In addition to ideological differences, the USSR and USA had a history of bad feelings. Why?
- The US sent troops to Russia to support the anti-communists during WWI
- The US had not officially recognized the communist government of Russia until 1933
- The US was angry over the non-aggression pact that Stalin signed with Hitler in 1939
- The US and USSR bitterly disagreed over wartime priorities and postwar plans

In February 1945, FDR met with Churchill and Stalin at Yalta to work out the future of Germany and Poland.

They agreed to divide Germany into four zones but disagreed over Stalin’s demand to receive $20 billion in war damages. Some 10 to 14 million people of German ethnicity were displaced by the Allies after the war. Some had settled in the occupied territories under Nazi direction but most had lived there for generations.

Roosevelt convinced Stalin to attack Japan after Germany’s defeat in exchange for control over two islands. Stalin and Roosevelt continued to disagree over the future of Poland.

Western Betrayal?
- Poland was essentially abandoned by the USA and UK at Yalta, even though hundreds of thousands of Polish soldiers were fighting in Allied armies against the Nazis
- FDR insisted on “free” elections for Poland, but the Soviets only permitted a Soviet-style election because they wanted it to remain subject to their influence
- Poles call WWII the war they lost twice
- FDR apologists point out that the Red Army was already in Poland, and nobody was willing to force it out
- Interestingly, by shifting Poland’s borders, the Soviets managed to turn it into a much more ethnically and religiously homogenous state— the perfect place for resistance to grow

One item on which all agreed was the creation of the United Nations, a successor to the failed League of Nations. In April 1945, delegates from 50 nations met in San Francisco to adopt a charter for it. All member nations belonged to its General Assembly, while 11 countries sat on a Security Council.
• Five countries - USA, UK, France, China, and USSR - had a permanent seat and veto power in it.

• On April 12, 1945, FDR died on vacation in Georgia. Truman became president.

• At the Potsdam Conference, Truman, Stalin, and Clement Attlee (the new British Prime Minister) met and continued to debate the issues that divided them. Churchill was actually replaced as prime minister during the conference after losing re-election.

• Truman also informed Stalin that the US had developed a new weapon, though he had already secretly gained knowledge of it through Soviet spies.

Klaus Fuchs
• A German-born physicist who stole atomic secrets from the USA, UK, and Canada for the Soviet Union
• He fled Germany in 1933 and became a British citizen; he worked at Los Alamos and was eventually chosen lead the British atomic research
• He confessed to spying in 1950 and was sentenced to 14 years in prison

Post-War American View
• The US emerged from WWII as the world’s largest economy and with one of its strongest militaries, having suffered little real damage and few casualties during the war
• The US had fought to bring democracy and economic opportunity to the conquered nations of Europe
• An economically and politically open world would serve American interests by providing markets for its products

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Post-War Soviet View
• The USSR emerged from WWII with one of the world’s most powerful militaries, having suffered terrible damage and enormous casualties during the war
• The USSR, having been invaded from the west twice in half a century, was determined to create a buffer zone of friendly countries on its border
• A communist world would serve Soviet security and ideological interests

Inevitable Clash?
• In retrospect, once the common Nazi enemy was removed, it seems almost inevitable that the US and USSR would clash
• Each encouraged (or forced) other countries to adopt policies and institutions similar to its own, so as one brand expanded, the other necessarily contracted
• As the competition intensified the ideological purity of an ally began to matter less than its foreign policy (so the US would sometimes ally with totalitarian governments so long as they were anti-USSR)

Josip Broz Tito
Tito, of mixed Croatian-Slovenian ancestry, fought for Austria-Hungary in WWI. Taken prisoner by the Russians, he then fought for the Communists during the revolution.
He returned to Yugoslavia after the war and led one of the biggest resistance groups against the Nazi occupation. Sometimes portrayed as a “good communist” or “nationalist” in the West because of his disagreements with Stalin, Tito was nevertheless a strict authoritarian.

Which nations fell under Soviet domination after WWII?
– Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and East Germany
– Communist governments were usually imposed on these countries through Soviet manipulation (political detentions, etc.)

