PERIOD 8: 1945–1980

Chapter 26 Truman and the Cold War, 1945-1952

Chapter 27 The Eisenhower Years, 1952–1960

Chapter 28 Promise and Turmoil, The 1960s

Chapter 29 Limits of a Superpower, 1969–1980

In 1945, the United States emerged from World War II with the world's largest and strongest economy. Despite fears of a return to an economic depression, Americans were happy to get back to civilian life. What no one could predict was how the fall of colonial empires, the spread of Communism, and changes in the global economy would impact American lives in the future.

Overview At home, Americans enjoyed a robust economic growth through the 1960s with little competition, as the rest of world's economies recovered from the war. Democrats, expanding on the New Deal, enacted major domestic programs, such as Medicare, aid to education, and civil rights for African Americans and women. The Cold War against Communist governments dominated U.S. foreign policy. While the threat of the use of nuclear weapons kept the great powers from attacking each other, limited "hot" wars in Korea and Vietnam cost America more than 100,000 lives. By the late 1960s, frustration over the Vietnam War, and opposition to liberal domestic programs, such as civil rights, and increased civil unrest weakened the Democratic majority, which slowly gave way during the 1970s to a conservative resurgence in 1980.

Alternate View Historians debate when postwar prosperity and optimism gave way to pessimism and a declining standard of living for many Americans. Some identify 1968, a year of assassinations, riots, and intense conflict over the Vietnam War as a starting point. Others point to the mid-1970s, when wage growth stagnated for many average Americans.

Key Concepts

8.1: The United States responded to an uncertain and unstable postwar world by asserting and attempting to defend a position of global leadership, with far-reaching domestic and international consequences.

8.2: Liberalism, based on anticommunism abroad and a firm belief in the efficacy of governmental and especially federal power to achieve social goals at home, reached its apex in the mid-1960s and generated a variety of political and cultural responses.

8.3: Postwar economic, demographic, and technological changes had a far-reaching impact on American society, politics, and the environment.

Source: AP United States History Curriculum Framework 2014-2015

TRUM THE C(194!

Communism holds that the wor classes that war is inevitable. can settle differences just.

World War II dramatically change country into a military superpower an most of the Americans at home and the vice wished to return to normal dome: economy. However, during the Truman the Communist Soviet Union and the known as the Cold War—dampened the

Postwar America

The 15 million American soldiers, sailo 1945 and 1946 faced the problem of fir the end of the war might mean the retifears were not realized because the war of Americans. Much of that income wa wartime shortages meant there had been sumer demand for autos and housing coprojects quickly overcame the economic an era of unprecedented prosperity and cans enjoyed the highest standard of livi

GI Bill—Help for Veterans

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of Rights, proved a powerful support during a peacetime economy. More than half the in uniform were called) seized the oppositione their education at government experiment

TRUMAN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945–1952

Jamen noism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing Jasses that war is inevitable. Democracy holds that free nations an settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

> President Harry School 1949 Français Address, Tambary 26, 1949

World War II dramatically changed the United States from an isolationist country into a military superpower and a leader in world affairs. After the war, most of the Americans at home and the millions coming back from military service wished to return to normal domestic life and enjoy the revitalized national economy. However, during the Truman presidency, the growing conflict between the Communist Soviet Union and the United States—a conflict that came to be known as the Cold War—dampened the nation's enjoyment of the postwar boom.

Postwar America

The 15 million American soldiers, sailors, and marines returning to civilian life in 1945 and 1946 faced the problem of finding jobs and housing. Many feared that the end of the war might mean the return of economic hard times. Happily, the fears were not realized because the war years had increased the per-capita income of Americans. Much of that income was tucked away in savings accounts, since wartime shortages meant there had been few consumer goods to buy. Pent-up consumer demand for autos and housing combined with government road-building projects quickly overcame the economic uncertainty after the war and introduced an era of unprecedented prosperity and economic growth. By the 1950s, Americans enjoyed the highest standard of living achieved by any society in history.

GI Bill—Help for Veterans

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill of Rights, proved a powerful support during the transition of 15 million veterans to a peacetime economy. More than half the returning GIs (as the men and women in uniform were called) seized the opportunity afforded by the GI Bill to continue their education at government expense. Over 2 million GIs attended college.

TROMAN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945-1952 557

which started a postwar boom in higher education. The veterans also over \$16 billion in low-interest, government-backed loans to buy home farms and to start businesses. By focusing on a better educated workfor also promoting new construction, the federal government stimulated war economic expansion.

Baby Boom

One sign of the basic confidence of the postwar era was an explosion riages and births. Younger marriages and larger families resulted in 50 babies entering the U.S. population between 1945 and 1960. As the baby generation gradually passed from childhood to adolescence to adult profoundly affected the nation's social institutions and economic life last half of the 20th century. Initially, the baby boom tended to focus wattention on raising children and homemaking. Nevertheless, the trend women in the workplace continued. By 1960, one-third of all married worked outside the home.

Suburban Growth

The high demand for housing after the war resulted in a construction boom William J. Levitt led in the development of postwar suburbia with his building and promotion of Levittown, a project of 17,000 mass-produced, low-priced family homes on Long Island, New York. Low interest rates on mortgages that were both government-insured and tax deductible made the move from city to suburb affordable for even families of modest means. In a single generation, the majority of middle-class Americans became suburbanites. For many older inner cities, the effect of the mass movement to suburbia was disastrous. By the 1960s, cities from Boston to Los Angeles became increasingly poor and racially divided.

Rise of the Sunbelt

Uprooted by the war, millions of Americans made moving a habit in the postwar era. A warmer climate, lower taxes, and economic opportunities in defense-related industries attracted many GIs and their families to the Sunbelt states from Florida to California. By transferring tax dollars from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West, military spending during the Cold War helped finance the shift of industry, people, and ultimately political power from one region to the other.

Postwar Politics

Harry S. Truman, a moderate Democratic senator from Missouri, replaced the more liberal Henry Wallace as FDR's vice president in the 1944 election. Thrust into the presidency after Roesevelt's death in April 1945, Truman matured into a decisive leader whose basic honesty and unpretentious style appealed to average citizens. Truman attempted to continue in the New Deal tradition of his predecessor.

FCONOMIC Program and Civil Right

ruman's proposals for full employment as ran into opposition from conservative

Japan formally surrendered, Trumar ogressive measures, including nation minimum wage, and a bill to commit a employment. After much debate, the ownent bill was enacted as the Employment of Economic Advisers to counsel as of promoting national economic valued with the beginning of the Coldman's domestic program.

