become physicians. Yet upon his return from the war, he encountered "discrimination everywhere. We had no opportunities. We had to pay [poll taxes] to vote. We had segregated schools. We were not allowed to go into public places."

Garcia and the GI Forum initially focused on veterans' issues but soon expanded the organization's scope to include fostering equal opportunities and equal treatment for all people. The GI Forum lobbied to end poll taxes, sued for the right of Latinos to serve on juries, and developed schools for jobless veterans. In 1984, Garcia received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

SHAPING THE FAIR DEAL During 1947, after less than three years in the White House, Truman had yet to shake the widespread impression that he was not up to the job. Critics proclaimed that "to err is Truman." The editors of *Time* magazine reflected the national sentiment when they wrote, "Mr. Truman has often faced his responsibilities with a cheerful, dogged courage. But his performance was almost invariably awkward, uninspired, and above all, mediocre." Voters, they added, believed that Truman "means well, but he doesn't do well." Most political analysts assumed that the president would lose his effort to win another term.

Truman, too, feared that he would lose. In July 1947, he met with General Dwight D. Eisenhower as he was preparing to retire as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Worried that General Douglas MacArthur, a self-described "right-wing Republican," might be the Republican presidential nominee in 1948, Truman urged Eisenhower to run as the Democratic nominee and even offered to be his vice-presidential running mate. Eisenhower declined, explaining that he was going to become president of Columbia University in New York City.

With the president's popularity sinking, the Democratic party was about to split in two. Southern conservatives resented Truman's outspoken support of civil rights, while the left wing of the party resented the firing of Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace for publicly criticizing the administration's anti-Soviet policies. "Getting tough [with the Soviet Union]," Wallace had argued, "never brought anything real and lasting—whether for schoolyard bullies or world powers. The tougher we get, the tougher the Russians will get."

Wallace had said that the United States had "no more business in the *political affairs* of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the *political affairs* of Latin America." The danger of another world war, he said, "is much less from communism than it is from [American] imperialism." Wallace's comments so outraged the leaders of the State Department that Truman felt he had no choice but to get rid of him.

Despite the gloomy predictions for 1948, Truman mounted an intense reelection campaign. His first step was to shore up the major elements of the New Deal coalition of working-class voters: farmers, labor unionists, and African Americans.

In his 1948 State of the Union message, Truman announced that the programs he would later call his "**Fair Deal**" (to distinguish them from Roosevelt's New Deal) would build upon the efforts of the New Deal to help all Americans. The first goal, Truman said, was to ensure civil rights for all Americans. He added proposals to increase federal aid to education, expand unemployment and retirement benefits, create a comprehensive system of national health insurance, enable more rural people to connect to electricity, and increase the minimum wage.

THE ELECTION OF 1948 The Republican-controlled Congress dismissed Truman's proposals, an action it would later regret. At the Republican convention, New York governor Thomas E. Dewey won the presidential nomination on the third ballot. While the platform endorsed most of the New Deal reforms and approved the administration's bipartisan foreign policy, Dewey promised to run things more efficiently.

In July, glum Democrats gathered for their convention in Philadelphia. Everyone assumed a Republican victory in November. A reporter wrote that they behaved "as though they [had] accepted an invitation to a funeral." Some party leaders, including Roosevelt's son James, a California congressman, tried to convince Dwight Eisenhower to accept the Democratic nomination, and many others joined his "dump Truman" effort. The popular war hero declined, however, explaining that his refusal was "final and complete."

Delegates who expected to do little more than go through the motions of nominating Truman were doubly surprised, first by the battle on the conven-

Birth of the Dixiecrats Alabama delegates stand to boo Truman's call for civil rights before they walked out of the 1948 Democratic National Convention.

tion floor over civil rights and then by Truman's endorsement of civil rights for African Americans in his acceptance speech. Liberal Democrats led by Minnesota's Hubert Humphrey commended Truman "for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights" and declared that the "time has arrived for the Democratic party to get out of the shadow of civil rights." White segregationist delegates from Alabama and Mississippi walked out in protest. The solidly Democratic South had fractured over race.

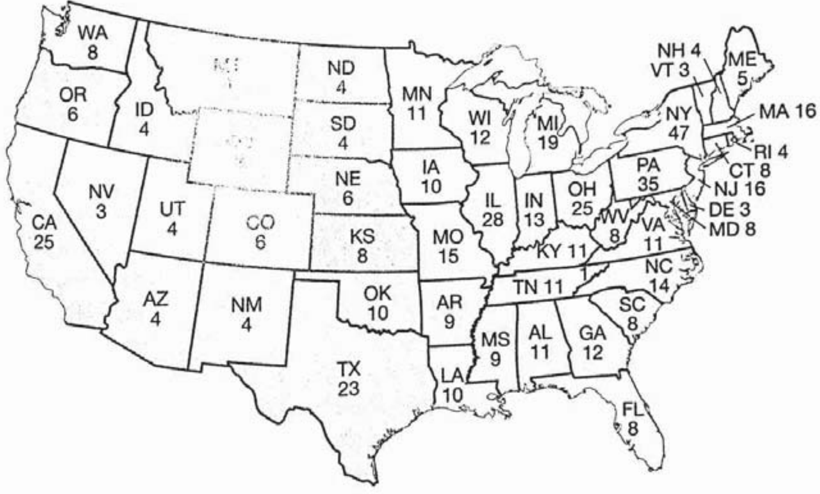
On July 17, a group of rebellious southern Democrats met in Birmingham, Alabama. While waving Confederate flags and singing "Dixie," they nominated South Carolina's segregationist governor, Strom Thurmond, on a States' Rights Democratic party ticket, quickly dubbed the "Dixiecrat party." The **Dixiecrats** denounced Truman's "infamous" civil rights initiatives and championed states' rights against federal efforts to change the tradition of white supremacy in the South.

A few days later, on July 23, the left wing of the Democratic party gathered in Philadelphia to form a new Progressive party and nominate for president Henry A. Wallace, Roosevelt's former secretary of agriculture and vice president, whom Truman had fired as secretary of commerce. One Democratic leader asked Truman to withdraw from the race to help the party's chances. He replied: "I was not brought up to run from a fight."

The splits in the Democratic ranks seemed to spell the final blow to Truman, but he refused to give in. He was finally renominated long after midnight. By the time he entered the auditorium, it was 2 A.M., but he aroused the faithful by promising that "I will win this election and make the Republicans like it!" He pledged to bring Congress into special session and demand that it confront the housing crisis and boost the minimum wage.

Within days, an invigorated Truman set out on a 22,000-mile "whistle-stop" train tour, making ten speeches a day scolding the "do-nothing" Eightieth Congress. The plain-talking president attracted huge crowds. The Republicans,

THE ELECTION OF 1948



	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
Harry S. Truman (Democrat)	**303**	**24,200,000**
Thomas E. Dewey (Republican)	189	22,000,000
J. Strom Thurmond (States' Rights Democrat)	39	1,200,000
Henry A. Wallace (Progressive)	0	1,160,000

- Why did the political experts predict a Dewey victory?
- Why was civil rights such a divisive issue at the Democratic convention?
- How did the candidacies of Strom Thurmond and Henry Wallace end up helping Truman?

"Dewey Defeats Truman" Truman's victory in 1948 was such a surprise that this early edition of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that Dewey had won.

he charged, "have the propaganda and the money, but we have the people, and the people have the votes. *That's* why we're going to win." Friendly audiences loved his fighting spirit and dogged courage, shouting, "Pour it on, Harry!" and "Give 'em hell, Harry." Truman responded: "I don't give 'em hell. I just tell the truth and they think it's hell."

The polls predicted a sure win for Dewey, but on Election Day Truman pulled off the biggest upset in history, taking 24.2 million votes (49.5 percent) to Dewey's 22 million (45.1 percent) and winning a thumping margin of 303 to 189 in the electoral college. Democrats also regained control of both houses of Congress. Thurmond and Wallace each received more than 1 million votes, but the revolt of right and left had worked to Truman's advantage. The Dixiecrat rebellion backfired by angering black voters, who turned out in droves to support Truman, and the Progressive party's radicalism made it hard for Republicans to tag Truman as soft on communism. Thurmond carried four southern states (South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana).

THE FAIR DEAL REJECTED Truman viewed his surprising victory as a mandate for expanding the social welfare programs established by Franklin Roosevelt. His State of the Union message in early 1949 repeated the agenda he had set forth the year before. "Every segment of our population and every individual," he declared, "has a right to expect from our government a *fair deal*."

Truman's Fair Deal promised "greater economic opportunity for the mass of the people."

Most of the Fair Deal proposals that gained congressional approval were extensions or enlargements of New Deal programs: a higher minimum hourly wage, expansion of Social Security coverage to 10 million workers not included in the original 1935 bill, and a large slum-clearance and public-housing program. Despite enjoying Democratic majorities in Congress, however, Truman ran up against the same alliance of conservative southern Democrats and Republicans who had worked against Roosevelt in the late 1930s. The bipartisan conservative coalition nixed most of Truman's new programs. Congress rejected several civil rights bills, national health insurance, federal aid to education, and a new approach to subsidizing farmers. It also turned down Truman's requested repeal of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act. Yet the Fair Deal was not a complete failure. It laid the foundation for programs that the next generation of reformers would promote.

The Cold War Heats Up

As during Harry Truman's first term, global concerns during his second term would again distract him from domestic issues. In his 1949 inaugural address, Truman called for a vigilant anti-Communist foreign policy resting on three pillars: the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, and NATO. None of them could help resolve the civil war in China, however.

"LOSING" CHINA One of the thorniest postwar problems, the Chinese civil war, was fast coming to a head. Chinese Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, had been fighting Mao Zedong and the Communists since the 1920s. After the Second World War, the Communists won over most of the peasants. By the end of 1949, the Nationalist government was forced to flee to the island of Formosa, which it renamed Taiwan. Truman's critics—mostly Republicans—asked bitterly, "Who lost China to communism?" What they did not explain was how Truman could have prevented a Communist victory without a massive U.S. military intervention, which would have been risky, unpopular, and expensive. After 1949, the United States continued to recognize the Nationalist government on Taiwan as the official government of China, delaying formal relations with "Red China" (the People's Republic of China) for thirty years.

THE SOVIETS DEVELOP ATOMIC BOMBS As the Communists were gaining control of China, news that the Soviets had detonated a nuclear weapon in 1949 frightened people around the world and led Truman to speed

Mao Zedong Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and the founder of the People's Republic of China.

