
PART SIX

The Age of Cold War Liberalism 1945–1980

Part Instructional Objectives

After you have taught Part Six, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. Why did the Cold War last so long?
2. What were the United States' objectives in the Cold War? How did the country try to secure those objectives?
3. What domestic economic and social issues divided national political leaders during the Cold War years? What basic principles did most national leaders share?
4. Why did the civil rights movement come into existence when it did? What did it accomplish? What remains to be done?
5. What did the women's movement accomplish during the 1960s? Why did it fail to secure the Equal Rights Amendment?
6. Why did the United States become involved in the Vietnam conflict? How did domestic affairs shape the war?
7. How has the role and expectation of the presidency and the federal government changed since 1980?
8. How has the end of the Cold War and the United States' emergence as the world's lone superpower affected American foreign policy? What are the domestic implications for American international leadership?

	DIPLOMACY	POLITICS	ECONOMY	SOCIETY	CULTURE
	The Cold War	Decline of the Liberal Consensus	Ups and Downs of U.S. Economic Dominance	Social Movements and Demographic Diversity	Consumer Culture and Its Critics
1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Truman Doctrine (1947) ▶ Marshall Plan (1948) ▶ Berlin blockade ▶ NATO founded (1949) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Truman's Fair Deal liberalism ▶ Taft-Hartley Act (1947) ▶ Truman reelected (1948) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Reconversion ▶ Strike wave (1946) ▶ Bretton Woods system established: World Bank, IMF 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Migration to cities accelerates ▶ Armed forces desegregated (1948) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ End of wartime rationing ▶ Rise of television ▶ First Levittown (1947)
1950	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Permanent mobilization: NSC-68 (1950) ▶ Korean War (1950–1953) ▶ U.S. replaces France in Vietnam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ McCarthyism ▶ Eisenhower's modern Republicanism ▶ Warren Court activism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Rise of military-industrial complex ▶ Industrial economy booms ▶ Labor-management accord 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> (1954) ▶ Montgomery bus boycott (1955) ▶ Urban crisis emerges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Growth of suburbia ▶ Sun Belt emerges ▶ Religious revival ▶ Baby boom ▶ Youth culture develops
1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Cuban missile crisis (1962) ▶ Vietnam War escalates (1965) ▶ Tet offensive (1968); peace talks begin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Kennedy's New Frontier ▶ Kennedy assassinated ▶ Great Society, War on Poverty ▶ Nixon's election (1968) ushers in conservative era 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Kennedy-Johnson tax cut, military expenditures fuel economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ March on Washington (1963) ▶ Civil rights legislation (1964, 1965) ▶ Student activism ▶ Black Power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Shopping malls spread ▶ Baby boomers swell college enrollment ▶ Hippie counterculture
1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Nixon visits China (1972); SALT initiates détente (1972) ▶ Paris Peace Accords (1973) end Vietnam War ▶ Carter brokers Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel (1978) ▶ Iranian revolution; hostage crisis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Watergate scandal; Nixon resigns (1974) ▶ Weak presidencies of Ford and Carter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Arab oil embargo (1973–1974); inflation surges, while income stagnates ▶ Onset of deindustrialization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Revival of feminism ▶ <i>Roe v. Wade</i> (1973) ▶ New Right urges conservative agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Consumer and environmental protection movements ▶ Deepening social divide over ERA and gay rights

“What Rome was to the ancient world,” proclaimed the influential journalist Walter Lippmann in 1945, “America is to be for the world of tomorrow.” Lippmann’s remark captures America’s sense of triumphant confidence at the end of World War II. What he underestimated were the challenges, both global and domestic, confronting the United States. In Part Six, covering the years 1945–1980, we track how the United States fared in its quest to become the Rome of the twentieth century.

Diplomacy

Hardly had Lippmann penned his triumphant words in 1945 than the Soviet Union challenged America’s plans for postwar Europe. The Truman administration responded by crafting the policies and alliances that

came to define the Cold War. That struggle spawned two “hot” wars in Korea and Vietnam and fueled a terrifying nuclear arms race. By the early 1970s, as the bipolar assumptions of the Cold War broke down, the Nixon administration got on better terms with both the Soviet Union and China. The high hopes for détente, however, fell short, and during Carter’s tenure Soviet-U.S. relations lapsed into a state of anxious stalemate. The hostage crisis in Iran revealed that, beyond the Cold War, other big challenges, especially from the aggrieved Muslim world, faced the United States.

Politics

Lippmann’s confidence in America’s future in part stemmed from his sense of a nation united on the big

domestic questions. Except for a brief postwar reaction, which brought forth the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), the liberal consensus prevailed. And while not much headway was made by Truman's Fair Deal, neither did Republicans under Eisenhower attempt any dismantling of the New Deal. Johnson's ambitious Great Society, however, did provoke a conservative response and, beginning with the debacle of the Democratic convention of 1968, the country moved to the right. The interaction of the domestic and global—the links between liberalism and the Cold War—was especially clear at this juncture because it was Vietnam that, more than anything, undermined the Great Society and the liberal consensus. By the end of the 1970s, with a big assist from the Carter administration, the Democrats had lost the grip they had won under FDR as the nation's dominant party.