Inflation and Strikes Truman urged of wartime in order to hold inflation in oined with Republicans to relax the control tion. The result was an inflation rate of alrand a half of peace.

Workers and unions wanted wages to c Over 4.5 million workers went on strike in workers threatened the national safety. Trt challenge, seizing the mines and using sold United Mine Workers finally called off its

Civil Rights Truman was the first mobile office to challenge racial discrimination who controlled key committees in Congrepowers to establish the Committee on Civened the civil rights division of the Justice of black leaders to end segregation in schooled the end of racial discrimination including the armed forces. The end of so bases, many of which were in the South.

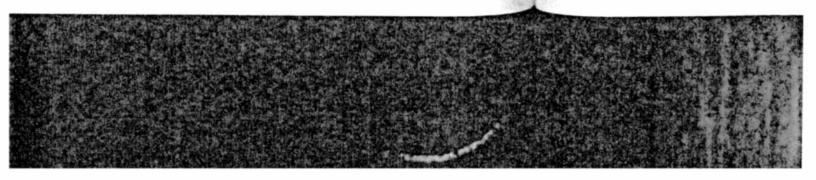
Recognizing the odds against passage nevertheless urged Congress to create a Fasion that would prevent employers from a African Americans. Southern Democrats b

Republican Control of the Eightiet

Unhappy with inflation and strikes, voters fall of 1946 when they elected Republicat gress. Under Republican control, the Eight tax cuts for upper-income Americans, but I successful were Republican efforts to amsome of the New Deal gains for labor.

558 U.S. HISTORY: PREPARING FOR THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT EXAM

TRUMA



geonomic Program and Civil Rights

's proposals for full employment and for civil rights for African Ameriran into opposition from conservatives in Congress.

Employment Act of 1946 In September 1945, during the same week Japan formally surrendered. Truman urged Congress to enact a series progressive measures, including national health insurance, an increase in be minimum wage, and a bill to commit the U.S. government to maintaining all employment. After much debate, the watered-down version of the fullemployment bill was enacted as the Employment Act of 1946. It created the council of Economic Advisers to counsel both the president and Congress on means of promoting national economic welfare. Over the next seven years, coalition between Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats. combined with the beginning of the Cold War, hindered passage of most of Truman's domestic program.

Inflation and Strikes Truman urged Congress to continue the price congols of wartime in order to hold inflation in check. Instead, southern Democrats joined with Republicans to relax the controls of the Office of Price Administration. The result was an inflation rate of almost 25 percent during the first year and a half of peace.

Workers and unions wanted wages to catch up after years of wage controls. Over 4.5 million workers went on strike in 1946. Strikes by railroad and mine workers threatened the national safety. Truman took a tough approach to this challenge, seizing the mines and using soldiers to keep them operating until the United Mine Workers finally called off its strike.

Civil Rights Truman was the first modern president to use the powers of his office to challenge racial discrimination. Bypassing southern Democrats who controlled key committees in Congress, the president used his executive powers to establish the Committee on Civil Rights in 1946. He also strengthened the civil rights division of the Justice Department, which aided the efforts of black leaders to end segregation in schools. Most importantly, in 1948 he ordered the end of racial discrimination throughout the federal government, including the armed forces. The end of segregation changed life on military bases, many of which were in the South.

Recognizing the odds against passage of civil rights legislation, Truman nevertheless urged Congress to create a Fair Employment Practices Commission that would prevent employers from discriminating against the hiring of African Americans. Southern Democrats blocked the legislation.

Republican Control of the Eightieth Congress

Unhappy with inflation and strikes, voters were in a conservative mood in the fall of 1946 when they elected Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. Under Republican control, the Eightieth Congress attempted to pass two tax cuts for upper-income Americans, but Truman vetoed both measures. More successful were Republican efforts to amend the Constitution and roll back some of the New Deal gains for labor.

TRUMAN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945-1952 559

Twenty-second Amendment (1951) Reacting against the election Roosevelt as president four times, the Republican-dominated Congress posed a constitutional amendment to limit a president to a maximum full terms in office. The 22nd Amendment was ratified by the states in 1951

Taft-Hartley Act (1947) In 1947, Congress passed the probusiness In Hartley Act. Truman vetoed the measure as a "slave-labor" bill, but Converred his veto. The one purpose of the Republican-sponsored law check the growing power of unions. Its provisions included

- outlawing the closed shop (contract requiring workers to join a union before being hired)
- permitting states to pass "right to work" laws outlawing the union (contract requiring workers to join a union *after* being hired)
- outlawing secondary boycotts (the practice of several unions supporting a striking union by joining a boycott of a company's products)
- giving the president the power to invoke an 80-day cooling-off period before a strike endangering the national safety could be called

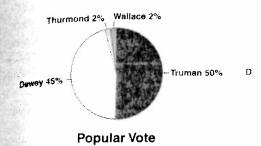
For years afterward, unions sought unsuccessfully to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The act became a major issue dividing Republicans and Democrats in the 1950s.

The Election of 1948

As measured by opinion polls, Truman's popularity was at a low point as the 1948 campaign for the presidency began. Republicans were confident of victory, especially after both a liberal faction and a conservative faction in the Democratic party abandoned Truman to organize their own third parties. Liberal Democrats, who thought Truman's aggressive foreign policy threatened world peace, formed a new Progressive party that nominated former vice president Henry Wallace. Southern Democrats also bolted the party in reaction to Truman's support for civil rights. Their States' Rights party, better known as the Dixiecrats, chose Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as its presidential candidate.

The Republicans once again nominated New York Governor Thomas I. Dewey, who looked so much like a winner from the outset that he conducted an overly cautious and unexciting campaign. Meanwhile, the man without a chance toured the nation by rail, attacking the "do-nothing" Republican Eighteeth Congress with "give-'em-hell" speeches. The feisty Truman confounded the polling experts with a decisive victory over Dewey, winning the popular vote by 2 million votes and winning the electoral vote 303 to 189. The president had succeeded in reuniting Roosevelt's New Deal coalition, except for four southern states that went to Thurmond and the Dixiecrats.