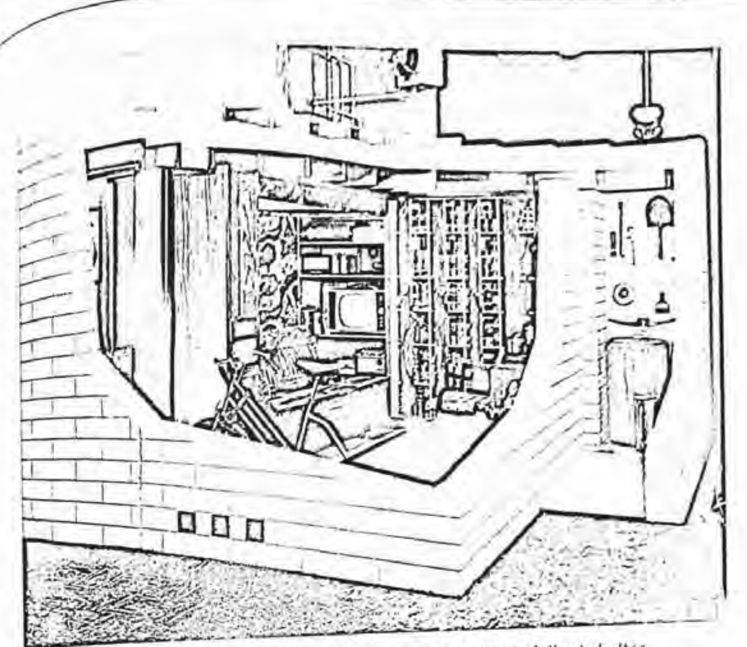
up the design of a hydrogen "superbomb," a weapon far more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan. That the Soviets now possessed atomic weapons greatly intensified every cold war confrontation. "There is only one thing worse than one nation having an atomic bomb," said Nobel Prize–winning physicist Harold C. Urey. "That's two nations having it." The fear of nuclear annihilation joined the fear of communism in deepening the Red Scare.

NSC-68 In January 1950, President Truman grew so concerned about the Soviets possessing atomic weapons that he asked the National Security Council to assess America's changing role in the cold war world. Four months later, the Council submitted a top-secret report, NSC-68. [illegible] document called for an even more robust effort to "contain" the spread of communism. In alarmist tones, NSC-68 revealed the major assumptions that would guide U.S. foreign policy for the next twenty years: "The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic but of civilization itself."

NSC-68 endorsed George Kennan's "containment" strategy. But where he had focused on political and economic counterpressure, the report's tone was global and militaristic, calling for "a policy of calculated and gradual coercion" against Soviet expansionism—everywhere.

Paul Nitze, Kennan's successor as director of policy planning for the State Department, was the report's primary author. He claimed that the Soviets, driven to impose their will "on the rest of the world," were becoming increasingly "reckless" and would invade Western Europe by 1954, by which time they would have enough nuclear weapons to destroy the United States.

By signing NSC-68, Truman explained that it would mean "doubling or tripling the budget, increasing taxes heavily, and imposing various kinds of economic controls. It meant a great change in our normal peacetime way of doing things." NSC-68 became the guidebook for future American policy,


Shelter for sale On display in a 1950s showroom is a basement fallout shelter, complete with a television, library, and exercise bike, intended to help a family survive a nuclear attack.

especially as the United States became involved in an unexpected war in Korea that ignited into open combat the smoldering animosity between communism and capitalism around the world.

War in Korea

By the mid-1950s, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe had temporarily eased as a result of the "balance of terror" created by both sides having atomic weapons. In Asia, however, the situation remained turbulent. The Communists had gained control of mainland China and were threatening to destroy the Chinese Nationalists, who had taken refuge on Taiwan.

Japan, meanwhile, was experiencing a dramatic recovery from the devastation caused by U.S. bombing raids during the Second World War. Douglas MacArthur showed deft leadership as the consul in charge of U.S.-occupied Japan. He oversaw the disarming of the Japanese military, the drafting of a

democratic constitution, and the nation's economic recovery, all of which were turning Japan into America's friend.

To the east, however, tensions between North and South Korea threatened to erupt into civil war. The Japanese had occupied the Korean Peninsula since 1910, but after they were defeated and withdrew in 1945, the victorious Allies had faced the difficult task of creating an independent Korean nation.

A DIVIDED KOREA Complicating that effort was the presence of Soviet troops in northern Korea. They had accepted the surrender of Japanese forces above the 38th parallel, which divides the Korean Peninsula, while U.S. forces had overseen the Japanese surrender south of the line. The Soviets quickly organized a Communist government, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). The Americans countered by helping to establish a democratic government in the more populous south, the Republic of Korea (South Korea). By the end of 1948, separate regimes had appeared in the two sectors, Soviet and American forces had withdrawn, and some 2 million North Koreans had fled to South Korea.

WAR ERUPTS On January 12, 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson gave a speech to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., in which he said he was often asked, "Has the State Department got an Asian policy?" He stressed that the United States had assumed "the necessity of . . . the military defense of Japan." He then added that America had created a "defensive perimeter" running along the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska to Japan to the Ryukyu Islands to the Philippines. Where "other areas in the Pacific are concerned," Acheson added, "it must be clear that no person can guarantee these areas against military attack."

Acheson's statement came back to haunt him. On June 24, 1950, the secretary of state telephoned President Truman: "Mr. President," he reported, "I have very serious news. The North Koreans have invaded South Korea." With the encouragement of the Soviet Union and Communist China, the Soviet-equipped North Korean People's Army had rapidly forced the South Korean forces into a headlong retreat. Within three days, Seoul, the South Korean capital, was captured, and only 22,000 of the 100,000 South Korean soldiers were still capable of combat. People then and since have argued that Acheson's clumsy reference to the "defensive perimeter" in Asia may have convinced the North Koreans and Soviets that the United States would not resist an invasion of South Korea.

When reporters asked Truman how he would respond to the invasion, the president declared: "By God, I'm going to let them have it!" He assumed, correctly, that the North Korean attack had been encouraged by the Soviets. "There's no telling what they'll do if we don't put up a fight right now," Truman predicted. He then made a critical decision: without consulting the Joint

Fight and flight American soldiers and Korean civilian refugees march into the Nakdong River region in the south.

Chiefs of Staff or the Congress, he decided to wage war through the backing of the United Nations rather than by seeking a declaration of war from Congress. He knew that a congressional debate over a war in Korea would take so long that it may then be too late to stop the Communists.

An emergency meeting of the UN Security Council in late June 1950 censured the North Korean "breach of peace." By sheer coincidence, the Soviet delegate, who held a veto power, was at the time boycotting the council because it would not seat Communist China in place of Nationalist China. On June 27, the Security Council called on UN members to "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."

Truman then ordered U.S. air, naval, and ground forces into action and appointed seventy-year-old Douglas MacArthur supreme commander of the UN forces. The attack on South Korea, Truman said, made "it plain beyond all doubt that the international Communist movement is prepared to use armed invasion to conquer independent nations." Truman's decisive steps gained strong bipartisan approval, but neither the nation nor the administration were united on the objectives of the war or its conduct.

The Korean conflict was the first military action authorized by the United Nations, and some twenty other nations participated. The United States provided the largest contingent by far, some 330,000 troops. The American defense of South Korea set a worrisome precedent: war by order of a president—rather than by a vote of Congress, which the U.S. Constitution requires. Truman dodged the issue by officially calling the conflict a "police action" rather than a war. Critics labeled it "Mr. Truman's War."

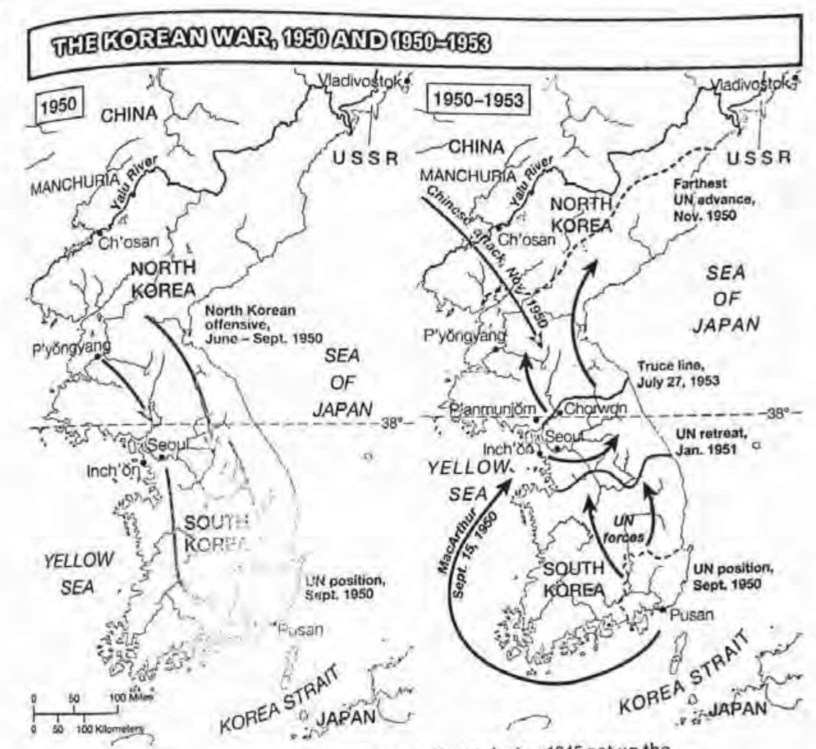
TURNING THE TABLES The Korean War featured brutal combat in terrible conditions punctuated by heavy casualties and widespread destruction on both sides. For the first three months, the fighting in Korea went badly for the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the UN forces. By September 1950, the decimated South Korean troops were barely hanging on at Pusan, at the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula. Then, in a brilliant maneuver on September 15, General MacArthur staged a surprise amphibious landing behind the North Korean lines at Inch'ŏn, the port city for Seoul, some 150 miles north of Pusan. UN troops drove a wedge through the North Korean army, only a quarter of whom (some 25,000 soldiers) managed to flee across the border. Days later, South Korean troops recaptured Seoul.

At that point, the vainglorious MacArthur became overconfident and persuaded Truman to allow U.S. troops to push across the 38th parallel into North Korea. Containment of communism was no longer enough; MacArthur now sought to rid North Korea of the "red menace," even if this meant expanding the war into China to prevent the Chinese from resupplying their North Korean allies.

THE CHINESE INTERVENE By October 1950, UN forces were about to capture the North Korean capital, P'yŏngyang. President Truman, concerned that MacArthur's move would provoke Communist China to enter the war, repeatedly asked the U.S. commander to meet with him in Washington, D.C., only to be rebuffed. Finally, the president flew 7,000 miles to Wake Island to meet with MacArthur, who contemptuously refused to salute his commander in chief.

At the meeting on October 15, MacArthur dismissed Chinese threats to intervene, even though they had massed troops on the Korean border. That same day, the Communist government in Beijing announced that China "cannot stand idly by" as its North Korean allies were humiliated. On October 20, UN forces entered the North Korean capital, and on October 26, advance units reached Ch'osan on the Yalu River, North Korea's border with China.