Economy

In no realm did America's supremacy seem so secure in the postwar years as in economics. While the war-torn countries of Europe and Asia were picking through the rubble, the American economy boomed, fed both by the military-industrial complex and by a high-spending consumer culture. Real income grew, and collective bargaining became well entrenched. In the 1950s, no country was competitive with America's economy. By the 1970s, however, American industry had been overtaken, and a sad process of dismantling, of deindustrialization, began. At the same time, the inflationary spiral that had begun during the Vietnam War speeded up under the impact of the oil embargo of 1973. A decade of "stagflation" set in, and with it a suspicion that America's vaunted economic powerhouse had seen its best days.

Society

The victory over Nazism in World War II spurred demands for America to make good on its promise of equality for all. In great waves of protests beginning in the 1950s, African Americans—and then women, Latinos, and other minorities—challenged the status quo. Starting with the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, the country began to outlaw the practices of segregation, discrimination, and disfranchisement that had held minorities down. In the 1970s, however, reaction set in, fueled in part by the growing militancy of blacks and others, in part by the discovery of a resentful "silent majority" by conservative politicians. Achieving equality, it turned out, was easier said than done.

Culture

America's economic power in the postwar years accelerated the development of a consumer society that cherished the tract house, the car, and television set. As millions of Americans moved into suburban subdivisions, the birthrate speeded up, spawning a baby boom generation whose social influence would be felt for the next seventy-five years. Under the surface calm of the 1950s, a mood of cultural rebellion took hold. In the 1960s, it would burst forth in the hippie counterculture and the antiwar movement. Although both subsided in the early 1970s, they left a lasting impact on the country's politics, in particular, as fuel that fed the resurgence of American conservatism.

Walter Lippmann died in 1974. He had lived long enough to see his high hopes of 1945 blasted by the Cold War, by economic troubles, and by the collapse of the liberal consensus.

Chapter 26

Cold War America

1945–1960

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. What were the origins of the Cold War? Explain its broad ideological, economic, political, and military components.
2. What were the major aspects of America's plans of containment and economic aid to foreign countries during the Cold War? How did these values shape the most important events that characterized foreign affairs between 1945 and 1952?
3. What were the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Korean War?
4. How did President Dwight Eisenhower respond to the Cold War?

Chapter Annotated Outline

I. The Cold War

A. Descent into Cold War, 1945–1946

1. World War II set the basic conditions for Cold War rivalry.
2. Because the Soviet Union had been a victim of German aggression in both world wars, Joseph Stalin was determined to prevent the rebuilding and re-arming of its traditional foe; he insisted on a security zone of friendly governments in Eastern Europe for protection.
3. At the Yalta Conference, America and Britain agreed to recognize this Soviet “sphere of influence,” with the proviso that “free and unfettered elections” would be held as soon as possible. After Yalta, the Soviets made no move to hold the elections and rebuffed Western attempts to reorganize the Soviet-installed governments.

4. Recalling Britain's disastrous appeasement of Hitler in 1938, President Harry Truman decided that the United States had to take a hard line against Soviet expansion.
 5. At the 1945 Potsdam Conference of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, Truman used what he called “tough methods.” Negotiations on critical postwar issues deadlocked, revealing serious cracks in the Grand Alliance.
 6. At Potsdam, the Allies agreed to disarm Germany, dismantle its military production facilities, and permit the occupying powers to extract reparations.
 7. Plans for future reunification of Germany stalled, and the foundation was laid for what would later become the division of Germany into East and West Germany.
 8. The failure of the Baruch Plan to maintain a U.S. monopoly on nuclear arms while preventing their development by other nations signaled the beginning of a frenzied nuclear arms race between the two superpowers.
- ##### B. George Kennan and the Containment Strategy
1. As tensions mounted, the United States increasingly perceived Soviet expansionism as a threat to its own interests, and a new policy of containment began to take shape, the most influential proponent of whom was George F. Kennan.
 2. The policy of containment crystallized in 1947 when suspected Soviet-backed Communist guerrillas launched a civil war against the Greek government, causing the West to worry that Soviet influence in Greece threatened its interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, especially Turkey and Iran.
 3. American reaction resulted in the Truman Doctrine, which called for large-scale mili-