Which two nations avoided total Soviet domination?
– Finland
  Finland did sign a treaty of cooperation with the USSR in 1940 that required it to remain neutral in foreign affairs but allowed it to manage its domestic affairs
– Yugoslavia
  Communists under the leadership of Josip Broz, better known as Tito, seized control in 1945. Tito and Stalin split in 1948 after Stalin vetoed his plan to draw Albania and Bulgaria into a war with Greece. Although the USSR and Yugoslavia largely repaired their relationship in 1955, Yugoslavia managed to remain somewhat independent.

• Realizing the USSR was unable to confront the USA militarily, Stalin established the **Cominform**, to support and coordinate the spread of Communism around the world.
  – The **Cominform**, a successor to the earlier Comintern (Communist International), was created in 1947 to help coordinate actions taken by Communist countries, especially in response to different reactions to the offer of American economic assistance. It later disbanded in 1956.

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Stalin’s Bolshoi Speech

- Stalin, “running” for reelection to the Supreme Soviet in 1946, delivered a speech at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow that was widely covered in the western newspapers.
- His speech included these lines:
  - “Perhaps war catastrophes could be avoided if it were possible periodically to redistribute raw materials and markets among the respective countries in conformity with their economic weight—by means of concerted and peaceful decisions. But this is impossible under the present capitalist conditions of world economic development.”
- This was interpreted as an admission that war between the USSR and the capitalist countries was inevitable.

In March 1946, Churchill delivered the “Iron Curtain” Speech to warn about Soviet dominance.

- Churchill, no longer prime minister, was invited to deliver the address at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, by President Truman, who introduced him.

Churchill

Iron Curtain

- In early 1946, George Kennan, an American diplomat stationed in Moscow, sent a telegram to the State Department analyzing Soviet behavior. This telegram inspired the American policy of containment— that is, halting the spread of Communism to other countries.

The Long Telegram

- Kennan explained the Soviet’s behavior as springing from the “traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity.”
- “In this dogma [communism], with its basic altruism of purpose, they found justification for their instinctive fear of outside world, for the dictatorship without which they did not know how to rule, for cruelties they did not dare not to inflict, for sacrifices they felt bound to demand. In the name of Marxism they sacrificed every single ethical value in their methods and tactics. Today they cannot dispense with it. It is fig leaf of their moral and intellectual respectability. Without it they would stand before history, at best, as only the last of that long succession of cruel and wasteful Russian rulers…”

- “Thus Soviet leaders are driven… to put forward a dogma which views the outside world as evil, hostile and menacing, but as bearing within itself germs of creeping disease and destined to be wracked with growing internal convulsions until it is given final coup de grace by rising power of socialism and yields to new and better world. This thesis provides justification for that increase of military and police power of Russian state, for that isolation of Russian population from outside world, and for that fluid and constant pressure to extend limits of Russian police power….”

- “We have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent modus vivendi, that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure.”
- “Impervious to logic of reason, and it [USSR] is highly sensitive to logic of force: For this reason it can easily withdraw—and usually does—when strong resistance is encountered at any point. Thus, if the adversary has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so.”
• Truman committed the US to supporting “free peoples” faced with subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures. He put this doctrine to use by supporting both Greece and Turkey in 1947.
  – Greece had been waging a civil war against communists, funded by Tito, since 1944. In 1946 the British government informed Truman that it would no longer be able to provide financial assistance to the Greek government.
  – Stalin hoped to guarantee access to the Mediterranean Sea at the end of WWII. It was further feared that he would seek to control over the oil-producing Middle East.

**“The Truman Doctrine”**
• Delivered in a speech before Congress on March 12, 1947
  – “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.”
  – Congress approved $400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey two months later.

• As a result of WWII, about 21 million people were left homeless. About 20% percent of the Polish population had died, and about 1 in 5 homes in France and Belgium were destroyed.

• Unlike the aftermath of WWI, however, the US determined to help war-torn nations recover so they might create stable democracies and achieve economic recovery.

• From 1948 to 1952, the US sent some $13 billion in grants and loans to 17 Western European countries. The Soviet Union was invited to participate, but chose not to do so out of distrust of US intentions.
  – Beneficiaries included: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the UK, and West Germany.
  – Notice that many of these countries had fought for the Axis or remained neutral during the war. More aid was given to industrial countries and former allies, however. The UK received the largest share of the aid, followed by France and West Germany.
The Molotov Plan
- Eager to keep American influence out of its sphere, the USSR created an alternative to the Marshall Plan and named it after the Soviet Foreign Minister.
- In 1948, the **USA**, **UK**, and **France** announced plans to unite their zones of occupied Germany. **West Berlin** surrounded on all sides by the **Soviet zone** would be part of the new country.
  - The French had initially resisted cooperation out of a desire to permanently divide and weaken Germany, but relented.