MacArthur predicted total victory by Christmas. Instead, he blundered into a catastrophe. On the night of November 25, some 300,000 Chinese "volunteers"



- How did the surrender of the Japanese in Korea during 1945 set up the conflict between Soviet-influenced North Korea and U.S.-influenced South Korea?
- What was General MacArthur's strategy for winning the Korean conflict?
- Why did President Truman remove General MacArthur from command?

counterattacked, sending U.S. forces into a desperate retreat. "We ran like antelopes," said an American soldier. At the Chosin Reservoir, the First Marine Division was surrounded by seven Chinese divisions. Their desperate situation was worsened by minus-40-degree cold nights. When asked how the U.S. retreat was going, Marine general Oliver P. Smith replied: "Retreat, hell! We're not retreating, we're just advancing in a different direction." Smith eventually directed an ingenious breakout by the Marines that saved the division from total destruction.

Still, the UN forces were in retreat. By January 15, the Communist Chinese and North Koreans had recaptured Seoul. What had started as a defensive war

against North Korean aggression had become an unlimited war against the North Koreans and China's People's Liberation Army.

MACARTHUR CROSSES THE LINE The Chinese intervention caught MacArthur wholly unprepared. He now asked for thirty-four atomic bombs and proposed air raids on China, explaining to President Truman and the Joint Chiefs of Staff that "If we lose the war to communism in Asia, the fall of Europe is inevitable." His plans horrified the military leadership in Washington, D.C. It would be, said General Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "the wrong war at the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong enemy." Truman agreed.

In late 1950, the UN forces rallied. By January 1951, they had secured their lines below Seoul and launched a counterattack. When Truman began negotiations with North Korea to restore the prewar boundary, MacArthur undermined the president by issuing an ultimatum for China to make peace or suffer an attack. On April 5, on the floor of Congress, the Republican minority leader read a letter from MacArthur that criticized the president and said that "there is no substitute for victory." Such open insubordination left Truman only two choices: he could accept MacArthur's aggressive demands, or fire him.

SACKING A HERO On April 11, 1951, with civilian control of the military at stake, Truman removed MacArthur and replaced him with General Matthew B. Ridgway, a commander who better understood how to conduct a modern war in pursuit of limited objectives. "I believe that we must try to limit the war to Korea," Truman explained. "A number of events have made it evident that General MacArthur did not agree with that policy. I have therefore considered it essential to relieve General MacArthur so that there would be no doubt or confusion as to the real purpose and aim of our policy."

Truman's sacking of MacArthur, the army's only five-star general, divided the nation. Dean Acheson, the secretary of state, had warned the president that "if you relieve MacArthur, you will have the biggest fight of your administration." *Time* magazine reported that "seldom had a more unpopular man fired a more popular one." Senator Joseph McCarthy called the president a "son of a bitch" for sacking MacArthur. In his diary, Truman noted the ferocious backlash against him: "Quite an explosion. . . . Letters of abuse by the dozens." Sixty-six percent of Americans initially opposed Truman's decision.

Douglas MacArthur was a larger-than-life military hero and was greeted by adoring crowds upon his return to the United States. Republicans in Congress protested his removal, but Truman stood firm: "I fired him because he wouldn't respect the authority of the President. I didn't fire him because he was a dumb

son of a bitch, although he was, but that's not against the law for generals. If it was, half to three-quarters of them would be in jail." That all of the top military leaders supported Truman's decision deflated much of the criticism. "Why, hell, if MacArthur had had his way," the president warned, "he'd have had us in the Third World War and blown up two-thirds of the world."

Firing of MacArthur In this 1951 cartoon by L. J. Roche, President Harry Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and the Pentagon dance in the American public's proverbial frying pan for the removal of General Douglas MacArthur from his post as the supreme commander of U.N. forces in Korea.

A CEASE-FIRE On June 24, 1951, the Soviet representative at the United Nations proposed a cease-fire in Korea along the 38th parallel, the original dividing line between North and South. Secretary of State Acheson accepted the cease-fire (armistice) with the consent of the United Nations. China and North Korea responded favorably.

Truce talks started on July 10, 1951, at Panmunjŏm, only to drag on for two years while sporadic fighting continued. The chief snags were exchanges of prisoners (many captured North Korean and Chinese soldiers did not want to go home) and South Korea's insistence on unification of the two rival Koreas. Syngman Rhee, the South Korean leader, explained that "an armistice without national unification [is] a death sentence without protest."

By the time a truce was reached, on July 27, 1953, Truman had retired and Dwight D. Eisenhower was president. No peace treaty was ever signed, and Korea, like Germany, remained divided. The inconclusive war, incredibly mindless in the way it began, often reckless in the way it was managed, and largely fruitless in the way it ended, cost the United States more than 33,000 battle deaths and 103,000 wounded or missing. South Korean casualties were about 2 million, and North Korean and Chinese casualties were an estimated 3 million.

THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN WAR To most Americans, the North Korean attack on South Korea provided concrete proof that there was an international Communist conspiracy guided by the Soviet Union to control the world.

Truman's assumption that Stalin and the Soviets were behind the invasion of South Korea led him to deepen the American commitment to stop communism. "The interests of the United States are global in character," he explained. "A threat to the peace of the world *anywhere* is a threat to our security." Fearful that the Soviets would use the Korean conflict as a diversion to invade Western Europe, he ordered a major expansion of U.S. military forces in Europe—and around the world. Truman also increased assistance to French troops fighting a Communist independence movement in the French colony of Indochina (which included Vietnam), starting America's deepening military involvement in Southeast Asia.

Another Red Scare

The Korean War excited another Red Scare at home, as people grew fearful that Communists were infiltrating American society. Since 1938, the **House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC)** had kept up a drumbeat of accusations about supposed Communist agents in the federal government.

On March 21, 1947, President Truman signed an executive order (also known as the Loyalty Order) requiring federal government workers to undergo a background investigation to ensure they were not Communists or even associated with Communists (or other "subversive" groups).

Truman knew that the "loyalty program" violated civil liberties, but he felt he had no choice. He was responding to pressure from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Tom Clark, both of whom were convinced that there were numerous spies working inside the federal government. Truman was also eager to blunt criticism that he was not doing enough to ensure that Soviet sympathizers were not working in government.

Truman thought that the fear about Communist subversives was misplaced. "People are very much wrought up about the communist 'bugaboo,'" he wrote to Pennsylvania governor George Earle, "but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as Communism is concerned." By early 1951, the federal Civil Service Commission had cleared more than 3 million people, while only 378 had been dismissed for doubtful loyalty. Others, however, had resigned for fear they would be dismissed. In 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower revoked the Loyalty Order.

THE HOLLYWOOD TEN Charges that Hollywood was a "hotbed of communism" led the House Committee on Un-American Activities to launch a full-blown investigation of the motion-picture industry. The HUAC subpoenaed dozens of actors, producers, and directors to testify at its hearings, held in Los Angeles in October 1947. Ten witnesses refused to testify, arguing that

The Red Scare and Hollywood Several courageous movie stars attended the HUAC hearings to support their friends and colleagues who were accused of being Communists. Left to right: Danny Kaye, June Havoc, Humphrey Bogart, and Lauren Bacall (seated).

the questioning violated their First Amendment rights. When asked if he were a member of the Communist party, screenwriter Ring Lardner Jr. replied: "I could answer, but I would hate myself in the morning." Another member of the so-called Hollywood Ten, screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, shouted as he left the hearings, "This is the beginning of an American concentration camp." All ten were cited for contempt, given prison terms, and blacklisted (banned) from the film industry.

The witch hunt launched by the HUAC inspired playwright Arthur Miller, who himself was blacklisted, to write *The Crucible*, an award-winning play produced in 1953. It is a dramatic account of the notorious witch trials in Salem, Massachusetts, at the end of the seventeenth century, intended to alert audiences about the dangers of the anti-Communist hysteria.

ALGER HISS The spy case most damaging to the Truman administration involved Alger Hiss, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who had served in several government agencies. Whittaker Chambers, a former Soviet spy and later an editor of *Time* magazine who reversed himself and became an informer testifying against supposed Communists in the

government, told the HUAC in 1948 that Hiss had given him secret documents ten years earlier, when Chambers was spying for the Soviets and Hiss was working in the State Department. Hiss sued for libel, and Chambers produced microfilms of the State Department documents that he said Hiss had passed to him. Although Hiss denied the accusation, he was indicted and, after one mistrial, convicted in 1950. The charge was perjury, but he was convicted of lying about espionage, for which he could not be tried because the statute of limitations on the crime had expired.

More cases of Communist infiltration surfaced. In 1949, eleven top leaders of the Communist party of the United States were convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, which outlawed any conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government. The Supreme Court upheld the law under the doctrine of a "clear and present danger," which overrode the right to free speech.

ATOMIC SPYING In 1950, the FBI unearthed a spy network involving both American and British Communists who had secretly passed information about the development of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. The disclosure led to the arrest of Klaus Fuchs, a German-born English nuclear physicist who had worked in the United States during the war and helped to develop the atomic bomb.

As it turned out, a New York couple, former Communists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were part of the same Soviet spy ring. Their claims of innocence were undercut by the confession of Ethel's brother, who admitted he was a spy along with his sister and brother-in-law.

The convictions of Fuchs and the Rosenbergs fueled Republican charges that Truman's administration was not doing enough to hunt down Communist agents. The Rosenberg case, called the crime of the century by J. Edgar Hoover, also heightened fears that a vast Soviet network of spies and sympathizers was operating in the United States—and had "given" Stalin the secret of building atomic weapons. Irving Kaufman, the federal judge who sentenced the Rosenbergs to death, explained that "plain, deliberate murder is dwarfed . . . by comparison with the crime you have committed." They were the first Americans executed for spying.

MCCARTHY'S WITCH HUNT Evidence of Soviet spying encouraged some to exploit fears of the Communist menace. Early in 1950, a little-known Republican senator, Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, surfaced as the most ruthless manipulator of anti-Communist anxieties.

McCarthy, eager to attract media attention through his "bare-knuckle" tactics, took up the cause of anti-communism with a fiery speech to a women's Republican club in Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, in which he charged that the State Department was infested with Communists. He claimed to have their names, although he never provided them.

McCarthy's stunt got him what he wanted most: publicity. As the *New York Times* said, "It is difficult, if not impossible, to ignore charges made by Senator McCarthy just because they are usually proved exaggerated or false." During the next four years, McCarthy made more wild accusations, initially against many Democrats, whom he smeared as "dupes" or "fellow travelers" of the "Commies," then against officers in the U.S. Army.