- tary and economic assistance in order to prevent communism from taking hold in Greece and Turkey, which in turn lessened the threat to the entire Middle East, making it an early version of the “domino theory.”
4. The resulting congressional appropriation reversed the postwar trend toward sharp cuts in foreign spending and marked a new level of commitment to the Cold War.
 5. The Marshall Plan sent relief to devastated European countries and helped to make them less susceptible to communism; the plan required that foreign-aid dollars be spent on U.S. goods and services.
 6. The Marshall Plan met with opposition in Congress, until a Communist coup occurred in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, after which Congress voted overwhelmingly to approve funds for the program.
 7. Over the next four years, the United States contributed nearly \$13 billion to a highly successful recovery; Western European economies revived, opening new opportunities for international trade, while Eastern Europe was influenced not to participate by the Soviet Union.
 8. The United States, France, and Britain initiated a program of economic reform in West Berlin, which alarmed the Soviets, who responded with a blockade of the city.
 9. Truman countered the blockade with airlifts of food and fuel; the blockade, lifted in May 1949, made West Berlin a symbol of resistance to communism.
 10. In April 1949, the United States entered into its first peacetime military alliance since the American revolution—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—in which twelve nations agreed that an armed attack against one of them would be considered an attack against all of them.
 11. NATO also agreed to the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) in May 1949; in October, the Soviets created the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).
 12. The Soviets organized the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in 1949 and the military Warsaw Pact in 1955.
 13. In September 1949, American military intelligence had proof that the Soviets had detonated an atomic bomb; this revelation called for a major reassessment of American foreign policy.
 14. To devise a new diplomatic and military blueprint, Truman turned to the National Security Council (NSC), an advisory body established by the National Security Act of 1947 that also created the Department of Defense and Central Intelligence Agency.
 15. The National Security Council gave a report, known as NSC-68, recommending the development of a hydrogen bomb, increasing U.S. conventional forces, establishing a strong system of alliances, and increasing taxes in order to finance defense building.
- C. Containment in Asia
1. American policy in Asia was based as much on Asia’s importance to the world economy as on the desire to contain communism.
 2. After dismantling Japan’s military forces and weaponry, American occupation forces drafted a democratic constitution and oversaw the rebuilding of the economy.
 3. In China, a civil war had been raging since the 1930s between Communist forces, led by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, and conservative Nationalist forces, under Chiang Kai-shek.
 4. For a time the Truman administration attempted to help the Nationalists by providing more than \$2 billion in aid, but in August 1949 it cut off that aid when reform did not occur; in October 1949, the People’s Republic of China was formally established under Mao, and Chiang Kai-shek’s forces fled to Taiwan.
 5. The “China lobby” in Congress viewed Mao’s success as a defeat for the United States; the China lobby’s influence blocked U.S. recognition of “Red China,” leading instead to U.S. recognition of the exiled Nationalist government in Taiwan.
 6. The United States also prevented China’s admission to the United Nations; for almost twenty years, U.S. administrations treated mainland China, the world’s most populous country, as a diplomatic non-entity.
 7. At the end of World War II, both the Soviets and the United States had troops in Korea and divided the country into competing spheres of influence at the thirty-eighth parallel.

8. The Soviets supported a Communist government, led by Kim Il Sung, in North Korea, and the United States backed a Korean nationalist, Syngman Rhee, in South Korea.
 9. On June 25, 1950, North Koreans invaded across the thirty-eighth parallel; Truman asked the United Nations Security Council to authorize a “police action” against the invaders.
 10. The Security Council voted to send a “peacekeeping” force to Korea; though fourteen non-Communist nations sent troops, the U.N. army in Korea was overwhelmingly American, and, by request of Truman to the Security Council, headed by General Douglas MacArthur.
 11. Months of fighting resulted in stalemate; given this military stalemate, a drop in public support, and the fact that the United States did not want large numbers of troops tied down in Asia, Truman and his advisors decided to work toward a negotiated peace.
 12. MacArthur, who believed that the future of the United States lay in Asia and not in Europe, tried to execute his own foreign policy involving Korea and Taiwan and was drawn into a Republican challenge of Truman’s conduct of the war.
 13. Truman relieved MacArthur of his command based on insubordination, though the decision to relieve him was highly unpopular; after failing to win the Republican presidential nomination in 1952, MacArthur faded from public view.
 14. Two years after truce talks began, an armistice was signed in July 1953; Korea was divided near the original border at the thirty-eighth parallel, with a demilitarized zone between the countries.
 15. Truman committed troops to Korea without congressional approval, setting a precedent for other undeclared wars.
 16. The war also expanded American involvement in Asia, transforming containment into a truly global policy.
 17. During the war, American defense expenditures grew from \$13 billion in 1950 to \$50 billion in 1953; though they dropped after the war, they remained at more than \$35 billion annually throughout the 1950s.
 18. American foreign policy had become more global, more militarized, and more expensive; even in times of peace, the United States functioned in a state of permanent mobilization.
- II. The Truman Era
 - A. Reconversion
 1. Government spending dropped after the war, but consumer spending increased, and unemployment did not soar back up with the shift back to civilian production.
 2. When Truman disbanded the Office of Price Administration and lifted price controls in 1946, prices soared, producing an annual inflation rate of 18.2 percent.
 3. Inflation prompted workers to demand higher wages; workers mounted crippling strikes in the automobile, steel, and coal industries, and general strikes effectively closed down business in more than a half dozen cities in 1946.
 4. Truman ended a strike by the United Mine Workers and one by railroad workers by placing the mines and railroads under federal control; Democrats in organized labor were outraged.
 5. In 1946 Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress and set about undoing New Deal social welfare measures, especially targeting labor legislation.
 6. In 1947 the Republican-controlled Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, a rollback of several pro-union provisions of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act. The **secondary boycott** and the **union shop**, labor rights that workers had fought hard for, were eventually dismantled by the Republican Party.
 7. Truman’s veto of the Taft-Hartley Act countered some workers’ hostility to his earlier antistrike activity and kept labor in the Democratic fold.
 8. In the election of 1948, the Republicans again nominated Thomas E. Dewey for president and nominated Earl Warren for vice president.
 9. Democratic left and right wings split off: the Progressive Party nominated Henry A. Wallace for president; the States’ Rights Party (Dixiecrats) nominated Strom Thurmond.
 10. To the nation’s surprise, Truman won the election handily, and the Democrats regained control of both houses of Congress.
 - B. The Fair Deal
 1. The Fair Deal was an extension of the New Deal’s liberalism, but it gave attention to

civil rights, reflecting the growing importance of African Americans to the Democratic coalition. It also extended the possibilities for a higher standard of living and benefits to a greater number of citizens, reflecting a new liberal vision of the role of the state.