PRESIDENTIAL ELI



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Historical S. Colonial Times to 1970

The Fair Deal

Fresh from victory, Truman launched an arealled the *Fair Deal*. In 1949, he urged Coinsurance, federal aid to education, civil housing, and a new farm program. Conserve the proposed reforms, except for an increato 75 cents an hour) and the inclusion of m

Most of the Fair Deal bills were defeat political conflicts with Congress, and (2) the of the Cold War. Nevertheless, liberal defeates maintaining the New Deal reforms orights part of the liberal agenda.

Origins of the Cold War

The Cold War dominated international recollapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The crivalry between two superpowers: the Com and the leading Western democracy, the Ution usually was through diplomacy rather instances, the Cold War took the world dans

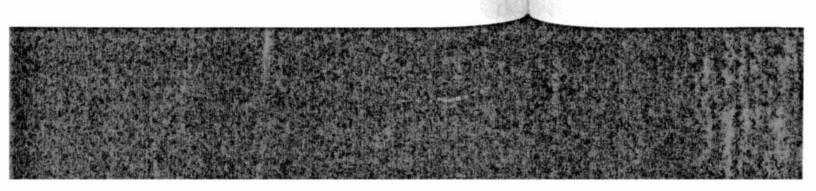
Among historians there is intense debat began. Many analysts see Truman's policies efforts to increase their influence in the w that Truman misunderstood and overreacted its borders. Other critics have attacked his "soft" on communism.

U.S.-Soviet Relations to 1945

The wartime alliance between the United S
the Axis powers was actually a temporary
tions of the past. Since the Bolshevik Revolu

 560° u.s. history: preparing for the advanced placement exam

TRUMAN





Source: 1 to Buttom of the Courses. Themselver Squares ever the Course Stages.

The Fair Deal

tresh from victory. Truman latinched an ambitious reform program, which he called the Fair Deal. In 1949, he urged Congress to enact national health care issuance, tederal and to education, civil rights tegislation, funds for public housing, and a new fram program. Conservatives in Congress blocked most of the proposed reforms, except for an increase in the minimum wage (from 40 to 75 cents an hour) and the inclusion of more workers under Social Security.

Most of the Fair Deal bills were defeated for two reasons: (1) Truman's political conflicts with Congress, and (2) the pressing foreign policy concerns of the Cold War. Nevertheless, liberal defenders of Truman praised him for at least manualing the New Deal reforms of his predecessor and making civil rights part of the liberal agenda.

Origins of the Cold War

The Cold War dominated international relations from the late 1940s to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The conflict centered around the intense malry between two superpowers; the Communist empire of the Soviet Union and the leading Western democracy, the United States. Superpower competition usually was through diplomacy rather than armed conflict, but, in several instances, the Cold War took the world dangerously close to a nuclear war.

Among historians there is intense debate over how and why the Cold War began. Many analysts see Truman's policies as a reasonable response to Soviet efforts to increase their influence in the world. However, some critics argue that framan misunderstood and overreacted to Russia's historic need to secure its borders. Other critics have attacked his administration as being weak or "soft" on communism.

U.S. Soviet Relations to 1945

The waitume alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union against the Axis powers was actually a temporary halt in their generally poor relations of the past. Since the Bolshevik Revolution that established a Communist government in Russia in 1917, Americans had viewed the Soviets as a threal capitalistic countries. In the United States, it led to the Red Scare of The United States refused to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. Even after a brief honeymoon period of less than a year, Roosevelt's advisculded that Joseph Stalin and the Communists could not be trusted. Contheir view was the notorious Nonaggression Pact of 1939, in which Stalin Hitler agreed to divide up Eastern Europe.

Allies in World War II In 1941, Hitler's surprise invasion of the Union and Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor led to a U.S.—Sovi ance of convenience—but not of mutual trust. Stalin bitterly complained the British and Americans waited until 1944 to open a second front in Because of this wait, the Soviets bore the brunt of fighting the Nazis. By estimates, half of all deaths in World War II were Soviets. The postwar flicts over Central and Eastern Europe were already evident in the negotiabetween Britain, the Soviet Union, and the U.S. at Yalta and Potsdam in 1980 Roosevelt hoped that personal diplomacy might keep Stalin in check, but Truman came to power, he quickly became suspicious of the Soviets.

Postwar Cooperation and the U.N. The founding of the United National in the fall of 1945 provided one hopeful sign for the future. The General Assolution by of the United Nations was created to provide representation to all membrations, while the 15-member Security Council was given the primary resibility within the U.N. for maintaining international security and authorized peacekeeping missions. The five major allies of wartime—the United State Great Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union—were granted permiseats and veto power in the U.N. Security Council. Optimists hoped that nations would be able to reach agreement on international issues. In addition the Soviets went along with a U.S. proposal to establish an Atomic English Commission in the United Nations. They rejected, however, a plan proposal by Bernard Baruch for regulating nuclear energy and eliminating atomic was ons. Rejection of the Baruch Plan was interpreted by some American leaders a proof that Moscow did not have peaceful intentions.

The United States also offered the Soviets participation in the new International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) created at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The bank's initial purpose was to fund rebuilding of a war-torn world. The Soviets, however, declined to participate because they viewed the bank as an instrument of capitalism. The Soviets did join the other Allies in the 1945–1946 Nuremberg trials of 22 top Nazi leaders for war crimes and violations of human rights.

Satellite States in Eastern Europe Distrust turned into hostility beginning in 1946, as Soviet forces remained in occupation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Elections were held by the Soviets—as promised by Salin at Yalta—but the results were manipulated in favor of Communist candidates. One by one, from 1946 to 1948, Communist dictators, most of them loyal of Moscow, came to power in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Apologists for the Soviets argued that Russia needed out to

or satellites (nations under the conanother Hitler-like invasion from the U.S. and British governments we Europe. They regarded Soviet actiondetermination, genuine democracy wanted free elections in Poland, we started World War II.

occupation Zones in Germany At 1 and Austria into Soviet, French, Brit meant to be only temporary. In Germany, I occupation gradually evolved into a new eratic Republic. The conflict over German differing views of national security and exeak Germany for security reasons and lasons. The United States and Great Britain are zones because both viewed the eccupation of the stability of Central Europe. The rightened their control over East German zone, they attempted to force the American assigned sectors of the city.