Truman privately denounced McCarthy as "just a ballyhoo artist who has to cover up his shortcomings with wild charges," but McCarthy was not so easily dismissed. He enjoyed the backing of fellow Republicans eager to hurt Democrats in the 1950 congressional elections by claiming they were not being tough enough in fighting communism. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas said McCarthy was "the sorriest senator" in Washington. "But he's riding high now, he's got people scared to death. . . ."

By the summer of 1951, however, **McCarthyism** had gotten out of control. McCarthy's feverish excesses were revealed for all to see when he outrageously accused George Marshall, the former secretary of state and war hero, of making "common cause with Stalin" by "being an instrument of the Communist conspiracy." Concerns about truth or fair play did not faze McCarthy; his focus was on creating a reign of terror through groundless accusations. Truman called him a "pathological character assassin."

However sincere McCarthy's desire was to purify America of Communist sympathizers, his unholy war never uncovered a single Communist agent. But his relentless smear campaign, which tarnished many lives and reputations and had a chilling effect on free speech, went largely unchallenged until the end of the Korean War. During the Red Scare, thousands of left-wing Americans were "blacklisted" from employment because of past political associations, real or rumored. Movies with titles like "I Married a Communist" fed the hysteria, and magazine stories warned of "a Red under every bed."

Joseph R. McCarthy The crusading senator who was determined to identify any Communists serving in the federal government.

THE MCCARRAN ACT Fears of Soviet spies working with American sympathizers led Congress in 1950 to pass the McCarran Internal Security Act over President Truman's veto, making it unlawful "to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to . . . the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship." Communist organizations had to register with the attorney general. Would-be immigrants who had belonged to totalitarian parties in their home countries were barred from entering the United States. And during any future national emergencies, American Communists were to be herded into concentration camps. The McCarran Internal Security Act, Truman said in his veto message, would "put the government into the business of thought control."

THE RED SCARE AND THE COLD WAR Playing upon the fears of the American public did not make for good policy in 1919, nor did it work well in the early fifties. Both Red Scares ended up violating the civil liberties of innocent people.

President Truman may have erred in 1947 by creating a government loyalty program that aggravated the anti-Communist hysteria. Truman's own attorney general, Tom Clark, contended that there were "so many Communists in America" that they "were everywhere—in factories, offices, butcher shops, on street corners, in private businesses—and each carries with him the germs of death for society."

Truman also overstretched American resources when he pledged to "contain" communism everywhere. Containment itself proved hard to contain amid the ideological posturing of Soviet and American leaders. Its chief theorist, George F. Kennan, later confessed that he was partly to blame because he had failed at the outset to clarify the limits of the containment policy and to stress that the United States needed to prioritize its responses to Soviet adventurism.

A COLD WAR GOVERNMENT The years after the Second World War were unlike any other postwar period in American history. Having taken on global burdens, the United States became committed to a permanently large national military establishment, along with shadowy new government agencies such as the National Security Council (NSC), the National Security Agency (NSA), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The federal government—and the presidency—grew larger, more powerful, and more secretive, fueled by the actions of both major political parties as well as by the intense lobbying efforts of what Dwight D. Eisenhower would later call the *military-industrial complex*.

Fears of communism and concerns about a Soviet spy network in the United States mushroomed into politically motivated paranoia. Long-standing prejudices against Jews fed the hysteria; indeed, many Communist sympathizers were Jews from Eastern Europe.

The Red Scare also provided a powerful tool for Republicans to claim that Democrats were "soft on Communism." One of the worst effects of the Red Scare was to encourage widespread conformity of thought and behavior. By 1950, it had become dangerous to criticize anything associated with the American way of life.

ASSESSING HARRY TRUMAN On March 30, 1952, Harry Truman announced that he would not seek another presidential term, in part because it was unlikely he could win. Less than 25 percent of voters surveyed said that he was doing a good job, the lowest presidential approval rating in history. Although Americans applauded Truman's integrity and courage, the unrelenting war against communism, at home and abroad, led people to question his strategy. Negotiations to end the war in Korea had bogged down, the "red-baiting" of McCarthyism was expanding, and conservative southern Democrats, members of Truman's own party, had defeated most of his Fair Deal proposals. The war had also brought higher taxes and higher prices for American consumers, many of whom blamed the president. Only years later would people (and historians) fully appreciate how effectively Truman had dealt with so many complex problems.

To the end of his presidency, Truman, a plainspoken man who made decisions based on his "gut-feeling" about what was "right," viewed himself as an ordinary person who had been given opportunities to do extraordinary things. "I have tried my best to give the nation everything I have in me," Truman told reporters at one of his last press conferences. "There are a great many people . . . who could have done the job better than I did it. But I had the job and had to do it." And it was not a simple job, by any means. At the end of one difficult day in the White House, Truman growled while sipping a bourbon and water: "They [his critics] talk about the power of the President, how I can just push a button to get things done. Why, I spend most of my time kissing somebody's ass."

By the time Truman left the White House in early 1953, the cold war had become an accepted part of the American way of life. But fears about the spread of communism were counterbalanced by the joys of unexpected prosperity. Toward the end of Truman's presidency, the economy began to grow at what would become the fastest rate in history, transforming social and cultural life and becoming the marvel of the world. The booming economy brought with it the "nifty" fifties.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SUMMARY

- **The Cold War** The cold war was an ideological contest between the Western democracies (especially the United States) and the Communist countries. At the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union established "friendly" governments in the Eastern European countries it occupied behind an *iron curtain* of totalitarian control and secrecy.

- **Containment** President Truman responded to the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe with the policy of *containment*, the aim of which was to halt the spread of communism by opposing it wherever it emerged. With the *Truman Doctrine (1947)*, he proposed giving economic and military aid to countries facing Communist insurgencies, such as Greece and Turkey; he also convinced Congress to approve the *National Security Act*, which reorganized the U.S. armed forces and created the Central Intelligence Agency. With the *Marshall Plan*, Truman offered redevelopment aid to all European nations. In 1948, the *Berlin airlift* overcame a Soviet blockade of supplies to West Berlin. In [illegible] [illegible] United States became a founding member of the *North Atlantic Treaty [illegible] (NATO)*, a military alliance of Western democracies united prim[illegible] [illegible] the Soviet Union.

- **Truman's Fair Deal** Truman's *Fair Deal* was [illegible] expand the New Deal despite intense Republican opposition in Congress. [illegible] could not stop the *Taft-Hartley Act*, a Republican-backed measure to curb the power of labor unions. Truman was more successful in expanding Social Security and, through executive orders, desegregating the military and banning racial discrimination in the hiring of federal employees. After winning a second term in 1948, he proposed a civil rights bill, national health insurance, federal aid to education, and new farm subsidies. Despite the Democrats' majority in Congress, however, conservative Republicans and southern Democrats (*Dixiecrats*) joined forces to defeat these initiatives.

- **The Korean War** Containment policies proved less effective in East Asia, as Communists won a long civil war in China in 1949 and ignited a war in Korea. In response, Truman authorized *NSC-68*, a comprehensive blueprint for American foreign and defense policies that called for a dramatic increase in military spending and nuclear arms. When North Korean troops invaded South Korea in June 1950, Truman quickly decided to go to war under the auspices of the United Nations. After a year of major gains and reverses by both sides and then two years of stalemate, a truce, concluded in July 1953, established a demilitarized zone in Korea.

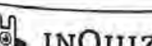
- **The Red Scare** The onset of the cold war inflamed another Red Scare. Investigations by the *House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC)* sought to find "subversives" within the federal government. Starting in 1950, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy exploited fears of Soviet spies infiltrating the highest levels of the U.S. government. *McCarthyism* flourished in the short term because the threat of a world dominated by Communist governments seemed all too real to many Americans.

CHRONOLOGY

November 1946	Republicans win control of both houses of Congress
February 1946	George Kennan urges a containment policy toward the Soviet Union
March 1947	The Truman Doctrine promises financial and military assistance to countries resisting Communist takeover
May 1947	The Marshall plan provides massive financial assistance to European nations
June 1947	Congress passes the Taft-Hartley Labor Act over Truman's veto
July 1947	National Security Council (NSC) is established
May 1948	Israel is proclaimed an independent nation
July 1948	Truman's executive order ends segregation in the U.S. armed forces
October 1948	United States and Great Britain airlift supplies to West Berlin
November 1948	Truman defeats Dewey in the presidential election
April 1949	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is created
October 1949	China "falls" to communism
February 1950	Senator Joseph McCarthy begins his crusade against suspected Communists in the federal government
June 1950	United States and other UN members go to war in Korea

KEY TERMS

iron curtain p. 1218
containment p. 1220
Truman Doctrine (1947) p. 1221
Marshall Plan (1948) p. 1222
Berlin airlift (1948) p. 1225
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) p. 1226
National Security Act p. 1227
Taft-Hartley Labor Act (1947) p. 1231
Fair Deal (1949) p. 1237
Dixiecrats p. 1238
NSC-68 (1950) p. 1242
House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) p. 1250
McCarthyism p. 1253