2. Congress adopted only parts of the Fair Deal: a higher minimum wage, an extension of and increase in Social Security, and the National Housing Act of 1949.
 3. The activities of certain interest groups—Southern conservatives, the American Medical Association, and business lobbyists—helped to block support for the Fair Deal’s plan for enlarged federal responsibility for economic and social welfare.
- C. The Great Fear
1. As American relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated, a fear of communism at home started a widespread campaign of domestic repression, often called “McCarthyism.”
 2. In 1938, a group of conservatives had launched the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to investigate Communist influence in labor unions and New Deal agencies.
 3. In 1947, HUAC intensified the “Great Fear” by holding widely publicized hearings on alleged Communist activity in the film industry. Those accused of subversion found themselves on an unofficial **blacklist** that made it impossible to find future work in the industry.
 4. In March 1947, Truman initiated an investigation into the loyalty of federal employees; other institutions undertook their own anti-subversive campaigns.
 5. Communist members of the labor movement were expelled, as were Communist members of civil rights organizations such as the NAACP and the National Urban League.
 6. In early 1950, Alger Hiss, a State Department official, was convicted of perjury for lying about his Communist affiliations; his trial and conviction fueled the paranoia about a Communist conspiracy in the federal government and contributed to the rise of Senator Joseph McCarthy.
 7. McCarthy’s accusations of subversion in the government were meant to embarrass the Democrats; critics who disagreed with him were charged with being “soft” on communism.

8. McCarthy failed to identify a single Communist in government, but cases like Hiss’s and the 1951 espionage trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg lent weight to McCarthy’s allegations.
9. McCarthy’s support declined with the end of the Korean War, the death of Stalin, and when his televised hearings to investigate subversion in the U.S. Army revealed his smear tactics to the public in 1954.

III. Modern Republicanism

A. They Liked Ike

1. In 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower secured the Republican nomination and asked Senator Richard M. Nixon to be his running mate.
2. The Eisenhower administration set the tone for “modern Republicanism,” an updated party philosophy that emphasized a slowdown, rather than a dismantling, of federal responsibilities.
3. The Democrats nominated Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for president and Senator John A. Sparkman for vice president.
4. Eisenhower was popular with his “I Like Ike” slogan, his K_1C_2 (Korea, Communism, Corruption) formula, and his campaign pledge to go to Korea to end the stalemate.
5. Eisenhower won 55 percent of the popular vote, and the Republican Party regained control of Congress, but only until 1954.

B. The Hidden-Hand Presidency.

1. As president, Eisenhower hoped to decrease the need for federal intervention in social and economic issues yet simultaneously avoid conservative demands for a complete rollback of the New Deal.
2. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was founded in 1958, the year after the Soviets launched *Sputnik*, the first satellite.
3. To advance U.S. technological expertise, Eisenhower persuaded Congress to appropriate funds for college scholarships and for research and development.
4. The creation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1953 consolidated government control of social welfare programs.
5. The Highway Act of 1956 authorized \$26 billion over a ten-year period for the construction of a nationally integrated highway system and was an enormous public works program that surpassed anything

undertaken during the New Deal. The Eisenhower Republicans had become part of a broad **liberal consensus** in American politics akin to the New Deal era of FDR.

C. Eisenhower and the Cold War

1. Eisenhower's "New Look" in foreign policy continued America's commitment to containment but sought less expensive ways of implementing U.S. dominance in the Cold War struggle against international communism.
2. One of Eisenhower's first acts as president was to use his negotiating skills in order to bring an end to the Korean War.
3. Eisenhower then turned his attention to Europe and the Soviet Union; Stalin died in 1953, and after a power struggle, Nikita S. Khrushchev emerged as his successor in 1956.
4. Soviet repression of the 1956 Hungarian revolt showed that American policymakers had few options for rolling back Soviet power in Europe, short of going to war with the Soviet Union.
5. Under the "New Look" defense policy, the United States economized by developing a massive nuclear arsenal as an alternative to more expensive conventional forces.
6. To improve the nation's defenses against an air attack from the Soviet Union, the Eisenhower administration developed the long-range bombing capabilities of the Strategic Air Command and installed the Distant Early Warning line of radar stations in Alaska and Canada in 1958.
7. By 1958, both the United States and the Soviets had intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and were competing in the development of missile-equipped nuclear submarines.
8. In May of 1960, the Soviets shot down the U-2 spy plane flown by Francis Gary Powers, an event that increased tensions between the Soviets and the United States.

D. Containment in the Post-Colonial World

1. The American policy of containment soon extended to new nations emerging in the **Third World**.
2. The United States often failed to recognize that indigenous or nationalist movements in emerging nations had their own goals and were not necessarily under the control of Communists.
3. U.S. policymakers tended to support stable governments, as long as they were not Communist; some American allies were

governed by dictatorships or repressive right-wing regimes.

4. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was created in 1954 to complement the NATO alliance in Europe.
5. The Central Intelligence Agency moved beyond intelligence gathering into active, albeit covert, involvement in the internal affairs of foreign countries.
6. In 1953, the CIA helped to overthrow Iran's premier after he seized control of British oil properties; in 1954, it supported a coup against the duly elected government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala after he expropriated land held by the United Fruit Company and accepted arms from Communist Czechoslovakia.
7. In Southeast Asia, Truman mismanaged a golden opportunity to bring the Vietnamese nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh into the American camp through domestic and military support against the French attempt after World War II to retake the colony it had maintained since the mid-1800s. Truman incorrectly viewed Ho Chi Minh as an ardent communist pledged against American interests.
8. Eisenhower also failed to understand the importance of embracing a united Vietnam. If the French failed to regain control, Eisenhower argued, the **domino theory** would lead to the collapse of all non-Communist governments in the region.
9. Although the United States eventually provided most of the financing, the French still failed to defeat the tenacious Vietminh. After a fifty-six-day siege in early 1954, the French went down to stunning defeat at the huge fortress of Dienbienphu.
10. The result was the 1954 Geneva Accords, which partitioned Vietnam temporarily at the seventeenth parallel, committed France to withdraw from north of that line, and called for elections within two years that would lead to a unified Vietnam.
11. The United States rejected the Geneva Accords and immediately set about undermining them. With the help of the CIA, a pro-American government took power in South Vietnam in June 1954.
12. As the last French soldiers left in 1956, the United States took over, with South Vietnam now the front line in the American battle to contain communism in Southeast Asia.

13. The oil-rich Middle East was playing an increasingly central role in the strategic planning of the United States and the Soviet Union, which presented one of the most complicated foreign policy challenges.
 14. On May 14, 1948, Zionist leaders proclaimed the state of Israel; Truman quickly recognized the new state, alienating the Arabs but winning crucial support from Jewish voters.
 15. When Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power in Egypt in 1954, he pledged to lead not just his country but the entire Middle East out of its dependent, colonial relationship through a form of pan-Arab socialism and declared Egypt's neutrality in the Cold War.
 16. Unwilling to accept this stance of non-alignment, John Foster Dulles abruptly withdrew his offer of U.S. financial aid to Egypt in 1957; in retaliation, Nasser seized and nationalized the Suez Canal, through which three-quarters of Western Europe's oil was transported.
 17. After months of negotiation, Britain and France, in alliance with Israel, attacked Egypt and retook the canal. Eisenhower and the United Nations forced France and Britain to pull back; Egypt retook the Suez Canal and built the Aswan Dam with Soviet support.
 18. The Suez crisis increased Soviet influence in the Third World, intensified anti-Western sentiment in Arab countries, and produced dissension among leading members of NATO.
 19. After the Suez Canal crisis, the Eisenhower Doctrine stated that American forces would assist any nation in the Middle East requiring aid against communism.
 20. Eisenhower invoked the doctrine when he sent troops to aid King Hussein of Jordan against a Nasser-backed revolt and when he sent troops to back a pro-U.S. government in Lebanon.
 21. The attention that the Eisenhower administration paid to developments in the Middle East in the 1950s demonstrated how the access to a steady supply of oil increasingly affected foreign policy.
- E. Eisenhower's Farewell Address
1. In his final address in 1961, Eisenhower warned against the growing power of what he termed the "**military-industrial**

complex," which by then employed 3.5 million Americans but had the potential to threaten civil liberties and democratic processes.

Key Terms

secondary boycott (also, **secondary labor boycott**)

Technique used by unions in labor disputes to exert pressure on an employer involved in the dispute by targeting other parties not involved but having a relationship to the employer—for example, as a supplier or as a customer. (813)

union shop The requirement that, after gaining employment, a worker must join a union, as distinct from the closed shop, which requires union membership *before* gaining employment. (814)

blacklist Procedure used by employers throughout the nineteenth century to label and identify workers affiliated with unions. In the 1950s, blacklists were used to exclude alleged Communists from jobs in government service, the motion picture business, and many industries, and also to exclude them from union membership. (816)

liberal consensus Refers to widespread agreement among Americans in the decades after World War II that the pro-government policies of the New Deal were desirable and should be continued. In politics, the liberal consensus was reflected in the relatively small differences on economic and social policies between Republicans and Democrats until the advent of Ronald Reagan. (819)

Third World This term came into use in the post-World War II era to describe developing or ex-colonial nations that were not aligned with either the Western capitalist countries led by the United States or the socialist states of Eastern Europe led by the Soviet Union. It referred to developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. (822)

domino theory An American Cold War concept associated with the containment policy that posited that in areas of East-West conflict, the loss of one country to Communism would lead to the toppling of other non-Communist regimes. The term was first used by President Eisenhower, who warned of "falling dominos" in Southeast Asia if Vietnam became Communist. (825)

military-industrial complex First used by President Eisenhower in his farewell address in 1961, this term refers to the interlinkage of the military and the defense industry that emerged with the arms

buildup of the Cold War. Eisenhower particularly warned against the “unwarranted influence” that the military-industrial complex might exert on public policy. (827)