Iron Curtain "I'm tired of babying t State James Byrnes in January 1946. News secrets for the Soviets and continued Sovi encouraged a get-tough policy in Washingt

In March 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, platform as former British Prime Minister curtain has descended across the continent was later used throughout the Cold War to Eastern Europe. Churchill's "iron curtain" s Western democracies to halt the expansion pate the Cold War—or help to cause it? His

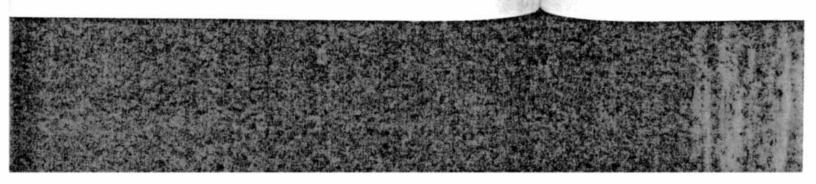
Containment in Europe

Early in 1947, Truman adopted the advice "contain" Soviet aggression. His containm foreign policy for decades, was formulate George Marshall; the undersecretary of st Soviet affairs, George F. Kennan. In an influently "a long-term, patient but firm and vigitendencies" would eventually cause the Sovelogy of world domination and live in peace

Did the containment policy attempt to argued that it did was journalist Walter Lipp War." Lippmann argued that some areas water merely peripheral; some governments.

562 U.S. HISTORY: PREPARING FOR THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT EXAM

TRUM



satellites (nations under the control of a great power), as a protection other Hitler-like invasion from the West.

U.S. and British governments were alarmed by the Soviet takeover of prope. They regarded Soviet actions in this region as a flagrant violation emination, genuine democracy, and open markets. The British espended free elections in Poland, whose independence had been the issue World War II.

Austria into Soviet, French. British, and U.S. zones of occupation was to be only temporary. In Germany, however, the eastern zone under Soviet in gradually evolved into a new Communist state, the German Demo-Republic. The conflict over Germany was at least in part a conflict over views of national security and economic needs. The Soviets wanted a Germany for security reasons and large war reparations for economic reathe United States and Great Britain refused to allow reparations from their zones because both viewed the economic recovery of Germany as importo the stability of Central Europe. The Soviets, fearing a restored Germany, their control over East Germany. Also, since Berlin lay within their they attempted to force the Americans, British, and French to give up their desectors of the city.

Iron Curtain "I'm tired of babying the Soviets," Truman told Secretary of James Byrnes in January 1946. News of a Canadian spy ring stealing atomic states for the Soviets and continued Soviet occupation of northern Iran further curaged a get-tough policy in Washington.

In March 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, Truman was present on the speaker's platorm as former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared: "An iron curtain has descended across the continent" of Europe. The iron curtain metaphor was later used throughout the Cold War to refer to the Soviet satellite states of latern Europe. Churchill's "iron curtain" speech called for a partnership between western democracies to halt the expansion of communism. Did the speech anticitate the Cold War—or help to cause it? Historians still debate this question.

Containment in Europe

Early in 1947, Truman adopted the advice of three top advisers in deciding to "contain" Soviet aggression. His containment policy, which was to govern U.S. foreign policy for decades, was formulated by the secretary of state, General George Marshall; the undersecretary of state, Dean Acheson; and an expert on Soviet affairs, George F. Kennan. In an influential article, Kennan had written that only "a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies" would eventually cause the Soviets to back off their Communist idealogy of world domination and live in peace with other nations.

Did the containment policy attempt to do too much? Among the critics who argued that it did was journalist Walter Lippmann, who had coined the term "Cold War." Lippmann argued that some areas were vital to U.S. security, while others were merely peripheral; some governments deserved U.S. support, but others did

not. American leaders, however, had learned the lesson of Munich (when leader had given into demands by Hitler for land in 1938) and appearement well and that Communist aggression, wherever it occurred, must be challenged.

The Truman Doctrine

Truman first implemented the containment policy in response to two the (1) a Communist-led uprising against the government in Greece, and (2) so demands for some control of a water route in Turkey, the Dardanelles. In became known as the Truman Doctrine, the president asked Congress in March 1947 for \$400 million in economic and military aid to assist the "free people of Greece and Turkey against "totalitarian" regimes. While Truman's alams speech may have oversimplified the situation in Greece and Turkey, it shipartisan support from Republicans and Democrats in Congress.

The Marshall Plan

After the war, Europe lay in ruins, short of food and deep in debt. The hard winter of 1946–1947 further demoralized Europeans, who had already suffered through years of depression and war. Discontent encouraged the growth of the Communist party, especially in France and Italy. The Truman administration feared that the western democracies might vote the Communists into power.

In June 1947, George Marshall outlined an extensive program of U.S. conomic aid to help European nations revive their economies and strengthen democratic governments. In December, Truman submitted to Congress a \$17 billion European Recovery Program, better known as the Marshall Plan. In 1948 \$12 billion in aid was approved for distribution to the countries of Western European a four-year period. The United States offered Marshall Plan aid to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, but the Soviets refused it, fearing that it would lead to dependence on the United States.

Effects The Marshall Plan worked exactly as Marshall and Truman had hoped. The massive infusion of U.S. dollars helped Western Europe achieve self-sustaining growth by the 1950s and ended any real threat of Communist political successes in that region. It also bolstered U.S. prosperity by greatly increasing U.S. exports to Europe. At the same time, however, it deepened the rift between the non-Communist West and the Communist East.

The Berlin Airlift

A major crisis of the Cold War focused on Berlin. In June 1948, the Soviets cut off all access by land to the German city. Truman dismissed any plans to withdraw from Berlin, but he also rejected using force to open up the roads through the Soviet-controlled eastern zone. Instead, he ordered U.S. planes to fly in supplies to the people of West Berlin. Day after day, week after week, the massiv airlift continued. At the same time, Truman sent 60 bombers capable of carrying atomic bombs to bases in England. The world waited nervously for the outbreak of war, but Stalin decided not to challenge the airlift. (Truman's stand on Berlin was partly responsible for his victory in the 1948 election.)

By May 1949, the Soviets finally openinging their 11-month blockade to an effithe Berlin crisis was the creation of two many (West Germany, a U.S. ally) at East Germany, a Soviet satellite).

NATO and National Security

Ever since Washington's farewell address of permanent alliances with European nation in 1949 by recommending that the Unite to protect Western Europe. The Senate remaions joined the United States and Carreaty Organization (NATO), a military from outside attack. Truman selected Caupreme Commander and stationed U.S. rent against a Soviet invasion. Thus, the buildup and major commitments abroad, by forming the Warsaw Pact, a military al nist states of Eastern Europe.