Hundreds of thousands of Europeans left their homes in Communist countries by fleeing to **East Berlin** and then passing into **West Berlin**. Stalin decided to close the escape route by enforcing a **blockade** to prevent all shipments to the city from passing through **East Germany**. The **2.5** million affected people were relieved through an **airlift** that lasted for **15** months.
  - The airlift transported up to **4,500 tons each day**.

“Operation Little Vittles”
- One of the airlift pilots, Gail Halvorsen, gained fame for dropping chocolate bars and other goodies to the Berlin children in handkerchief parachutes. Other pilots joined the effort and the story became a major propaganda success.

**NATO**
- **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**
- To defend the democracies of Western Europe from the USSR
- The USSR had permanent veto power over the UN Security Council
- They argued that it would lead to more international wars
- **Canada, USA, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal**
- The **Warsaw Pact**
NATO has grown from its original 12 members in 1949 to 28 members today. They are pictured here (except for the USA and Canada). No country has ever formally left the alliance, though they have removed their militaries from NATO structures on occasion.

When Truman announced that the Soviets had demonstrated an atomic bomb in 1949, he responded by authorizing the hydrogen bomb and organizing the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

- An atomic bomb splits heavy atoms like plutonium or uranium (fission).
- A hydrogen bomb combines hydrogen atoms (fusion).
- The hydrogen bomb was tested in 1952.

The first thermonuclear explosion was at the Enewetak Atoll on November 1, 1952.

- It generated a fireball about 3 miles wide, a cloud that mushroomed to 100 miles wide and 25 miles high. It left a crater over a mile wide and 160 feet deep.

Power Comparison

- Hiroshima Bomb (“Little Boy”) = 15,000 tons of TNT
- Nagasaki Bomb (“Fat Man”) = 20,000 tons of TNT
- Enewetak Atoll Bomb = 10.4 million tons of TNT
- The most powerful bomb ever tested by the US was the equivalent of 55 million tons of TNT
- The most powerful bomb ever tested by the USSR was the equivalent of 30 million tons of TNT
- It would take approximately 30 million sticks of dynamite to equal the energy in Little Boy

This agency flooded the nation with information about how to survive a nuclear attack, but many experts ridiculed these programs as ineffective.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IKqXu-5jw60
In early 1949, China’s capital of Peking fell to Communists and Mao Zedong proclaimed the creation of the People’s Republic of China. The defeated Chiang Kai-shek withdrew his followers to Taiwan.

Mao’s rise to power was decades in the making. It took time for him to consolidate his control over the Chinese Communist Party and he suffered setbacks in the 1930s when Chiang’s forces were more powerful. When the Chinese Civil War resumed after WWII, Chiang lost much of the country to Mao. Truman denied Chiang’s requests for more aid in 1947.

When Republicans made big gains in the 1946 elections, Truman established a federal employee Loyalty Program to blunt their criticism. All new employees would be investigated by the FBI. Current employees would be checked also, and ultimately a few hundred were fired for disloyalty.

Congress pursued its own loyalty program through the House Un-American Activities Committee. Claiming that movies had tremendous power to influence the public, many Hollywood figures were accused of communist ties. Ten of the accused refused to cooperate and served jail terms, while many others were blacklisted by the studios.

The Hollywood Ten

Although there were many others blacklisted for refusing to cooperate with HUAC investigators, none captured the public imagination (or liberal sympathies) quite like the Hollywood Ten in 1947.

The most famous of the Ten, Dalton Trumbo, wrote for such films as Spartacus, Exodus, and Roman Holiday. He was forced to write under pseudonyms while blacklisted.

Many famous Hollywood figures did cooperate, including Walt Disney and Ronald Reagan.
Why worry about movies?

- HUAC understood that movies could influence public opinion and distribute discreet propaganda (remember the controversies over the Federal Theatre Project in the 1930s?).
- Do movies really make people think and act differently?

- Convinced that most disloyal Americans came from Communist countries, Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act to discourage immigration from them.
  - The bill was passed over Truman's veto. Truman thought it unnecessarily discriminatory.
  - The bill was a major overhaul of federal immigration legislation. It eliminated racial exclusions but reinforced the 1924 quotas and regions. It also excluded people for moral, criminal, and political conduct. It favored immigrants with technical skills.