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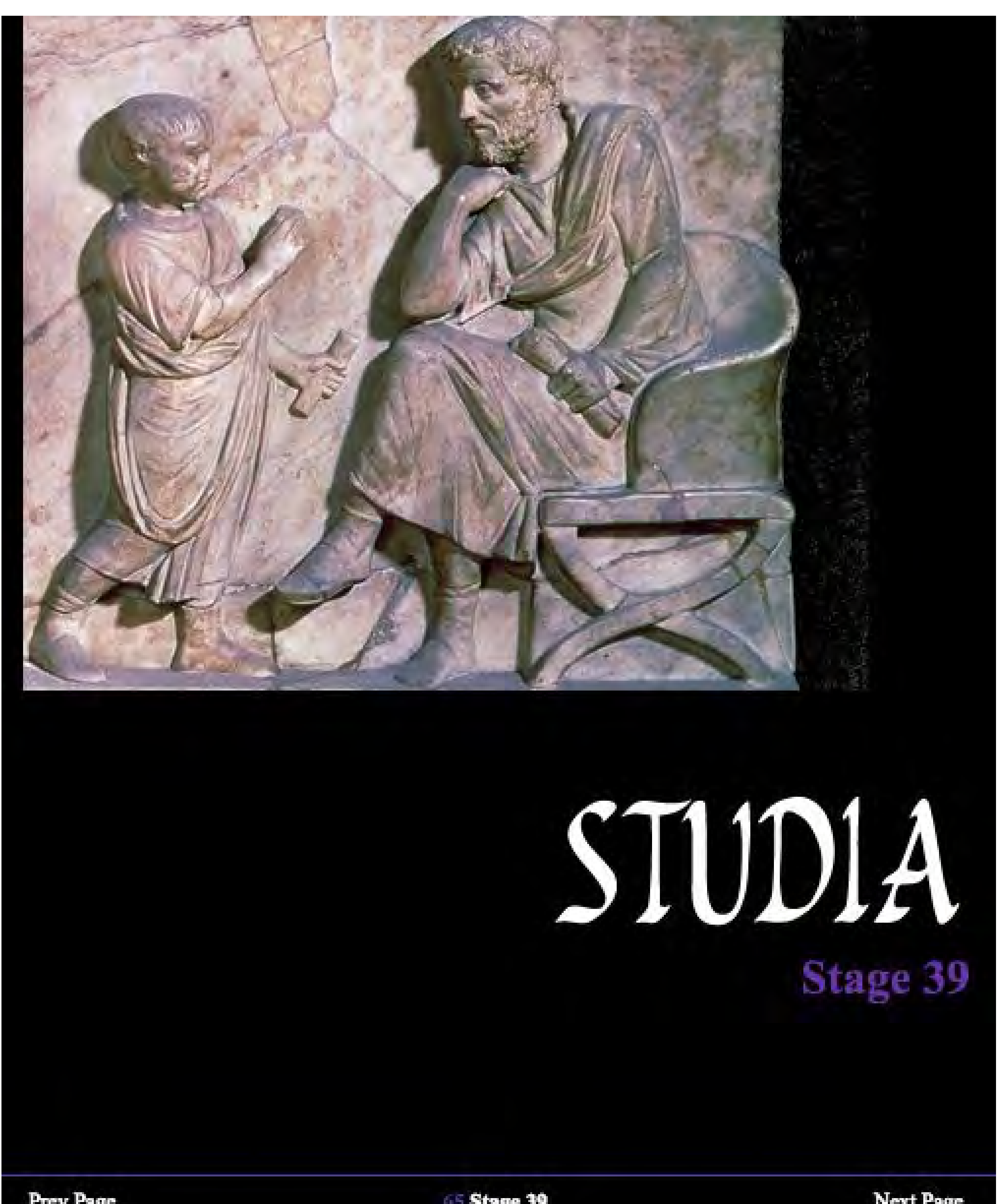

STUDIA
Stage 39

hērēdēs prīncipis

I

in aulā Imperātōris, duo puerī in studiīs litterārum sunt occupātī. alter puer, Titus nōmine, fābulam nārrāre cōnātur; alter, nōmine Pūblius, intentē audit. adest quoque puerōrum rhētor, M. Fabius Quīntiliānus. Titus Pūbliusque, fīliī Clēmentis ac frātrēs Pōllae, nūper hērēdēs Imperātōris factī sunt. 5

studiīs: studium *study*
litterārum: litterae *literature*

Titus: (*fābulam nārrāns*) deinde Iuppiter, rēx deōrum, sceleribus hominum valdē offēnsus, genus mortāle magnō dīluviō dēlēre cōnstituit. prīmō eī placuit dē caelō fulmina spargere, quae tōtam terram cremārent. timēbat tamen nē deī ipsī, sī 10 flammae ad caelum ā terrā ascendissent, eōdem ignī cremārentur. dīversam ergō poenam impōnere māluit.

genus mortāle *the human race*
dīluviō: dīluvium *flood*
fulmina: fulmen *thunderbolt*
cremārent: cremāre *burn, destroy by fire*
dīversam: dīversus *different*

Titō nārrante, iānua subitō aperītur. ingreditur Epaphrodītus. puerī anxiī inter sē aspiciunt; Quīntiliānus, cui Epaphrodītus odiō est, 15 nihilōminus eum cōmiter salūtat.

Quīntiliānus: libenter tē vidēmus, Epaphro–

Epaphrodītus: (*interpellāns*) salvēte, puerī. salvē tū, M. Fabī. hūc missus sum ut mandāta prīncipis nūntiem. prīnceps vōbīs imperat ut ad sē quam celerrimē 20 contendātis.

Quīntiliānus: verba tua, mī Epaphrodīte, nōn intellegō. cūr nōs ad Imperātōrem arcessimur?

Epaphrodītus, nūllō respōnsō datō, puerōs Quīntiliānumque per aulam ad Imperātōris tablīnum dūcit. puerī, timōre commōtī, extrā tablīnum 25 haesitant.

Quīntiliānus: (*timōrem suum dissimulāns*) cūr perturbāminī, puerī?

Pūblius: bonā causā perturbāmur. Imperātor enim nōs sine dubiō castīgābit vel pūniet. 30

Quīntiliānus: nimis timidus es, Pūblī. sī prūdenter vōs gesseritis, neque castīgābiminī neque pūniēminī.

castīgābit: castīgāre *scold, reprimand*
vōs gesseritis: sē gerere *behave, conduct oneself*

II

Quīntiliānus et puerī, tablīnum ingressī, Domitiānum ad mēnsam sedentem muscāsque stilō trānsfīgentem inveniunt. Domitiānus neque respicit neque quicquam dīcit. puerī pallēscunt.

muscās: musca *fly*
respicit: respicere *look up*

Domitiānus: (*tandem respiciēns*) nōlīte timēre, puerī. vōs nōn pūnītūrus sum – nisi mihi displicueritis. (*muscam* 5 *aliam trānsfīgit; dēnique, stilō dēpositō, puerōs subitō interrogat:*) quam diū discipulī M. Fabiī iam estis?

Titus: (*haesitāns*) d-duōs mēnsēs, domine.

Domitiānus: nōbīs ergō tempus est cognōscere quid didicerītis. (*ad Pūblium repente conversus*) Pūblī, quid herī 10 docēbāminī?

Pūblius: versūs quōsdam legēbāmus, domine, quōs Ovidius poēta dē illō dīluviō fābulōsō composuit.

Domitiānus: itaque, versibus Ovidiānīs herī lēctīs, quid hodiē facitis? 15

Pūblius: hodiē cōnāmur eandem fābulam verbīs nostrīs nārrāre.

Quīntiliānus: ubi tū nōs arcessīvistī, domine, Titus dē īrā Iovis nārrātūrus erat.

Domitiānus: fābula scīlicet aptissima! eam audīre velim. Tite, 20 nārrātiōnem tuam renovā!

Titus: (*fābulam timidē renovāns*) Iu-Iuppiter nimbōs ingentēs dē ca-caelō dēmittere cōnstituit. statim Aquilōnem in ca-cavernīs Aeoliīs inclūsit, et Notum līberāvit. quī madidīs ālīs ēvolāvit; 25 ba-barba nimbīs gravābātur, undae dē capillīs fluēbant. simulatque Notus ēvolāvit, nimbī dēnsī ex aethere cum ingentī fragōre effūsī sunt. sed tanta erat Iovis īra ut imbribus caelī contentus nōn esset; auxilium ergō ā frātre Neptūnō petīvit. 30 quī cum terram tridente percussisset, illa valdē tremuit viamque patefēcit ubi undae fluerent. statim flūmina ingentia per campōs apertōs ruēbant.

Domitiānus: satis nārrāvistī, Tite. nunc tū, Pūblī, nārrātiōnem 35 excipe.

displicueritis: displicēre *displease*
didicerītis: discere *learn*
fābulōsō: fābulōsus *legendary, famous*
Ovidiānīs: Ovidiānus *of Ovid*
nārrātiōnem: nārrātiō *narration*
nimbōs: nimbus *rain cloud*
cavernīs: caverna *cave, cavern*
Aeoliīs: Aeolius *Aeolian*
inclūsit: inclūdere *shut up*
Notum: Notus *South wind*
ālīs: āla *wing*
gravābātur: gravāre *load, weigh down*
imbribus: imber *rain*
Neptūnō: Neptūnus *Neptune (Roman god of the sea)*
tridente: tridēns *trident*
campōs: campus *plain*
excipe: excipere *take over*

Pūblius: iamque inter mare et tellūrem nūllum discrīmen erat; mare ubīque erat, neque ūlla lītora habēbat. hominēs exitium effugere cōnābantur. aliī montēs ascendērunt; aliī, in nāvibus sedentēs, per agrōs illōs rēmigāvērunt quōs nūper arābant; hic suprā segetēs aut tēcta vīllārum mersārum nāvigāvit; ille in summīs arboribus piscēs invēnit. lupī inter ovēs natābant; leōnēs fulvī undīs vehēbantur. avēs, postquam terram diū quaerēbant ubi cōnsistere possent, tandem in mare fessīs ālīs dēcidērunt. capellae gracilēs –

Pūbliō hoc nārrantī Domitiānus manū significat ut dēsistat. diū tacet, puerīs anxiīs exspectantibus. Quīntiliānus verētur nē puerī Imperātōrī nōn placuerint. tandem ille loquitur.

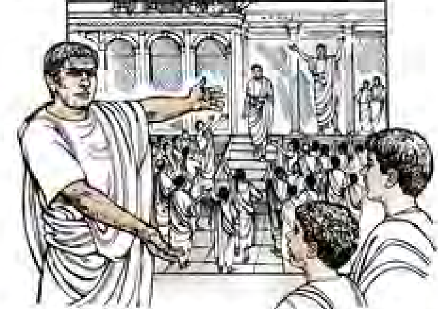
Domitiānus: fortūnātī estis, Pūblī ac Tite; nam, ut decōrum est prīncipis hērēdibus, ab optimō rhētore docēminī, quī optima exempla vōbīs prōposuit. sī vōs, puerī, causās vestrās tam fācundē dīxeritis quam Ovidius versūs composuit, saepe victōrēs ē basilicā discēdētis; ab omnibus laudābiminī.

Titus: (*timōre iam dēpositō*) nōnne ūna rēs tē fallit, domine? nōs sumus hērēdēs tuī; nōnne igitur nōs, cum causās nostrās dīxerimus, nōn saepe sed semper victōrēs discēdēmus et ab omnibus laudābimur?

Quīntiliānus ērubēscit. Domitiānus, audāciā Titī obstupefactus, nihil dīcit. tandem, rīdēns vel rīsum simulāns, puerōs rhētoremque dīmittit; deinde, stilō resūmptō, muscās iterum trānsfīgere incipit.

tellūrem: tellūs *land, earth*
discrīmen *boundary, dividing line*
rēmigāvērunt: rēmigāre *row*
arābant: arāre *plow*
hic … ille *this man … that man, one man … another man*
suprā *over, on top of*
aut *or*
mersārum: mergere *submerge*
piscēs: piscis *fish*
ovēs: ovis *sheep*
fulvī: fulvus *tawny*
capellae: capella *she-goat*
gracilēs: gracilis *graceful*
causās … dīxeritis: causam dīcere *plead a case*
fācundē *fluently, eloquently*
fallit: fallere *escape notice of, slip by*
simulāns: simulāre *pretend*
resūmptō: resūmere *pick up again*

40 45 50 55 60



ab omnibus laudābiminī.