EUROPE AFTER WORLD W



564 U.S. HISTORY: PREPARING FOR THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT EXAM

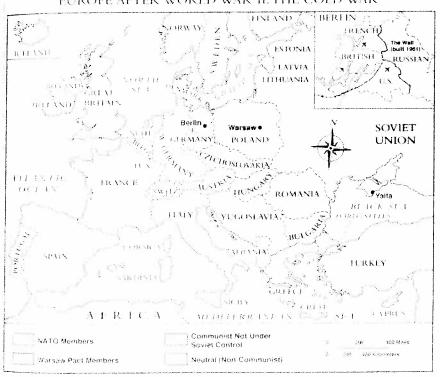
TRUM

By May 1949, the Soviets finally opened up the highways to Berlin, thus ringing their 11-month blockade to an end. A major long-term consequence of the Berlin crisis was the creation of two Germanies: the Federal Republic of Fermany (West Germany, a U.S. ally) and the German Democratic Republic East Germany, a Soviet satellite).

IATO and National Security

Aer since Washington's farewell address of 1796, the United States had avoided ermanent affiances with European nations. Truman broke with this tradition 1949 by recommending that the United States join a military defense pact aprotect Western Europe. The Senate readily gave its consent. Ten European ations joined the United States and Canada in creating the North Atlantic reaty Organization (NAFO), a military affiance for defending all members om outside attack. Truman selected General Eisenhower as NATO's first upreme Commander and stationed U.S. troops in Western Europe as a determit against a Soviet invasion. Thus, the containment policy led to a military uildup and major commitments abroad. The Soviet Union countered in 1955 y forming the Warsaw Pact, a military affiance for the defense of the Commulist states of Eastern Europe.

EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II: THE COLD WAR



National Security Act (1947) The United States had beging its military capability in 1947 by passing the National Security for (1) a centralized Department of Defense (replacing the Worth to coordinate the operations of the army, navy, and air force; (1) of the National Security Council (NSC) to coordinate the malipolicy in the Cold War; and (3) the creation of the Central Intelligible (CIA) to employ spies to gather information on foreign governments the Selective Service System and a peacetime draft were instituted.

Atomic Weapons After the Berlin crisis, teams of scientist in Soviet Union and the United States were engaged in an intense or arms race—to develop superior weapons systems. For a period years (1945–1949), the United States was the only nation to have bomb. It also developed in this period a new generation of long-for delivering nuclear weapons.

The Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in the fall of 1949. The approved the development of a bomb a thousand times more the A-bomb that had destroyed Hiroshima. In 1952, this hydrogen H-bomb) was added to the U.S. arsenal. Earlier, in 1950, the National Council had recommended, in a secret report known as NSC-68, lowing measures were necessary for fighting the Cold War:

- quadruple U.S. government defense spending to 20 percent of GNP
- · form alliances with non-Communist countries around the world
- convince the American public that a costly arms buildup was imperated for the nation's defense

Evaluating U.S. Policy Critics of NATO and the defense buildup argued that the Truman administration intensified Russian fears and sundamnecessary arms race. Regardless, NATO became one of the most successful military alliances in history. In combination with the deterrent power nuclear weapons, NATO effectively checked Soviet expansion in Europe at thereby maintained an uneasy peace until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

Cold War in Asia

The successful containment policy in Europe could not be duplicated in Association Following World War II, the old imperialist system in India and Southeast crumbled, as former colonies became new nations. Because these nations different cultural and political traditions and bitter memories of Western visiting in the presisted U.S. influence. Ironically, the Asian nation that most closely tied to the U.S. defense system was its former enemy, Japan

Japan

Unlike Germany, Japan was solely under the control of the United States Geral Douglas MacArthur took firm charge of the reconstruction of Japan States

nerals, including Premier Hideki Tog Inder MacArthur's guidance, the ne a parliamentary democracy. It retain a of state, but the emperor gave up also renounced war as an instrumenited military capability. As a result, of the United States.

apanese Security Treaties With the ndered its claims to Korea and island formal occupation of Japan. One to remain in military bases in Japa mal enemies, particularly Commun. red under the American shield.

the Philippines and the Pacific

1946, in accordance with the act passes became an independent republic, naval and air bases there throughout the United Nations trustee island began to make the Pacific Ocean look

China

coming to power in the late 1920s, Chian command of the Nationalist, or Kuo central government. During World War I military aid to Chiang to prevent all comman. As soon as the war ended, a civil newed between Chiang's Nationalists Mao Zedong. The Nationalists were lobecause of runaway inflation and wides and Communists successfully appealed to

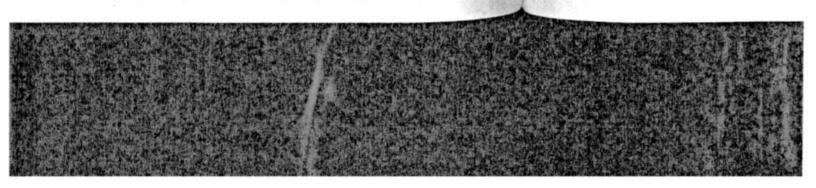
U.S. Policy The Truman administration se to negotiate an end to the civil war, but his By 1947, Chiang's armies were in retudo, after ruling out a large-scale America Congress voted to give the Nationalist government of the U.S. military supplies ended unption and the collapse of the Nationalis

Two Chinas By the end of 1949, all of macommunists. Chiang and the Nationalists I Japanese rule, Formosa (Taiwan). From legitimate government for all of China. Chiang and refused to recognize Mao Z

Chiang and refused to recognize Mao Z s Republic of China) until 30 years later.

566 U.S. HISTORY: PREPARING FOR THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT EXAM

TRUMAN AND



Japanese generals, including Premier Hideki Tojo, were tried for war crimes and executed. Under MacArthur's guidance, the new constitution adopted in May july set up a parliamentary democracy. It retained Emperor Hirohito as the ceremonal head of state, but the emperor gave up his claims to divinity. The new constitution also renounced war as an instrument of national poticy and provided for only limited military capability. As a result, Japan depended on the military protection of the United States.

L.S.-Japanese Security Treaties. With the signing of two treaties in 1951, Japan surrendered its claims to Korea and islands in the Pacific, and the United states ended formal occupation of Japan. One of the treaties also provided for U.S. troops to remain in military bases in Japan for that country's protection against external enemies, particularly Communists, Japan became a strong ally and prospered under the American shield.