Spy cases against Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were controversial in the 1940s, though historians now conclude that they were truly guilty.

- Many people refused to believe Chambers when he testified against Hiss in 1948. The FBI had already secretly received independent allegations about Hiss from two separate Soviet defectors, however.
- HUAC, largely under the direction of California Congressman Richard Nixon, kept up the investigation.
- Hiss was eventually caught committing perjury and sentenced to prison (he served 44 months).

Alger Hiss

- Hiss came from an elite background (Johns Hopkins University, Harvard Law School). He worked as a government lawyer before transferring to the State Department. He attended the Yalta Conference, worked on the United Nations initiative, and then retired to lead the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Whittaker Chambers, a Time magazine editor, had identified Hiss as a Communist to various government authorities as early as 1939.
- Hiss had staked a great deal of his defense on attacking Chambers' character while defending his own. Character witnesses for Hiss included Adlai Stevenson, Felix Frankfurter, and John W. Davis (all significant figures in the Democratic party). Truman was very dismissive of the case.
- Senator Joseph McCarthy delivered his famous speech in Wheeling, WV, two weeks after Hiss was convicted, helping spark the Red Scare.
- Believing in Hiss' innocence was something of a liberal litmus test for generations, but declassified government documents provide overwhelming proof that he was, in fact, a Soviet spy.

The Rosenbergs

- In 1950, the Rosenbergs were accused of passing atomic secrets to the USSR. Klaus Fuchs had confessed and implicated a courier named Harry Gold, who subsequently implicated David Greenglass - Ethel’s brother - who had worked on the Manhattan Project.
- Greenglass had been recruited by his brother-in-law Julius, leader of a Soviet spy ring. Greenglass testified against both of them, but later recanted in part, claiming that his wife had played the role of typist attributed to Ethel.
- The Rosenbergs maintained their innocence and claimed that they were victims of Anti-Semitism. Many liberals accepted this defense as part of their wider reaction against the Red Scare, but the Rosenbergs received far more international support than domestic support.
- The Rosenbergs were convicted and sentenced to death for espionage. They were electrocuted on June 19, 1953, the only two American citizens our country executed for spying during the Cold War.
• Although the case did occasion some procedural concerns, especially regarding Ethel’s treatment (in part to put pressure on Julius), there really is no doubt of their guilt.
• Nikita Kruschev, the Soviet Premier after Stalin, acknowledged their espionage activities in his memoirs.
• Several co-conspirators repeatedly and consistently implicated the Rosenbergs.
• Secret Soviet communications from the time, intercepted by the government, provide proof as well.

“Venona”
• Venona was a secret project to intercept and decrypt Soviet communications that lasted until 1980. The documents, released for the first time in 1995, provide convincing proof that Hiss and the Rosenbergs were Soviet spies.

• Japan had annexed Korea before WWI. Its rule was harsh and Koreans hoped to be free after WWII. However, the Allies agreed to split the peninsula at the 38th parallel. The Soviets controlled everything north of that line, and the Americans controlled the south.

  – The USSR, pursuant to its agreement with the Allies, declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945, just days before the Japanese surrender. It was agreed that Korea would be temporarily split and administered by both the Soviets and Americans until national unification elections could be held.

Plans for Reunification Dropped
• The Allies intended for the trusteeship to last for five years, but the unification election was never held. Instead, unrest in the country upset over foreign rule and failure of the joint commission to make progress toward reunification led to separate elections in both zones in 1948. Soviet troops withdrew from the north that year, and American troops withdrew from the south in 1949. It looked as though Korea would be divided on a permanent basis, just like Germany.

Kim Il Sung
• Kim, already a communist, fought against the Japanese during WWII, first for the Chinese but then as a member of the Soviet Red Army.
• When Stalin occupied northern Korea at the end of WWII he placed Kim in charge of the local military command.
• He ruled the DPRK from its creation in 1948 until his death in 1994, merging communist doctrine with an oriental ruler cult.