Lecture Strategies

1. Students today may have a difficult time understanding the intensity of American-Soviet conflict during the postwar years. Write a lecture that provides the context for a full examination of America as a world power in the modern period. Focus on the international events that challenged American political and economic ideals after World War II, such as wars in Korea, Vietnam, and elsewhere. The Cold War prompted America’s first sustained involvement in foreign matters and necessitated unprecedented economic and political measures domestically.
2. Write a lecture that provides a historical understanding of the “forgotten” conflict known as the Korean War. The Vietnam War has eclipsed the Korean War in the memory of many Americans, but students should understand that it was in Korea that the U.S. military was first charged with containing communism by force. Students should know that the secretary of state had declared Korea to be outside the national security concerns of the United States but that Truman needed to strengthen his anti-Communist credentials; Communist North Korea’s invasion of South Korea gave him that opportunity. The fact that American troops have remained in Korea since the end of the war should indicate to students that the decision by the United States to provide an anti-Communist police force for the postwar world remains costly.
3. Write a lecture focusing on domestic economic policy in the form of Truman’s Fair Deal proposals that called for a series of social reforms through a coherent progressive ideology. The fact that the depression had ended suggested to the president that the newly affluent society could afford to become a welfare state, providing a national health care program, a full-employment policy, expanded educational opportunities, and improved civil rights. Students should be encouraged to follow the congressional debate over these issues. They will see that the debate did not strictly follow party lines but reflected the deep division in American political life between conservatives and liberals in both parties.
4. Few things are harder to explain to today’s students than the anti-Communist hysteria of the 1950s. Write a lecture comparing several cases studies, including the *Rosenberg* case, the HUAC hearings on the entertainment industry, and the Army-McCarthy hearings, to provide students insight into this hysteria. Each of these episodes can be introduced to students through documentary films, which are excellent and widely available. Students watching films of Joseph McCarthy may have a hard time believing that he had any influence in American life. They might consider whether McCarthy would have been as effective in our full-blown television age. Students should also understand that, although Americans in general did not go around looking for Communists, most of them accepted that left-wing subversion was a genuine threat to the American system. End the lecture with modern domestic parallels over fears of terrorism following September 11, 2001.
5. The impromptu anti-Communist foreign policy of the Truman years became coherent and more aggressive under Eisenhower’s secretary of state, John Foster Dulles. Students should understand how the elements of Dulles’s policy fit together and made the world seem more dangerous. It is important for students to see that, although Stalin had died and the moderate Khrushchev had called for “peaceful coexistence,” Dulles’s single-minded anti-Communism permitted no relaxation of vigilance. Indeed, in defense of American interests, the United States established alliances with a series of unsavory dictators. Students should see that U.S. foreign policy had become so mired in anti-Communism that other issues (human rights and democracy, for example) were ignored. The Eisenhower administration also relied on nuclear deterrence, further escalating the arms race. The use of the CIA to overthrow governments outside the Soviet orbit that were not considered sufficiently anti-Communist should be seen as a logical extension—even if poorly conceived and executed—of Dulles’s policy.
6. Write a lecture based on the juxtaposition of several factors that contributed to the growth of American interest in Third World nations. (Some examples of the decolonization process should be provided for students so that they can see the various forms the process took—Israel, India, and Indonesia, for example.) Students need to see that some of the new nations could provide raw materials and markets, whereas others had strategic geographical locations for the Cold War struggle. The refusal of the Dulles State Department to accept neutrality as a legitimate option for Third World nations drove some of them into the Soviet

orbit, making them vulnerable to CIA covert action.

Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience

The Cold War (pp. 802–812)

1. Why was the United States unable to avoid entering a Cold War with the Soviet Union?
 - World War II set the conditions for an inescapable rise in tensions between the Soviets, who conquered half of Europe from the east, and the United States, which dominated western and southern Europe.
 - Both nations emerged powerful and wanting territorial concessions from belligerent nations.
 - Both nations possessed competing government ideologies that would lead the Soviets and the United States to expand communism and republicanism abroad.
2. How are the ideas of George F. Kennan reflected in Truman's Cold War policies?
 - Kennan strongly influenced Truman by suggesting a policy of long-term force against and containment of Soviet territorial and ideological aggression and expansion abroad. Eventually, the Soviet Union would collapse in the race to compete militarily with the United States.
3. What was the long-term significance of the Korean War?
 - Long-term significance included Truman's decision to commit troops without congressional approval, while his decision not to use nuclear weapons provided future limits on nuclear arms use. The war also expanded American involvement in Asia into a truly global policy of containment, and ended Truman's resistance to a major military buildup.

The Truman Era (pp. 813–818)

1. Why did Harry Truman seem a failure during his first term in the White House?
 - His problems included lofty campaign goals but resistance from conservatives in Congress, the outbreak of the Korean War, and the rise of fears

over internal subversion by communists in the U.S. government.

2. How does the Fair Deal differ from the New Deal?
 - Differences include attention to civil rights issues, a focus on applying a liberal vision of government to the lives of a greater number of citizens, and a focus on national health insurance.
3. Why have historians revised their views about the significance of espionage in American government? Does this make any difference about how we evaluate McCarthyism?
 - Documents have come to light since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 that reveal clear links between U.S. government officials and Soviet spies.
 - This makes no difference how we today evaluate McCarthyism since the tactics used to "expose" Communist sympathizers were immoral, unethical, and illegal. McCarthy did not have any direct evidence substantiating his claims at the time.