The Philippines and the Pacific

on July 4, 1946, in accordance with the act passed by Congress in 1934, the philippines became an independent republic, but the United States retained apportant naval and air bases there throughout the Cold War. This, together with U.S. control of the United Nations trustee islands taken from Japan at the end of the war, began to make the Pacific Ocean look like an American lake.

China

17e

ed

11)

On

111

Since coming to power in the late 1920s. Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jie-shi) had used his command of the Nationalist, or Kuomintang, party to control China's central government. During World War II, the United States had given massive military aid to Chiang to prevent all of China from being conquered by Japan. As soon as the war ended, a civil war dating back to the 1930s was renewed between Chiang's Nationalists and the Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong. The Nationalists were losing the loyalty of millions of Chinese because of runaway inflation and widespread corruption, while the well-organized Communists successfully appealed to the poor landless peasants.

U.S. Policy The Truman administration sent George Marshall in 1946 to China to negotiate an end to the civil war, but his compromise fell apart in a few months. By 1947, Chiang's armies were in retreat. Truman seemed unsure of what to do, after ruling out a large-scale American invasion to rescue Chiang. In 1948, Congress voted to give the Nationalist government \$400 million in aid, but 80 percent of the U.S. military supplies ended up in Communist hands because of corruption and the collapse of the Nationalist armies.

Two Chinas By the end of 1949, all of mainland China was controlled by the Communists. Chiang and the Nationalists had retreated to an island once under Japanese rule. Formosa (Tarwan). From there, Chrang still claimed to be the legitimate government for all of China. The United States continued to support Chiang and refused to recognize Mao Zedong's regime in Beijing (the People's Republic of China) until 30 years later, in 1979.

In the United States, Republicans blamed the Democrats for the China" to the Communists. In 1950, the two Communist dictators, State Mao, signed a Sino-Soviet pact, which seemed to provide further worldwide Communist conspiracy.

The Korean War

After the defeat of Japan, its former colony Korea was divided along parallel by the victors. Soviet armies occupied Korean territory normaline, while U.S. forces occupied territory to the south. By 1949 both were withdrawn, leaving the North in the hands of the Communication of the South under the conservative nationalist Syngman.

Invasion On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army surprised the possibly even Moscow, by invading South Korea. Truman took ate action, applying his containment policy to this latest crisis in called for a special session of the U.N. Security Council. Taking of a temporary boycott by the Soviet delegation, the Security Council U.S. leadership authorized a U.N. force to defend South Korea again invaders. Although other nations participated in this force, U.S. troops up most of the U.N. forces sent to help the South Korean army. Communication was General Douglas MacArthur. Congress supported the U.S. troops in the Korean crisis but failed to declare war, accepting Truma characterization of U.S. intervention as merely a "police action."

Counterattack At first the war in Korea went badly, as the North Korean ans pushed the combined South Korean and American forces to the tip peninsula. However, General MacArthur reversed the war with a brilliant amphibious assault at Inchon behind the North Korean lines. U.N. forces the proceeded to destroy much of the North Korean army, advancing northward almost as far as the Chinese border. MacArthur failed to heed China's warning that it would resist threats to its security. In November 1950, masses of Chinese troops crossed the border into Korea, overwhelmed U.N. forces in one of the worst defeats in U.S. military history, and drove them out of North Korea.

Truman Versus MacArthur MacArthur stabilized the fighting near that 38th parallel. At the same time, he called for expanding the war, including bombing and invading mainland China. As commander in chief, Truman cautioned MacArthur about making public statements that suggested criticism of official U.S. policy. The general spoke out anyway. In April 1951, Truman, with the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recalled MacArthur for insubordinators.

MacArthur returned home as a hero. Most Americans understood his statement, "There is no substitute for victory," better than the president's containment policy and concept of "limited war." Critics attacked Truman and be Democrats as appearers for not trying to destroy communism in Asia.

Armistice In Korea, the war was stalemated along a front just north the 38th parallel. At Panmunjom, peace talks began in July 1951. The police action dragged on for another two years, however, until an armistice was finally

MANCHURIA

MANCHURIA

CHINA

NORTH

KOREA

Pyongyang

Seouli
Inchon

YELLOW

SEA

gened in 1953 during the first year of Eisenho million people died in the Korean conflict, i

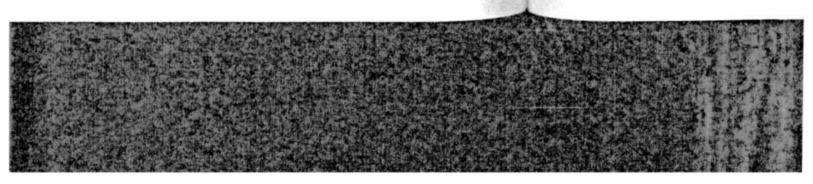
Political Consequences From the perspectold War, Truman's containment policy in Kassaggression without allowing the conflict Truman administration used the Korean War expanding the military, funding a new jet bo more U.S. troops in overseas bases.

However, Republicans were far from satis the loss of China led Republicans to characte as "soft on communism." They attacked lea "Dean Acheson's Cowardly College of Com-Acheson had replaced George Marshall as sec

The Second Red Scare

Just as a Red Scare had followed U.S. victor Scare followed U.S. victory in World War I

TRUMAN A



THE KOREAN WAR



signed in 1953 during the first year of Eisenhower's presidency. More than 2.5 million people died in the Korean conflict, including 54,000 Americans.

Political Consequences From the perspective of the grand strategy of the cold War, Truman's containment policy in Korea worked. It stopped Communist aggression without allowing the conflict to develop into a world war. The Truman administration used the Korean War as justification for dramatically expanding the military, funding a new jet bomber (the B-52), and stationing more U.S. troops in overseas bases.

However, Republicans were far from satisfied. The stalemate in Korea and the loss of China led Republicans to characterize Truman and the Democrats as "soft on communism." They attacked leading Democrats as members of Dean Acheson's Cowardly College of Communist Containment." (In 1949, Acheson had replaced George Marshall as secretary of state.)

The Second Red Scare

Just as a Red Scare had followed U.S. victory in World War I, a second Red Scare followed U.S. victory in World War II. The Truman administration's

TRUMAN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945-1952 569

tendency to see a Communist conspiracy behind civil wars in Europe and contributed to the belief that Communist conspirators and spies had in the American society, including the U.S. State Department and the U.S. minutes

Security and Civil Rights

In 1947, the Truman administration—under pressure from Republicates—set up a Loyalty Review Board to investigate the background than 3 million federal employees. Thousands of officials and civil employees either resigned or lost their jobs in a probe that went on for its years (1947–1951).