Syngman Rhee
• Rhee, a Christian convert and descendant of Korean royalty, was educated in the United States (Harvard ’08, Princeton ’10) and lobbied for his country’s independence before being selected as president of a Korean government-in-exile during the 1930s. He returned to Korea in 1945, strongly opposed Soviet influence, and became president of the RoK in 1948. He was an autocratic ruler until he was forced to resign in 1960. He died in exile in Hawaii.
Plans for Forced Unification

• Kim went to Moscow in March of 1949 to seek Stalin’s approval for an invasion of South Korea. Stalin waited until April of 1950 to approve the plan. His approval was based on the fact that all American troops had withdrawn from Korea, the Soviets had successfully tested an atomic bomb, and the Chinese communists had won their civil war. The USSR would not commit troops to the war, however, to avoid upsetting the Americans.

• Kim received Mao Zedong’s approval and promise of aid in May of 1950.

Mixed Signals?

• On January 12, 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson delivered a speech in which he said: “our line of defense runs through the chain of Islands fringing the coast of Asia. It starts from the Philippines and continues through the Ryukyu Archipelago, which includes its main bastion, Okinawa. Then it bends back through Japan and the Aleutian Island chain to Alaska.” He did not mention Korea.

Stalin interpreted this as a sign that the US would not intervene in a Korean war. Acheson’s oversight thus made war more likely.

• In June 1950, war broke out when N. Korean troops streamed across the boundary in an attempt to reunify the country. President Truman brought the issue to the _UN_ and won its permission to defend S. Korea. Eventually, _16_ member nations contributed to the war, but _Americans_ made up _80%_ percent of the non-Korean troops in the force.

—President Truman sent troops into combat without first seeking Congressional authorization or a declaration of war. This marked the first time that such a large combat force would be committed by a President acting alone, but not the last.

Total UN Troops (1950-1953)

- South Korea – 590,911
- USA – 302,483
- UK – 14,198
- Philippines – 7,468
- Thailand – 6,326
- Canada – 6,282
- Australia – 2,282
- New Zealand – 1,385
- Ethiopia – 1,271
- Greece – 1,263
- France – 1,119
- Columbia – 1,068
- Belgium – 900
- South Africa – 826
- Netherlands – 819
- Luxembourg – 44
Why didn’t the USSR use its veto?

- The USSR had proposed a resolution in January of 1950 to replace the Chinese representative with an ambassador from the People’s Republic of China. After losing the vote, the Soviet ambassador announced that they would be boycotting further meetings and stormed out.
- Had the USSR been present at the meeting in June of 1950, it could have prevented UN action by casting a veto.

Douglas MacArthur, a hero of both world wars and anti-Communist, was chosen to lead the defense. Within six weeks, the defenders had been pushed back to the city of Pusan. To relieve the defenders, a bold plan to attack enemy supply lines was adopted that required landing troops at Incheon.

Emboldened by this success, UN troops closed in on the border with China in spite of warnings not to advance farther. This prompted China to intervene, and its troops helped push UN forces back.

A stalemate developed. MacArthur hoped to break it by opening a second front with help from Chiang Kai-shek. Truman opposed this strategy, fearing widespread war in Asia.

MacArthur, unable to persuade Truman, wrote to allies in Congress. When his criticism became public, he was fired for insubordination. He returned a hero to Congress and delivered a farewell address.
• The conflict dragged on for over __two__ more years, into the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower. When peace talks stalled, the threat of atomic weapons got them going again. Finally, a cease-fire was signed in 1953, leaving Korea divided at almost exactly the same place as before the war.

KOREA ARMISTICE SIGNED: HOSTILITIES CEASE TODAY

Korean War POWs

• Although the Geneva Convention called for mandatory repatriation, POWs on both sides were given a choice about which side they would join. 
• About 47,000 North Korean and Chinese soldiers volunteered to stay in South Korea
• 21 American soldiers volunteered to stay in North Korea or China

The Korean War is sometimes called America’s “forgotten war.” Although it lacked the glory of WWII and the turmoil of Vietnam, the Korean conflict had important effects on the United States.

The Korean War Memorial was not dedicated until 1995, 33 years after the Vietnam Memorial.

The war caused enormous frustration in the US. Roughly 54,000 soldiers were killed and 103,000 wounded for limited results. However, communist forces had been held back without nuclear war.

– The Korean War left us with several legacies:
  • Increase in defensive alliances designed to contain communism
  • Growth of military forces (permanent mobilization)
  • Reassertion of civilian control of the military
  • Restoration of Limited War Theory after the Total Wars of the first part of the century.