Word patterns: verbs and nouns

1 Study the form and meaning of each of the following verbs and nouns:

nōmināre	*nominate, name*	nōmen	*name*
volvere	*turn, roll*	volūmen	*roll of papyrus, scroll*
unguere	*anoint, smear*	unguentum	*ointment*

2 Following the example of paragraph 1, complete the following table:

certāre	*compete*	certāmen	. . . . .
crīmināre	*accuse*	crīmen	. . . . .
arguere	. . . . .	argūmentum	*proof, argument*
impedīre	. . . . .	impedīmentum	*hindrance, nuisance*
vestīre	*clothe, dress*	vestīmenta	. . . . .
ōrnāre	. . . . .	ōrnāmentum	. . . . .
torquēre	. . . . .	tormentum	. . . . .

Authors, readers, and listeners

The Argiletum, where the book shops were, is the long street emerging from the Forum at top left, passing through the narrow Forum Transitorium which Domitian began, and running down to the bottom right in the crowded Subura district.

After a Roman writer had recited his work to his patron or friends, or to a wider audience at a recitatio, as described in Stage 36, he had to decide whether or not to make it available to the general public. If he decided to go ahead, his next step was to have several copies made. If he or his patron owned some sufficiently educated slaves, they might be asked to make copies for the author to distribute among his friends. Cicero sent volumes of his work to his banker friend, Atticus, who had many such **librāriī**. Alternatively, the author might offer his work to the **bibliopōlae**, the booksellers, whose slaves would make a number of copies for sale to the public.

Most Roman booksellers had their shops in the Argiletum, a street which ran between the Forum Romanum and the Subura. Books were fairly inexpensive. A small book of poems might cost 5 sesterces if it were an ordinary copy, 20 sesterces if it were a deluxe edition made of high-quality materials. Martial tells us that his first book of epigrams, about 700 lines, sold for 20 sesterces. After the work had been copied, all money from sales of the book belonged to the booksellers, not to the author. We do not know if the booksellers ever paid anything to an author for letting them copy his work.

One result of these arrangements for copying and selling books was that there was no such thing in Rome as a professional writer; no author could hope to make a living from his work. Some of the people who wrote books were wealthy amateurs like Pliny, who made most of his money as a landowner and wrote as a hobby; others, like Martial, depended on patrons for support. Writers fit into the general client–patron system we learned about in Unit 3. An author, unlike ordinary **clientēs**, however, could offer his **patrōnus** a wider reputation, a chance for perpetual **dignitās**.

Sometimes the emperor became an author's patron. For example, the poets Virgil and Horace were helped and encouraged first by the Emperor Augustus' friend, Maecenas, and then by Augustus himself. Other authors, however, got into trouble with the emperor. Ovid, for instance, was sent into exile by Augustus because he had been involved in a mysterious scandal in the emperor's own family and because he had written a poem entitled *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), a witty and light-hearted guide for young men on the conduct of love affairs. The *Ars Amatoria* greatly displeased Augustus, who had introduced a number of laws for the encouragement of respectable marriage, and Ovid was exiled to a distant part of the empire for the rest of his life. Under later emperors, such as Domitian, it was safest for an author to publish nothing at all, or else to make flattering remarks about the emperor in his work, as Martial did in his poem on page 18 (lines 6–9).

Choosing a book.

Some works of Latin literature reached a wide public. For example, thousands of people saw the comic plays of Plautus when

Above: *The poet Horace was given this farm in the Sabine Hills by his patron, Maecenas.*

they were performed in the theater. But most Roman authors wrote for a small, highly educated group of readers who were familiar not only with Latin literature, but also with the literature of the Greeks.

Schoolboys, like Publius and Titus in the story on pages 66–68, and perhaps a few girls as well, were introduced by their teachers to the study of both Greek and Roman authors. The famous educator and orator, Quintilian (*c.* AD 35 – *c.* 100), was the first teacher to obtain a salary from the state when he was appointed instructor of rhetoric by Vespasian. Besides Domitian's adopted sons, Quintilian taught Pliny the Younger. The most influential of Quintilian's books, *The Education of an Orator*, covered education from infancy to the level of the experienced speaker. The book also included a long list of recommended Greek and Latin authors, with comments on each one. For example, he wrote: "Ovid is light-hearted even on serious subjects and too fond of his own cleverness, but parts of his work are excellent."

Below: *A boy practicing public speaking. Round his neck he wears a bulla, a child's locket containing an amulet.*

Latin literature played an important part in Roman education. Roman education, in turn, played an important part in the writing of Latin literature. Most Roman authors had received a thorough training from a **rhētor**, who taught them how to express themselves persuasively and artistically, how to choose words and rhetorical devices that would have maximum effect on an audience, and how to organize a speech. This training had a great influence on the way Latin literature was written.

An important difference between Latin and modern literature is that most modern literature is written for silent reading, whereas Latin literature was often written to be read aloud. The three reasons for this have already been mentioned: first, the easiest way for an author to tell the public about his work was to read it aloud to them; second, most authors had received extensive training in public speaking and this affected the way they wrote; third, many Romans when reading a book, would read it aloud or have it read to them.

The fact that Latin literature was written for speaking aloud, and not for silent reading, made a great difference to the way Roman authors wrote. They expressed themselves in ways that would sound effective when heard, not just look effective when read. For example, suppose a Roman author wished to say, in the course of a story:

The unfortunate boy did not see the danger.

He might express this quite straightforwardly:

puer īnfēlīx perīculum nōn vīdit.

But he might, especially in poetry, choose a more artistic word order. For instance, he might place the emotional word **īnfēlīx** in the prominent first position in the line, juxtapose the alliterative **perīculum** and **puer**, and separate the adjective from its noun.

īnfēlīx perīculum puer nōn vīdit.

Again, the author might prefer a more dramatic way of expressing himself. He might address the character in the story as if he were physically present, and put a question to him:

heu, puer īnfēlīx! nōnne perīculum vidēs?
Alas, unfortunate boy! Do you not see the danger?

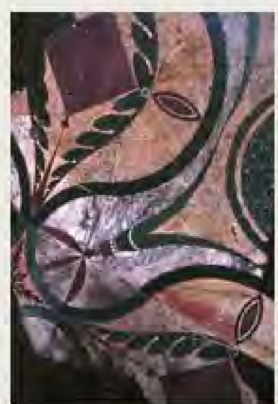
On the printed page, especially in English translation, such artistic variations as these may sometimes appear rather strange to a modern reader. When they are read aloud in Latin, however, the effect can be very different. To read Latin literature silently is like looking at a page of written music; it needs to be performed aloud for full effect.

Domitian's palace

The Emperor Domitian was a great builder. He finished Vespasian's Colosseum and gave Rome a stadium and a new forum (the Forum Transitorium) as well as many smaller buildings. He restored much of Rome after a serious fire. But his greatest building was his own palace, on the Palatine hill.

The side of the palace overlooking the Circus Maximus.

The palace reconstructed.


Fragment of a floor made by cutting white and colored marbles and red and green porphyry to an elaborate pattern.

The Hippodrome: a garden in the shape of a stadium.

A wall belonging to the state rooms shown on *page 36**, showing the holes for the builders' scaffolding. The builders constructed two brick walls and filled the gap between with mortar and rubble, i.e. concrete. The scaffolding holes would have been hidden by marble facing or stucco rendering.*

Vocabulary checklist 39

arbor, arboris, f.	*tree*
aut	*or*
cadō, cadere, cecidī	*fall*
campus, campī, m.	*plain*
capillī, capillōrum, m. pl.	*hair*
discrīmen, discrīminis, n.	*dividing line; crisis*
ergō	*therefore*
fallō, fallere, fefellī, falsus	*deceive, escape notice of, slip by*
fragor, fragōris, m.	*crash*
genus, generis, n.	*race*
hinc	*from here; then, next*
iuvō, iuvāre, iūvī, iūtus	*help, assist*
littera, litterae, f.	*letter (of the alphabet)*
litterae, litterārum, f. pl.	*letter, letters (correspondence), literatu*
mēnsis, mēnsis, m.	*month*
simulō, simulāre, simulāvī, simulātus	*pretend*
spargō, spargere, sparsī, sparsus	*scatter*
stilus, stilī, m.	*pen (pointed stick for writing on wax tablet)*
studium, studiī, n.	*enthusiasm; study*
ūllus, ūlla, ūllum	*any*

Domitian's palace: connecting rooms leading to the Hippodrome.

CHAPTER 1

Rhythm, Meter, and Tempo

Music is the art of sound in time. Its temporal aspect is the most basic place to start understanding music, and this aspect is summed up by the term **rhythm**.

> “Rhythm might be described as, to the world of sound, what light is to the world of sight. It shapes and gives new meaning.”
>
> *Edith Sitwell, poet and critic, 1965*

1 Rhythm

In its broadest sense, rhythm refers to the general way music unfolds in time. The primacy of rhythm in the experience of music is taken for granted in our culture — and in most other cultures as well. Rhythm is the main driving force in music both popular and classical, music of all ages and all cultures.

In a more specific sense, “*a* rhythm” refers to the actual arrangement of durations — long and short notes — in a particular melody or some other musical passage. Of course, the term is also used in other contexts, about quarterbacks, poems, and even paintings. But no sport and no other art handles rhythm with as much precision and refinement as music.

Beat and Accent

Beats provide the basic unit of measurement for time in music; if ordinary clock time is measured in seconds, musical time is measured in beats. When listening to a marching band or a rock band, to take two clear examples, we sense a regular recurrence of short pulses. These serve as a steady, vigorous background for other, more complicated rhythms that we discern at the same time. We can’t help beating time to the music, dancing to it, waving a hand or tapping a foot. The simple pulse being signaled by waving, tapping, or dancing is the music’s beat.

There is, however, an all-important difference between a clock ticking and a drum beating time. Mechanically produced ticks all sound exactly the same, but it is virtually impossible for people to beat time without making some beats more emphatic than others. This is called giving certain beats an **accent**. And accents are really what enable us to beat time, since the simplest way to do this is to alternate accented (“strong”) and unaccented (“weak”) beats in patterns such as ONE *two* | ONE *two* | ONE *two* . . . or ONE *two three* | ONE *two three* | ONE *two three*. . . . To beat time, then, is not only to measure time according to a regular pulse but also to organize it, at least into these simple two- and three-beat patterns.

▶ Access an interactive tutorial on rhythm, meter, and tempo in the e-book at **bedfordstmartins.com/listen**

2 Meter

Any recurring pattern of strong and weak beats, such as the ONE *two* and ONE *two three* we have referred to above, is called a **meter**. Meter is a strong/weak pattern repeated again and again.

Each occurrence of this repeated pattern, consisting of a principal strong beat and one or more weaker beats, is called a **measure**, or **bar**. In Western music there are only two basic kinds of meter: duple meter and triple meter.