Prosecutions Under the Smith Act In addition, the leaders of the American Communist party were jailed for advocating the overthrow of the government. In the case of *Dennis et al. v. United States* (1951), the Supercourt upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act of 1940, which made it gal to advocate or teach the overthrow of the government by force or to believe an organization with this objective.

McCarran Internal Security Act (1950) Over Truman's veto, Conference passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, which (1) made it unlawful to cate or support the establishment of a totalitarian government, (2) restricted memployment and travel of those joining Communist-front organizations, and (3) authorized the creation of detention camps for subversives.

Un-American Activities In the House of Representatives, the Unservican Activities Committee (HUAC), originally established in 1930 seek out Nazis, was reactivated in the postwar years to find Communists. In committee not only investigated government officials but also looked for Communist influence in such organizations as the Boy Scouts and in the Hollywood film industry. Actors, directors, and writers were called before the committee to testify. Those who refused to testify were tried for contempt of Congress Others were blacklisted from the industry.

Cultural Impact The Second Red Scare had a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Creators of the gritty crime dramas in the film noir style, and playwrights, such as Arthur Miller (Death of a Salesman, 1949) came undattacks as anti-American. Rodgers and Hammerstein's musical, South Pacific (1949), was criticized, especially by southern politicians, as a communistic assault on racial segregation. Loyalty oaths were commonly required of writers and teachers as a condition of employment. The American Civil Liberties Union and other opponents of these security measures argued that the 1st Amendment protected the free expression of unpopular political views and membership in political groups, including the Communist party.

Espionage Cases

The fear of a Communist conspiracy bent on world conquest was supported by a series of actual cases of Communist espionage in Great Britain, Canada, and

United States. The methods used to identify Communist spies, however, serious questions about whether the government was going too far and ming civil liberties in the process.

Hiss Case Whittaker Chambers, a confessed Communist, became a starness for the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948. His testinal along with the investigative work of a young member of Congress from official in the State Department who had assisted Roosevelt at the Yalta Conce. Hiss denied the accusations that he was a Communist and had given the documents to Chambers. In 1950, however, he was convicted of perjury sent to prison. Many Americans could not help wondering whether the highest levels of government were infiltrated by Communist spies.

Rosenberg Case When the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in 1949, many Americans were convinced that spies had helped them to steal the technology from the United States. Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist who had worked on the Manhattan Project, admitted giving A-bomb secrets to the Russians. An FBI investigation traced another spy ring to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in New York. After a controversial trial in 1951, the Rosenbergs were found guilty of treason and executed in 1953. Civil rights groups charged that anticommunist hysteria was responsible for the conviction and punishment of the Rosenbergs.

The Rise of Joseph McCarthy

Joseph McCarthy, a Republican senator from Wisconsin, used the growing concern over communism in his reelection campaign. In a speech in 1950, he charged that 205 Communists were still working for the State Department. This sensational accusation was widely publicized in the American press. McCarthy then rode the wave of anticommunist feelings to make himself one of the most powerful men in America. His power was based entirely on people's fear of the damage McCarthy could do if his accusing finger pointed their way.

McCarthy's Tactics Senator McCarthy used a steady stream of unsupported accusations about Communists in government to keep the media focus on himself and to discredit the Truman administration. Working-class Americans at first loved his "take the gloves off" hard-hitting remarks, which were often aimed at the wealthy and privileged in society. While many Republicans disliked McCarthy's ruthless tactics, he was primarily hurting the Democrats before the election of Eisenhower in 1952. He became so popular, however, that even President Eisenhower would not dare to defend his old friend, George Marshall, against McCarthy's untruths.

Army-McCarthy Hearings Finally, in 1954, McCarthy's "reckless cruelty" was exposed on television. A Senate committee held televised hearings on Communist infiltration in the army, and McCarthy was seen as a bully by millions of viewers. In December, Republicans joined Democrats in a Senate censure of McCarthy. The "witch hunt" for Communists (McCarthyism) had

Truman in Retirement

Fruman for "the mess in Washington." In time, however, even Truman's con-The second Red Scare, the stalemate in Korea, the loss of China, and dals surrounding several of Truman's advisers made his prospects of reelection unlikely. Truman decided to return to private life in Missouri—a move that he jokingly called his "promotion." In the election of 1952, Republicans blands came to respect his many tough decisions and admire his direct, frank change.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHO STARTED THE COLD WAR?

the conflict by subjugating the countries of Eastern Europe in the late 1940s. Historians who share this view criticize FDR for failing to undergins of the Cold War is that the Soviet government under Stalin started stand the Soviets' aggressive intentions and for the agreement at Yalla. The traditional view holds that the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and NATO finally checked Soviet expansion in Europe. The United States in the Cold War (as in both world wars) was viewed as the defender of Among U.S. historians, the traditional, or orthodox, view of the onthe "free world."

In the 1960s, during the time of public unhappiness over the Viet nam War, revisionist historians began to argue that the United States contributed to starting the Cold War. These historians praised Roosevell for understanding Russia's historical needs for security on its eastern borders. On the other hand, they blamed Truman for antagonizing the kans. Gar Alperovitz (The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb, 1995) sionists have also argued that U.S. capitalism's need for open markets Soviets with his blunt challenge of their actions in Poland and the Balconcluded that Truman had dropped atomic bombs on Japan primarily to warn Stalin to remove his troops from Eastern Europe. Other reviin Europe and Asia was the main reason for the U.S. government's anticommunist policies.

war. Gaddis concluded that the most important aspect of the Cold War In the 21st century, John L. Gaddis (The Cold War: A New Hisargued that the causes of the Cold War were rooted in the Big Three's failure "to reconcile divergent political objectives even as they pursued a common military task" during World War II. Gaddis suggested that objective observers would not have expected a different outcome given credits both Truman and Stalin for recognizing how atomic weapons tory, 2005), recognized by some as "the dean of Cold War historians," that great power rivalries are the normal pattern in history. However, he changed the context of war and making decisions that avoided a nuclear is what did not happen-a nuclear holocaust.

loseph McCarthy

McCarthyism

Rosenberg case

KEY TERMS BY THEME

(WOR)