KOREAN WAR - CASUALTY SUMMARY

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As of May 10, 2009

No. of the Korea War

MASH

Increase in defensive alliances designed to contain communism.

Growth of military forces (permanent mobilization)

Reassertion of civilian control of the military

Restoration of Limited War Theory after the Total Wars in the first part of the century.
Although Truman had ordered the integration of the armed forces in 1948, this was the first in which whites and blacks served in the same units.

The military had taken less than a third of the federal budget in 1950; a decade later, it made up about half of it. The US came to accept the demands of permanent mobilization. Over 1 million soldiers were stationed around the world. Strong links developed between the military and industries that employed 3.5 million Americans by 1960.

Hoping it could help maintain the balance of power in the Pacific, the US signed a treaty with Japan in 1951. The Korean War further poisoned relations with China, leading to a standoff that would last more than 20 years.

Joseph McCarthy's first term in the Senate had been undistinguished; he needed an issue to build support. His issue, the menace of communism, helped him get reelected and appointed to chair an investigatory committee.

Born and raised on a Wisconsin farm, McCarthy grew up in an area where Father Charles Coughlin had a significant following during the Depression. He graduated from Marquette University Law School and became a judge before volunteering to serve as a Marine in WWII. He later exaggerated his wartime service to seem more heroic.

McCarthy defeated incumbent Senator Robert La Follette Jr. for the Republican nomination in 1946. He was then elected to the US Senate with 61% of the vote.

After three unremarkable years as a Senator, McCarthy delivered a Lincoln Day Speech in Wheeling, WV, on February 9, 1950. In that speech he claimed to know of 205 communists working in the State Department. The number was exaggerated, derived from an outdated memo, but caught everyone's attention. This was just a few weeks after the Alger Hiss conviction.

The Senate voted to open hearings into McCarthy's allegations. Senator Millard Tydings (D-MD) chaired the subcommittee and clashed with McCarthy. The committee split along party lines in its final votes.

McCarthy supported John Marshall Butler in a campaign to defeat Tydings in the 1950 election. Tydings, a four-term incumbent, was defeated. This enhanced the appearance of McCarthy's power.

His tactics of smearing opponents with baseless accusations has become known as McCarthyism. Among his targets were George Marshall, a national hero.

By 1954, McCarthy saw a conspiracy to hide communism that included even FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and President Eisenhower.
• Though many feared him, in June 1950, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine denounced him a speech in the Senate.

Margaret Chase Smith was the first woman elected to serve Maine in either house of Congress. She served in the House from 1940 to 1949 and in the Senate from 1949 to 1973. She was also a Republican.

Smith's “Declaration of Conscience”

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism –

— The right to criticize
— The right to hold unpopular beliefs
— The right to protest
— The right of independent thought

Modern Threats to Free Speech?

1. political correctness

noun
1. the avoidance, often considered as taken to extremes, of forms of expression or action that are perceived to exclude, marginalize, or insult groups of people who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against.

The Beginning of the End?

• Many people believe that McCarthy's fall from influence began in October 1953, when CBS News began indirectly criticizing McCarthy. By March 1954, that criticism became more open.

• Edward R. Murrow hosted the program that spearheaded the attacks on McCarthy.

• In 1954, when one of his assistants was drafted, he claimed that even the US Army was full of communists. The televised hearings showcased his bullying tactics and baseless allegations. By June, he had lost even his strongest supporters.
The End of McCarthy

- On 2 December 1954 the Senate voted 67-22 to censure Senator McCarthy.
- The Republican leadership stripped McCarthy of his committee chairmanship.
- When the Democrats took control, McCarthy was marginalized further; when McCarthy would enter a room, any other Senators present would leave.
- McCarthy continued to serve in the Senate until his death in 1957 at the age of 49 from complications of alcoholism.

1952 Presidential Campaign

- Though still eligible for a third term, Truman decided not to run for re-election.
- Republicans nominated Columbia University President, Supreme NATO Commander, and WWII hero Dwight D. Eisenhower.
- Democrats nominated Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson.

1952 Election

- When Dwight D. Eisenhower became president, the new Secretary of State (John Foster Dulles) wanted to roll back communism where it was already established.
- John Foster Dulles played a major role in many of the events in the early Cold War. He led efforts to form regional alliances around the world and took a strong stand against communism. He had a dismissive view toward the non-aligned or neutral countries in the Cold War. He died in 1959.