In *duple meter* the beats are grouped in twos (ONE *two* | ONE *two*) or in fours (ONE *two* THREE *four* | ONE *two* THREE *four*). Duple meter is instantly familiar from marches — such as “Yankee Doodle” — which tend always to use duple meter in deference to the human anatomy (LEFT *right*, LEFT *right*, LEFT *right*):

Yan-kee	doo-dle	came to	town . . .
ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*

In *triple meter* the beats are grouped in threes (ONE *two three* | ONE *two three*). Our oldest national songs, “The Star-Spangled Banner” and “My Country, ’Tis of Thee,” are in triple meter:

Oh,	say	can	you	see . . .	My	coun-	try,	’tis		of thee . . .
	ONE	*two*	*three*	ONE	ONE	*two*	*three*	ONE	*two*	*three*

Two other national songs, “America the Beautiful” and “God Bless America,” are in duple meter.

Often the main beats of duple and triple meter are subdivided into quicker pulses. This usually happens by dividing the main beat into either twos or threes. When the main beats are divided in twos, the meter is called a **simple meter**. Dividing the main beats in threes creates **compound meters** with two or three main beats and six or nine quicker ones:

ONE	*two*		ONE	*two*	*three*
ONE *two three*	FOUR *five six*		ONE *two three*	FOUR *five six*	SEVEN *eight nine*

The round “Row, Row, Row Your Boat” is in compound duple meter. While the first voice is moving at a fast six-beat clip at the words “Merrily, merrily, merrily, merrily,” the second voice comes in pounding out the basic duple meter, “ROW, *row*, ROW”:

first voice:

Row,	row,	row your	boat	gently	down the	stream,		Merrily,	merrily,	merrily,	merrily,
1 2 3	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6
ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*
						second voice:		Row,	row,	row . . .	
								ONE	*two*	ONE	*two*

Meters with five beats, seven beats, and so on have never been used widely in Western music, though they are found frequently enough in some other musical cultures. It was an unusual tour de force for nineteenth-century composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky to have featured quintuple meter, five beats to a bar, in his popular Sixth Symphony.

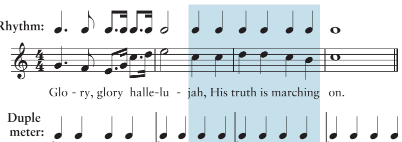
Rhythm and Meter

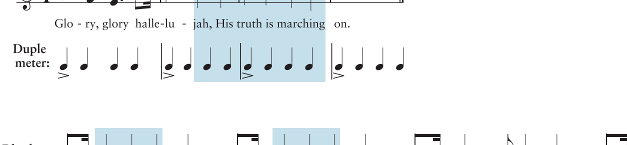
Rhythm in the most general sense refers to the entire time aspect of music and, more specifically, *a* rhythm refers to the particular arrangements of long and short notes in a musical passage. In most Western music, duple or triple *meter* serves as the regular background against which we perceive music's actual rhythms.

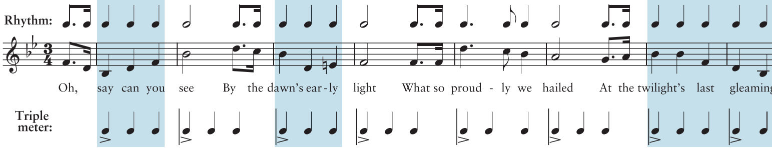
As the rhythm first coincides with the meter, then cuts across it independently, then even contradicts it, all kinds of variety, tension, and excitement can result. Meter is background; rhythm is foreground.

Musical notation has developed a conventional system of signs (see Appendix B) to indicate relative durations, or long and short notes; combining various signs is the way of indicating rhythms. Following are examples of well-known tunes in duple and triple meters. Notice from the shading (even better, sing the tunes to yourself and *hear*) how the rhythm sometimes corresponds with the pulses of the meter and sometimes departs from them. The shading indicates passages of rhythm-meter correspondence:

> "The most exciting rhythms seem unexpected and complex, the most beautiful melodies simple and inevitable."
>
> *W. H. Auden, poet, 1962*







The above examples should not be taken to imply that meter is always emphasized behind music's rhythms. Often the meter is not explicitly beaten out at all. It does not need to be, for the listener can almost always sense it under the surface. Naturally, meter is strongly stressed in music designed to stimulate regular body movements, such as marches, dances, and much popular music.

At the other extreme, there is *nonmetrical* music. In such music, the rhythms suggest no underlying pattern of strong and weak beats. For example, the meandering, nonmetrical rhythms of Gregorian chant contribute to the cool, otherworldly, and spiritual quality that devotees of this music cherish.

Syncopation

One way of obtaining interesting, striking effects in music is to move the accents in a foreground *rhythm* away from their normal position on the beats of the background *meter*. This may seem counterintuitive, but it works. In **syncopation**,

LISTENING EXERCISE 1

DVD

Rhythm, Meter, and Syncopation

In Unit I of this book, we illustrate the concepts that are introduced with listening examples drawn from the Companion DVD. Follow the timings in these Listening Exercises, which are simplified versions of the Listening Charts provided for complete compositions later in the book. The charts are explained on page xxviii.

For samples of *duple, triple,* and *compound meters,* listen to the following tracks on the DVD.

10, 14	Duple meter	Count ONE *two* | ONE *two* . . . etc., for about half a minute.
16	Duple meter	Count ONE *two* THREE *four* | ONE *two* THREE *four* . . . etc.
12, 19	Triple meter	Count ONE *two three* | ONE *two three* . . . etc.
17	Compound meter	Count ONE *two three* FOUR *five six* | ONE *two three* FOUR *five six* . . . etc.

10 ***Syncopation:*** In Scott Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag," listen to the piano left hand, with its steady ONE *two* | ONE *two* beat in duple meter, while the right hand cuts across it with syncopations in almost every measure.

as it is called, accents can be displaced so they go *one* TWO | *one* TWO (*weak* STRONG | *weak* STRONG) instead of the normal ONE *two* | ONE *two* (STRONG *weak* | STRONG *weak*). Or syncopation can occur when an accent is placed *in between* beats ONE and *two,* as in this Christmas ballad:

Ru-***dolf*** __ the red - nosed rein - deer ________________

ONE *two* | ONE *two* | ONE *two* | ONE *two*

The consistent use of syncopation is the hallmark of African American–derived popular music, from ragtime to rap. See Chapter 24, and listen to the lively, uneven, *syncopated* rhythms of Scott Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag" in Listening Exercise 1.

3 Tempo

Our discussion so far has referred to the *relative* duration of sounds—all beats are equal; some notes are twice as long as others, and so on—but nothing has been said yet about their *absolute* duration, in fractions of a second. The term for the speed of music is **tempo**; in metrical music, the tempo is the rate at which the basic, regular beats of the meter follow one another.

Tempo can be expressed exactly and measured by the **metronome**, a mechanical or electrical device that ticks out beats at any desired tempo. When composers give directions for tempo, however, they usually prefer approximate terms. Rather than freezing the music's speed by means of a metronome, they prefer to leave some latitude for different performers. Because all European music looked to Italy when this terminology first came into use, the conventional terms for tempo are Italian:

An early metronome owned by Beethoven; its inventor was a friend of his. A clockwork mechanism made the bar swing side to side, ticking at rates controlled by a movable weight.

LISTENING EXERCISE 2

Rhythm, Meter, and Tempo

11

A more advanced exercise: Our excerpt, from the middle of *Rhapsody on a Theme by Paganini*, for piano and orchestra, by Sergei Rachmaninov, consists of four continuous segments in different meters and tempos, here labeled A, B, C, and D. (If you note a family likeness among the segments, that is because they are all variations on a single theme. See page 174.)

0:00	**A**	The piano starts in ***duple meter*** (ONE *two* | ONE *two*). The loud orchestral interruptions are ***syncopated.*** (After the interruptions the meter is somewhat obscured, but it gets clearer.)
0:33		Clear duple meter by this time; then the music comes to a stop.
0:49	**B**	No meter. The piano seems to be engaged in a meditative improvisation, as if it is dreaming up the music to come.
1:45		Orchestral instruments suggest a slow ***duple meter***? Not for long.
2:24	**C**	Slow ***triple meter*** (ONE *two three* | ONE *two three*)
3:47		***Ritardando*** (getting slower)
3:56	**D**	Fast ***triple meter***, assertive (note one or two syncopated notes)
4:26		Faster ***triple meter***

COMMON TEMPO INDICATIONS		LESS COMMON TEMPO INDICATIONS	
adagio:	slow	*largo, lento, grave:*	slow, very slow
andante:	on the slow side, but not too slow	*larghetto:*	somewhat faster than *largo*
moderato:	moderate	*andantino:*	somewhat faster than *andante*
allegretto:	on the fast side, but not too fast	*vivace, vivo:*	lively
allegro:	fast	*molto allegro:*	faster than *allegro*
presto:	very fast	*prestissimo:*	very fast indeed

It's interesting that in their original meaning many of these Italian words refer not to speed itself but rather to a mood, action, or quality that can be associated with tempo only in a general way. Thus, *vivace* is close to our "vivacious," *allegro* means "cheerful," and *andante,* derived from the Italian word for "go," might be translated as "walking along steadily."

The most important terms to remember are those listed under "common tempo indications" above. Composers often use tempo indications alone as headings for major sections, called movements, in long works. People refer to the "Andante" of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, meaning a certain movement of the symphony (the second), which Beethoven specified should be played at an *andante* tempo.

CAPÍTULO **4A**

¿Adónde vas?

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

Communication

By the end of this chapter you will be able to:

- Listen and read about leisure activities and schedules.
- Talk and write about places to go and activities to do during free time.
- Exchange information about weekend plans.

Culture

You will also be able to:

- **Auténtico:** Identify cultural practices in an authentic video about community.
- Understand the meaning and role of children's rhymes from the Spanish-speaking world.
- Compare leisure activities in the Spanish-speaking world and the United States.

You will demonstrate what you know and can do:

- Presentación oral: Un estudiante nuevo
- Repaso del capítulo: Preparación para el examen

You will use:

Vocabulary

- Leisure activities
- Places in the community

Grammar

- The verb *ir*
- Asking questions

ARTE y CULTURA España

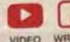
"El quitasol" is a work by Spanish painter Francisco de Goya (1746–1828). He made this painting in 1777 as a design to be used in the manufacture of a royal tapestry. At that time Goya was already famous for the elegance of his artwork and his ability to capture ordinary events in realistic detail. The brilliant colors of this painting suggest a happy moment of relaxation for two young people.

▸ Why do people who live in the city go out to the country to relax?

Mapa global interactivo Discover places of interest in Madrid, Spain and make a list of your favorite ones.