U.S.-Japanese Security Activities Committee "soft on communism" Dennis et al. v. United freedom of expression Loyalty Review Board People's Republic of Security Act (1950) Hollywood blacklists Whittaker Chambers Douglas MacArthur House Un-American U.N. police action Cold War in Asia McCarran Internal Second Red Scare Chinese civil war Chiang Kai-shek Smith Act (1940) Syngman Rhee Mao Zedong 38th parallel (POL, CUL) Korean War Kim II Sung Alger Hiss Treaty China States in arts Faiwan Origins of the Cold War Containment in Europe nistorians: traditional-Communist satellites North Atlantic Treaty National Security Act ists vs. revisionists containment policy Occupation zones Winston Churchill Nuclear arms race Truman Doctrine Security Council United Nations George Kennan Organization Dean Acheson West Germany Joseph Stalin Marshall Plan East Germany Soviet Union ron Curtain World Bank Berlin airlift Cold War (¥OR) (WOR) postwar Society (WXT, servicemen's Readjust-Taft-Hartley Act (1947) Election of 1948 (POL) Council of Economic racial integration of ment Act (GI Bill) Employment Act of inflation and labor Committee on Civil States-Rights party J. Strom Thurmond suburban growth 22nd Amendment Progressive party early marriages **Thomas Dewey** Harry Truman Henry Wallace (Dixiecrats) baby boom Levittown Advisers military (1944)Sunbelt unions air Deal 1946

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1-3 refer to the excerpt below.

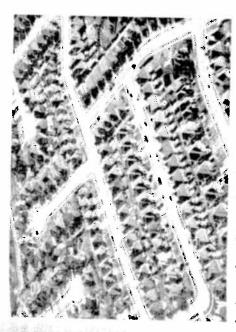
"It is clear that the main element of any United States policy towards.

Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant conformation of Russian expansive tendencies. . . . It is clear that the United States of Russian expansive tendencies. . . . It is clear that the United States of Expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a particle political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies on the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies and on abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility manent happy coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, unfluence and rival power."

-Mr. X (George F. Kennan), State Department professional Sources of Soviet Conduct," Foreign Affairs, July 10

- 1. Which one of the following best reflected the policies advocated in make above excerpt?
- (A) The proposal to miltarily roll back Communism in Eastern Europe
 - (B) General MacArthur's criticism of the concept of limited wars
 - C) The Truman Doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey
- (D) George Marshall's negotiations to end the Chinese civil war
- 2. In what way did the Marshall Plan best implement the goals of George Kennan?
- (A) It offered economic aid to eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
 - (B) It funded and organized the airlift of supplies to save Berlin
- (C) It reorganized all military services under the Department of Define
 - (D) It used U.S. aid to block the appeal of Communism in western Europe
- 3. To implement the policies based on this excerpt, the United States for the first time had to
- (A) create permanent peacetime alliances with other nations
 - (B) turn over the command of U.S. troops to foreign nations
- (C) employ spies to gather information on foreign governments
 - D) get involved in civil wars and nation building

Questions 4-5 refer to the photo below.



Levittown, Long Island, New York, c. 1948, photos.com

- Levittown is most closely association with which of the following?
 - (A) The baby boom that occurred after World War II
- (B) The mass production of affordable suburban housing
- (C) The impact of the G.I. Bill of Rights on economic development
- (D) The focus of women after World War II on full time homemaking
- Which of the following best explains the dramatic increase in personal ownership of homes after World War II?
- (A) American were marrying younger and having larger families
 - (B) Second incomes of married women helped to finance home purchases
- (C) Mortgages were at low rates, government-insured, and tax deductible
 - (D) Population was shifting to the Southern and Western states

Questions 6-8 refer to the excerpt below.

"Truman found saving the free world easier than governing America."

"By the time war broke out in Korea, the Fair Deal was over, Trumm has ing. Without a liberal majority in Congress there could not be much in the majority in Congress there could not be much in the majority in Congress there could not be much in the majority in Congress there could not be much in the majority in Congress the could not be much in the majority in Congress the could not be much in the majority in Congress the congress the congress that congress the con tried to accomplish too much with too little, ending up with practically nor

ship allowed to run rampant. Yet a recent history of the period 1945 1050 "Through the Truman years domestic politics was a thing of me patches, a time when problems were ignored, programs shelved, and purish called The Best Years because that is how they were remembered."

-William L. O'Neill, historian, American Historian

- Which of the following is an example of a Fair Deal reform that would best support the passage that "problems were ignored, programs shelved? ý.
- (A) Committee on Civil Rights
- (B) National health care insurance
- (C) Outlawing of closed shop
- (D) Two-term limit for the president
- Which of the following coalitions provided the strongest opposition in Truman's domestic programs? 7
 - (A) Republicans and Roosevelt Democrats
- (B) Antiwar Progressives and Republicans
- (C) Dixiecrats and the members of the Progressive party
 - Republicans and southern Democrats 9
- Which of the following most advanced liberal domestic policies during the Truman administration? ∞
- (A) The ratification of the 22nd Amendment
- (B) The executive order ending racial discrimination in the military
 - (C) The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act to outlaw closed shops
 - (D) The successful implementation of wage and price controls

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

netly answer the questions in complete sentences. A thesis is not required.

que non 1 is based on the excerpt below.

near on why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is ... because of matorious actions of those who have been treated so worl by this Nation. It not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been this N tion out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the uniest nation on earth has to offer—the finest nomes, the finest college eduon, and the fin st jobs in Government.

no are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been the This is glaring rue in the State Department. There the bright young men ors.... In my opinion, the State Department... is thoroughly infested with Communists.

"I have in my hand 57 cases or individuals who would appear to be either carrying members or certainty loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevneless are still helping to spape our foreign policy."

-Joseph R. McCarthy, Speech to the Women's Club of Wheeling, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 1950

- Using the except, answer a, b, and c.
- a) Briefly plain the political tactics used by Joseph McCarthy that because known as "McCarthyism."
- b) Brefly explain why McCarthy tactics appealed to olue-collar mericans.
- Briefly explain the context for the rise to power of McCathy.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE cause of the Cold War.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE of the following:
 - U.N. Security Council
 - Marshall Plan
 - NATO
- Briefly explain the effects of ONE of the following on the Cold War: (c)
 - Berlin Airlift
 - · "Fall" of China
 - · Korean War