Modern Republicanism (pp. 818–828)

1. Why do we say that Eisenhower was heir to FDR, not Herbert Hoover?
 - Eisenhower used catchy campaign slogans to appeal directly to the people, promoted social welfare legislation, and expanded the scope of the American bureaucracy and administration in the form of big public works projects, such as the expansion of the public highway system.
2. Was Eisenhower an adherent to the concept of containment? How so?
 - Eisenhower believed in containment and tried to enforce it by creating a demilitarized zone between North and South Korea to end the conflict and contain the Communist advance. He also used a nuclear buildup rather than conventional forces to contain the Soviets, and increased spying missions over the Soviet Union.
3. Why was America's deepening involvement in the Third World a phenomenon of the 1950s rather than of the 1940s?
 - Devastation in Europe following World War II focused American energies in Europe, while U.S. expansion into the Third World was done in part as a response to the containment theory devised by George F. Kennan in the late 1940s. The rise of

anti-colonial resistance movements in the late 1940s in the Third World, and the disintegration of the European colonial system in the Third World compelled the United States to view smaller nations as strategic sites for economic expansion and containment of communism.

Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 26 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. What factors gave rise to the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union?
 - The Cold War came about due to competing political ideologies, competing economic systems, competition for territory in war-torn Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union—two nations that survived World War II intact. The Cold War was intensified by the United States’ creation of nuclear weapons technology in 1944 and the Soviet Union’s successful testing of nuclear weapons in 1949.
2. In what ways were President Truman’s and Eisenhower’s foreign policies similar? How did they differ?
 - Both believed in containment through the use of nuclear weapons and did not believe in recognizing the independence struggles of Third World nations.
 - They differed in that Eisenhower expanded containment to the Third World but did not believe in all-out use of nuclear force against the Soviets.
3. What was the domestic impact of the anti-Communist crusade of the late 1940s and 1950s?
 - The impact included the blacklisting of people accused of subversion, an increase in general paranoia regarding communist infiltration, a diversion of national attention away from issues of social welfare, and a decrease in support of civil liberties within the United States.

Class Discussion Starters

1. What factors gave rise to the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Possible answers

- a. The Soviet decision to impose Communist governments on the nations of Eastern Europe led the United States to organize NATO to protect the West from a Soviet attack.

- b. The hostility and aggression of Stalin toward the West ensured that confrontation would continue.
 - c. Long-standing conflict between the capitalist and Communist ideologies of the superpowers reemerged after the temporary cooperation of World War II.
 - d. U.S. demands for open trade throughout Europe after the war made the Soviet Union fear for its economic survival as a Communist state and led it to close Eastern Europe to Western commerce.
 - e. The perception among American policymakers that the Soviet Union had expansionist ambitions led the United States to adopt a policy of military and economic containment of communism.
2. Why were the more radical social reforms of Truman’s Fair Deal not enacted?

Possible answers

- a. With the country no longer in a depression, people felt that traditional laissez-faire individualism should be allowed to drive economic and social policies.
 - b. The Republicans joined conservative southern Democrats to halt what they saw as dangerously liberal social welfare policies.
 - c. Lobbyists such as the American Medical Association were able to persuade Congress that some of the proposed reforms were “socialist” in intent.
 - d. The outbreak of the Korean War shifted Washington’s interest away from domestic policy and toward fighting the Cold War.
3. What was the domestic impact of the anti-Communist crusade of the late 1940s and 1950s?

Possible answers

- a. Many famous people in the entertainment industry were blacklisted and unable to find work under their own names.
- b. Progressive political reforms were seen as reflections of Communist influence.
- c. Unsavory politicians were able to rise to power by threatening to expose subversives in the U.S. government.
- d. Spectacular trials, such as those of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Alger Hiss, were used to reaffirm the threat of Communist espionage in the United States.

- e. A pervasive climate of apprehension led to activities such as defense drills, construction of air raid shelters, and harmful radiation experiments performed on unknowing individuals.

4. What role did nuclear weapons technology play in the developing Cold War?

Possible answers

- a. The existence of atomic bombs raised the stakes of postwar foreign policy.
- b. The Soviets developed their own atomic bomb to support their expansionist ideology and to secure their hold on Eastern Europe.
- c. The successful test of atomic weapons by the Soviet Union drove the United States to seek bigger and more effective nuclear weapons, leading to a costly arms race between the two superpowers.
- d. The evidence in the United States that the Soviets had stolen the “secret” of the atomic bomb through espionage fueled the domestic anti-Communist crusade and was used to create an atmosphere of hostility toward and fear of the Soviet Union.
- 5. In what ways did the Cold War affect American policy at home and abroad during this period?**

Possible answers

- a. Much of the progressive legislation proposed by the Fair Deal was defeated by those who saw it as a threat to traditional American laissez-faire capitalism.
- b. The anti-Communist crusade made dissent from traditional political and social policies appear to be un-American.
- c. The decision to contain communism led the United States to make military commitments in Europe and Asia that in turn led to open warfare in Asia.
- d. The decision to establish a national security state led the government to invest heavily in defense industries, diverting economic assets from needed domestic social spending.
- e. The division of the world into two opposed and armed camps prevented a neutral policy toward the Third World from emerging.

Classroom Activity

1. Re-create the McCarthy hearings in class, either with Joe himself under indictment or a Hollywood victim of McCarthy’s witch hunt. Allow the students to devise a screenplay casting other students as accused and accuser. Make them aware of Arthur Miller’s *The Crucible* as a primary visual window into American reactions to red baiting during the 1950s. Each group in class will be responsible for putting on their version of a skit revealing the “Great Fear” era.

Oral History Exercise

- Ask students to interview someone who lived during the 1950s. Encourage them to develop a list of questions in class before they set out to interview. The questions should center on foreign events during the 1950s that relate to chapter themes. Generate a class discussion regarding the major themes of the era, and then ask students to devise questions related to these themes.