East Germany - 1953

- A strike by construction workers on June 16, 1953, broadened into a general strike and public protests the next day.
  - Complaints included the large number of political prisoners, shortages of electricity, food, and consumer goods, suppression of religious liberty, and the appropriation of more private property during the conversion to communism.
  - Soviet tanks supported East German police in suppressing the protests.
  - Hundreds died, and the memory of this failed revolt lingered in both East and West Germany for decades.
“The Solution” by Bertolt Brecht

After the uprising of the 17th of June
The Secretary of the Writers Union
Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinallee
Stating that the people
Had forfeited the confidence of the government
And could win it back only
By redoubled efforts.
Would it not be easier
In that case for the government
To dissolve the people
And elect another?

Poland - 1956

- Polish workers in the city of Poznan went on strike to protest various government policies (but not necessarily communism) on June 28, 1956.
- The government used force to suppress the estimated 100,000 people gathered for protests.
- Approximately 600 people were wounded and around 57 killed. Several hundred were arrested afterwards. This event did contribute to some reform of the Polish government.

Hungarian Uprising - 1956

- October 23 – November 10, 1956, this was the first significant threat to communist control of Eastern Europe.
- The revolt began when police fired on a student protest and killed a protester.
- The government was reorganized and initially signaled a willingness to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. It reversed course and invited Soviet intervention. Over 200,000 refugees fled their homes in the fighting, which killed more than 2,500 rebels and 700 government troops.
- Hundreds were executed and thousands imprisoned in the aftermath of the failed revolt.
America’s Reaction

• Both Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles publicly stated their support for the rebellion but did nothing further to support it.
• In addition to the obvious challenges of stopping Soviet intervention, Eisenhower was simultaneously dealing with the Suez Crisis.
  – Vice President Nixon observed that the USA could not easily criticize Soviet intervention in Hungary without also criticizing Israeli, British, and French intervention in Egypt.
• The Soviet premier observed that the supposed American support is somewhat like the support “a rope gives to a hanged man.”

• The US did provide aid to ___France___ in its struggle to retain control of ___Vietnam___.
  – Truman was the first US President to become involved in Vietnam, albeit indirectly. In 1950 he promised $15 million to the French administration there. Aid grew to $150 million in 1951.
  – As the French began to withdraw from Vietnam following their defeat in 1954, Eisenhower commits the United States to supporting South Vietnam. The Military Assistance Advisory Group, responsible for training the South Vietnamese Army, deployed in 1955.

• In the 1930s and 1940s, the Holocaust forced many ___Jews___ to seek safety in ___Palestine___ which was under ___British___ control. They began to call for independence, and in 1947 the matter was turned over to the ___UN___: It created two states in the area, one ___Jewish___ and the other ___Arab___.
  – British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour declared in 1917 that his country would support the establishment of a Jewish homeland (state?) in Palestine. They did this to satisfy domestic pressure and appeal to Jews in Russia, America, and Germany.
  – The British assumed control over the area after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after WWI.
In the 1930s and 1940s there were several paramilitary groups aiming at Israeli independence. Some engaged in acts of terrorism, including the bombing of the King David Hotel in 1946.

The United Nations decided to partition Palestine into two areas in November 1947.

In May 1948, Jews proclaimed the new state of Israel. Its Arab neighbors declared war but were defeated. As hostility continued the US supported Israel and the Soviets supported the Arabs.

On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion declared Israeli independence.

Eleven minutes after midnight (May 15, 1948), the United States became the first nation to recognize the Israeli state.

On May 15, forces from Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq entered Palestine.

Although it seems safe to say that a majority of Americans supported the Israelis during the 1948 war, the US government maintained an arms embargo on the entire region and tried to work through the United Nations.

Joseph Stalin supported the creation of a Jewish state, believing it would be Socialist and would weaken British influence in the Middle East. Czechoslovakia, with Stalin’s permission, was a major supplier of arms to Israel in the 1948 war.

In the early 1950s the US moved closer to Israel and the USSR switched to supporting the Arabs.

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In 1953, the US intervened in Iran to restore the pro-American Shah to power.

Iran had tried to remain neutral during WWII but was occupied by British and Soviet troops in order to secure access to Iranian oil fields. A new Shah (king) was installed and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now British Petroleum, or BP) profited greatly.