"El quitasol" (1777), Francisco de Goya ▸

Oil on canvas, 104 x 152 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.



6 ¡No me digas!

HABLAR EN PAREJA Work with a partner. Using what you wrote for Actividad 5, take turns saying where you go and how often. React to your partner's statements. Follow the model.

Videomodelo

A —*Voy a la playa a veces.*
B —*¡No me digas! Yo voy a la playa a veces también.*
o: —*¡No me digas! Yo nunca voy a la playa.*
o: —*Pues, yo voy a la playa todos los días.*

Nota

When ***a*** is used before ***el***, the two words form the contraction ***al*** *(to the)*:

a + el = al

- Voy **al** centro comercial a veces, pero voy **a la** piscina mucho.

También se dice...

la piscina = la alberca *(México)*; la pileta *(América del Sur)*
el restaurante = el restaurán *(América del Sur)*

7 Escucha y escribe

ESCUCHAR, ESCRIBIR Look at the painting of the plaza below. On a sheet of paper, write the numbers 1–6. You will hear six statements about the painting. Write what you hear.

CULTURA El mundo hispano

Pasear o caminar por la plaza mayor[1] de muchos pueblos y ciudades hispanos es una actividad popular para las personas. Una plaza mayor tiene tiendas, cafés, iglesias y edificios importantes. La gente va allí para comer, ir de compras, hacer negocios[2] y reunirse en celebraciones y festivales. Este cuadro de Pedro Lázaro (1956–) celebra la belleza y la importancia de la plaza en la cultura hispana.

Pre-AP® Integration: Los estilos de vida ¿Qué lugar de reunión social similar a una plaza hay en tu comunidad?

[1]main square [2]conduct business

"La plaza" (1981), Pedro Lázaro ▸

Lázaro, Pedro born 1956. "La plaza" (The Plaza), 1981. Painting. Madrid, Private Collection.

Copyright akg-images/Joseph Martin/Newscom

Gramática

OBJECTIVES
- Talk, read, and write about where you and others go
- Exchange information about where to go to do leisure activities

¿Recuerdas?
You have used the infinitive *ir* to talk about going to school.
- Me gusta **ir** a la escuela.

The verb *ir*

To say where someone is going, use the verb *ir*. Here are its present-tense forms:

(yo)	voy	(nosotros) (nosotras)	vamos
(tú)	vas	(vosotros) (vosotras)	vais
Ud. (él) (ella)	va	Uds. (ellos) (ellas)	van

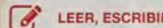
The verb *ir* is almost always followed by *a*. To ask where someone is going, use *¿Adónde?*

¿Adónde vas? **Where** are you going (to)?

- You will often hear people say *¡Vamos!* This means, "Let's go!"

Más recursos ONLINE
- GramActiva Video
- Animated Verbs
- Canción de hip hop: *¿Adónde vas?*
- GramActiva Activity

11 Un invierno en Chile



LEER, ESCRIBIR

1 María, una estudiante de Chicago, Illinois, pasa un año en Santiago, Chile, con una familia chilena. Lee el email y escribe las formas apropiadas del verbo *ir*.

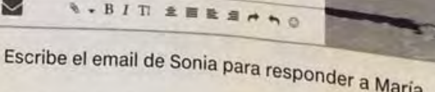
Para sonia@email.net

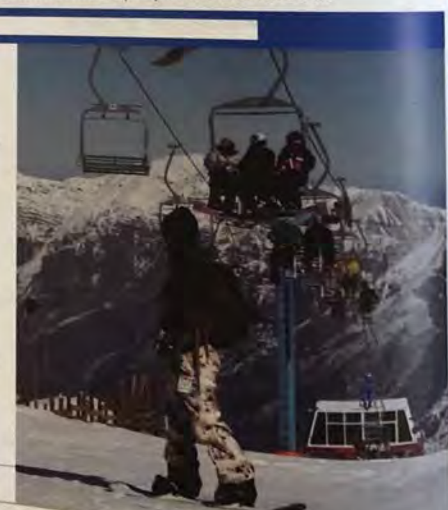
Querida Sonia:

¿Cómo estás? Yo, bien. Generalmente paso tiempo en casa los fines de semana, pero a veces yo __1.__ a Portillo con la familia para esquiar. Hace mucho frío allí y por eso mi "mamá" chilena no __2.__ siempre con nosotros. En Portillo hay una escuela para los esquiadores y muchos chicos simpáticos __3.__ a las lecciones. También hay un cibercafé con computadoras. Muchas personas __4.__ allí para pasar tiempo con los amigos. Nosotros __5.__ el domingo. Y tú, ¿ __6.__ a la playa todos los días con tus amigos?

Hasta luego,

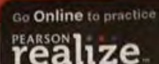
María





Portillo, Chile

2 Escribe el email de Sonia para responder a María.



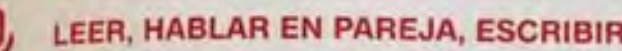
VIDEO WRITING SPEAK/RECORD

12 El email

LEER, ESCRIBIR, HABLAR Lee el email de María en la Actividad 11 y contesta las preguntas.

1. ¿Quién no va a veces con la familia a Portillo?
2. ¿Por qué a María le gusta ir a las lecciones de esquí?
3. ¿Adónde van para usar las computadoras?
4. ¿Cuándo van al cibercafé?
5. ¿Adónde van muchas personas para pasar tiempo con los amigos?

13 ¿Adónde van todos?



LEER, HABLAR EN PAREJA, ESCRIBIR

1 Read the sentence and determine who does the activity. Using the correct form of *ir*, ask where they go to do the activity. Your partner will answer with the most logical place.

Videomodelo

A —Te gusta esquiar. *(tú) ¿Adónde vas?*
B —*Voy a las montañas para esquiar.*

1. Te gusta levantar pesas.
2. Tú y tu amigo corren mucho.
3. Tus amigos y tú ven muchas películas.
4. A tu amigo le gusta comer bistec.
5. Tus amigas nadan muy bien.
6. Tus amigos hacen ejercicio todos los días.

2 Now write four sentences about yourself and your friends, saying where you go and for what purpose.

Modelo

Vamos a . . . para . . .

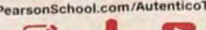
CULTURA El mundo hispano

Los clubes de deportes y los gimnasios son muy populares en los países hispanos. Hay pocos equipos deportivos[1] en las escuelas y muchos estudiantes van a gimnasios privados para hacer ejercicio. También practican deportes en equipos privados.

Pre-AP® Integration: Los intereses personales ¿Adónde vas para practicar deportes o hacer ejercicio? ¿Es privado o público?

[1]sport teams [2]daily

Go Online to practice PEARSON realize. PearsonSchool.com/AutenticoTX



Pronunciación Stress and accents

How can you tell which syllable to stress, or emphasize, when you see words written in Spanish? Here are some general rules.

1. **When words end in a vowel, *n*, or *s*,** place the stress on the **next-to-last syllable.** Copy each of these words and draw a line under the next-to-last syllable. Then listen to and say these words, making sure you stress the underlined syllable:

centro	pasteles	piscina
computadora	trabajo	parque
mantequilla	escriben	generalmente

2. **When words end in a consonant (except *n* or *s*),** place the stress on the **last syllable.** Listen to and say these words, making sure you stress the last syllable:

señor	nariz	escribir
profesor	reloj	arroz
trabajador	comer	español

3. **When a word has a written accent,** place the stress on the **accented syllable.** One reason for written accents is to indicate exceptions to the first two rules. Listen to and say these words. Be sure to emphasize the accented syllable.

café	número	teléfono
difícil	película	lápiz
fácil	plátano	artístico

Try it out! Listen to the first verse of the song "La Bamba" and say each word with the stress on the correct syllable. Then listen to the recording again and see if you can sing along with the first verse. What do you think the song is about? Why?

La Bamba *de Richie Valens*

Para bailar la bamba, para bailar la bamba
se necesita una poca de gracia,
una poca de gracia y otra cosita
y arriba y arriba,
y arriba y arriba y arriba iré.
Yo no soy marinero, yo no soy marinero,
por ti seré, por ti seré, por ti seré.

CULTURA El mundo hispano

La Bamba es una canción folk mexicana del estado de Veracruz. La primera versión famosa es de Richie Valens, que fusiona[1] la canción tradicional con el *rock and roll*. Combina elementos musicales españoles, indígenas y africanos. Salió en una película llamada también La Bamba en 1987. Es una canción conocida[2] en todo el mundo y es muy importante en la historia del *rock and roll* en español.

- Según la historia de La Bamba, ¿son importantes las tradiciones folclóricas en la música mexicana? ¿Por qué?

[1]fuses [2]any

Gramática

OBJECTIVES
- Write and answer questions about leisure activities
- Exchange information about where you and others go in your free time
- Read and write about places in San Juan, Puerto Rico

Asking questions

You use interrogative words (*who, what, where,* and so on) to ask questions.

¿Qué?	*What?*
¿Cómo?	*How?, What?*
¿Quién?	*Who?*
¿Con quién?	*With whom?*
¿Dónde?	*Where?*
¿Cuántos, -as?	*How many?*
¿Adónde?	*(To) Where?*
¿De dónde?	*From where?*
¿Cuál?	*Which?, What?*
¿Por qué?	*Why?*
¿Cuándo?	*When?*

In Spanish, when you ask a question with an interrogative word you put the verb before the subject.

¿Qué **come Elena** en el restaurante? — *What **does Elena eat** at the restaurant?*
¿Adónde **van Uds.** después de las clases? — *Where **do you go** after classes?*
¿Por qué **va Ignacio** a la playa todos los días? — *Why **does Ignacio go** to the beach every day?*

You have already used several interrogative words. Notice that all interrogative words have a written accent mark.

For simple questions that can be answered by *sí* or *no*, you can indicate with your voice that you're asking a question:

¿Ana va a la biblioteca?
OR: **¿Va Ana** a la biblioteca?
OR: Ana va a la biblioteca, **¿verdad?**

Más recursos ONLINE
- *GramActiva* Video
- **Tutorials:** Questions with Interrogative Words, Question-word Questions, Formation of yes-no questions
- *GramActiva* Activity

15 Preguntas revueltas

LEER, ESCRIBIR EN PAREJA Exchange written messages with a classmate to ask and answer questions about everyday life. First unscramble the questions. Then write them in the correct order and send them to a classmate to answer. Your classmate should send you responses and ask you similar questions.

1. ¿ / eres / de dónde / tú / ?
2. ¿ / Uds. / adónde / van / los fines de semana / ?
3. ¿ / al centro comercial / cuándo / van / Uds. / ?
4. ¿ / clases / tienes / cuántas / ?
5. ¿ / tú / qué / después de las clases / haces / ?
6. ¿ / vas / tú / con quién / al centro comercial / ?