After the war, Iranians wanted to seize more of the wealth from their oil. The parliament voted to nationalize the oil in 1951 and Prime Ministry Mohammad Mossadegh tried to reach an accord with the British. Lawsuits followed and the British blockaded Iran.
• When Mossadegh dissolved parliament in 1953, a coup was planned with British and American support. The shah dismissed Mossadegh and, after some turmoil, emerged as the absolute leader of Iran. He reversed the nationalization of the oil fields.

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran from 1941 to 1979.

• In 1956, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the ruler of Egypt, seized the British-owned Suez Canal.
  – Nasser was the second president of Egypt and an authoritarian. Although originally supported by the US and UK, by 1956 they were sufficiently concerned by his “neutralism” (along with Yugoslavia, India, and other countries) and ties with the USSR to drop funding for the Aswan High Dam.
  – In response, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal (and closed it to Israeli shipping) to finance the project.

Gamal Abdel Nasser

In 1956, _________________________, the ruler of __________, seized the British-owned _______ Canal.

The Suez Crisis

• On October 29, 1956, Israeli troops swarmed over the Sinai Peninsula. On October 31, British and French forces attacked Egyptian bases in the Canal Zone. The Zone was largely under British and French control by November 7th.
• Eisenhower condemned the invasion and supported UN efforts to force a withdrawal. Nasser praised Eisenhower for thwarting the conspiracy. The last foreign troops withdrew in March 1957 and canal reopened in April.

Gamal Abdel Nasser

• In 1957, President Eisenhower announced his doctrine to protect countries in the Middle East from communism, and used that doctrine to justify sending troops to Lebanon in 1958.
  – Tensions between Muslims and Christians threatened to destabilize the country, so an international force (including more than 8,000 US personnel) were sent to stabilize the situation. The mission lasted about three months.

Gamal Abdel Nasser

• Nasser would play an important role in Arab affairs for several decades before his death in 1970. At his peak he was one of the most popular leaders in the Middle East and had followers in many Arab nations.
• The US also acted to support pro-American governments in **Latin America**. Since the 1920s, the United States had exercised control over the economies of some 10 countries. American troops had invaded **Nicaragua** and **Honduras**.

  – The US occupied Nicaragua from 1912-1933. This was part of a series of conflicts to protect American financial interests (especially fruit production) and the Panama Canal monopoly.

• In 1947, the US signed the **Rio Pact**, an alliance with 18 other nations in the **Western Hemisphere**.

  – The Rio Pact, like NATO, was meant to be for mutual defense. Latin American critics of the US claim that it has been a pretense for US meddling in Latin American affairs.

• In 1954, the **CIA** helped overthrow the government of **Guatemala**.

• In August 1953, less than a year after the US exploded its first **thermonuclear** device, the Soviet Union tested its own **hydrogen** bomb. To deliver these bombs, American planners relied mainly on **bombers** while the Soviets focused on long-range missiles known as **ICBM’s**.

**Deterrence**

• The policy of making the military power of the United States and its allies so strong that no enemy would attack for fear of retaliation

**Brinkmanship**

• A 1956 term used by Secretary of State John Dulles to describe a policy of risking war in order to protect national interests
In 1957, the Soviets launched **Sputnik**, the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth. The first artificial satellite sent signals for 21 days before its batteries died. It was launched on October 4, 1957 and stayed in space for about three months before burning up while reentering Earth's atmosphere on January 4, 1958. Its success inspired anxiety in the US that it was falling behind the USSR technologically.

In May 1960, the Soviets shot down an American **U2 spy plane**. These two events helped convince many Americans to expend considerable resources to surpass the Soviets.

The CIA had been flying missions over the USSR to monitor missile sites. When the plane went missing, the government claimed it had been flying a NASA weather mission. When the Soviets produced pilot Gary Powers and other evidence of spying, Eisenhower was embarrassed and exposed as a liar. Powers spent two years in a Soviet prison before being exchanged for a Russian spy.

Gary Powers

- Powers ejected from his plane after it was struck with a surface-to-air missile at approximately 65,000 feet above sea level. While he carried poison to commit suicide he chose not to use it and was captured by the Soviets on May 1, 1960.

As he left office, Eisenhower warned that the existence of the **military-industrial complex** could become a threat to **peace**.

> "Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications... in government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."