Working with Documents

COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

Hunting Communists and Liberals (p. 820)

1. On what grounds do Fulton Lewis Jr. and the HUAC assert that Dr. Frank Graham was a security risk? Do they charge that he was a Communist? Is there any evidence in these documents that he might have been a security risk?
 - The security officer of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) rejected Graham.
 - Graham joined Communist front and subversive organizations during the 1930s and 1940s, such as the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and was honorary president for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
 - They charge that he joined leftist organizations, but not that he was a Communist.
 - There is no evidence in the documents that he was a security risk.
2. How does Graham defend himself? Are you persuaded by his defense?

- He provides a persuasive defense by rejecting any support of Soviet communism or any other totalitarian regimes in the present time period, including Nazism during World War II.
 - He outlined in detail the functions of the conferences and organizations he took part in, emphasizing anti-communist, pro-labor, and New Deal–like social welfare programs.
3. Do you see any similarity between McCarthy’s famous speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, and the suspicions voiced against Dr. Graham by Lewis and the HUAC a year earlier?
- Similarities include the immediate and dire threat to national security posed by any association with communist or left-leaning political organizations, the alleged fact of government infiltration by Communist spies, and the impotency of the United States to stop the movement caused in part by Communist sympathizers within the government.

VOICES FROM ABROAD

Jean Monnet: Truman’s Generous Proposal (p. 807)

1. Why, according to Monnet, did Europe need mass economic assistance, and fast?
 - Devastation from World War II was augmented by a failed wheat harvest owing to an exceedingly cold winter.
 - Communists would use the opportunity to spread dissent against European governments.
2. Monnet was writing as an embattled Frenchman about the Marshall Plan. If you compare his account with the textbook’s account, what is missing from his account?
 - Monnet’s account omits the complexities of the U.S. perspective on the policy, including congressional opposition to socialistic programs that resembled Roosevelt’s New Deal.
3. Can you explain, on the basis of Monnet’s account of the Marshall Plan, why the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which was established the following year, proved so durable?
 - NATO immediately became a cooperative European-based organization that fed from the indi-

vidual needs of devastated nations for peace and prosperity following World War II.

- The United States would take a leading role based on Truman’s creation of the Marshall Plan in 1947.
- The Marshall Plan would also serve as a blueprint for the anti-communism basis of NATO.

Reading American Pictures

Why a Cold War Space Race? (p. 823)

1. Few scientific or technological achievements spark a card game, yet *Sputnik* did. Under the rules of the game, anyone dealt the *Sputnik* card lost two turns. What does that tell you?
 - This tells us that the launching of *Sputnik* by the Soviet Union was a serious setback to American foreign policy and its efforts to beat the Soviets in the space race, hence the loss of two turns if dealt the card in the *Sputnik* game.
2. Herblock was perhaps the most influential and widely syndicated political cartoonist of the Cold War era. What does his cartoon suggest are the reasons the United States didn’t beat the Soviets into space?
 - The underdevelopment of U.S. scientific research compared to the Soviet Union, the poor state of education of the nation’s children, and the secrecy of the federal government hampered U.S. efforts during the space race.
3. The Cold War was far more than a geopolitical conflict. It was also a competition between rival economic and cultural systems. How is that battle to demonstrate superiority revealed by the *Sputnik* episode? And by the “space race” that followed?
 - It was a matter of both national pride and pragmatic politics to be the first nation into outer space, as the Soviets would enjoy with *Sputnik*. The United States suffered a serious blow to the national consciousness when it lost the scientific battle to the Soviets during the 1950s.
 - The space race that followed was characterized by a fierce economic, social, and political competition that would define the Cold War era of outer space exploration between the two nations. Both nations spent billions of dollars to be essentially the first people to leave planet Earth.

Electronic Media

Web Sites

- *The Cold War International History Project*
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home
Established by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, this site provides many documents on the Cold War, including materials from former Communist-bloc countries.
- *The Cold War and Red Scare in Washington State*
<http://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/cpproject/curwick.htm>
The Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest has created a detailed information site on how the Great Fear operated in one state. Its bibliography includes books, documents, and videos.
- *Korea + 50: No Longer Forgotten*
www.trumanlibrary.org/korea
Co-sponsored by the Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower presidential libraries, this site offers official documents, oral histories, and photographs connected to the Korean War.

Films

- *The Atomic Café* (1982, Libra Films, 90 min)
The film documents the development of U.S. government propaganda regarding the atomic bomb.
- *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956, Allied Artists Pictures, 120 min)
A popular science fiction film that reveals the fear of outside attack and inside subversion that characterized the domestic culture of the early Cold War era.
- *This Is Korea* (1954, Republic Pictures, 50 min)
Directed by John Ford, this film documents the Korean War.

Literature

- George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925–1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967)
An inside look at the individual who created the basis of U.S. containment policy and so many wars abroad from Korea to Granada.

Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 26

FOR INSTRUCTORS

Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 26 are available as full-color acetates:

- The Perils of the Cold War
- Map 26.1 Cold War in Europe, 1955
- Map 26.2 The Korean War, 1950–1953
- Map 26.3 Presidential Election of 1948
- “Wonder Why We’re Not Keeping Pace?”
- Satellite Space Race
- Map 26.4 American Global Defense Treaties in the Cold War Era
- Map 26.5 The Military Industrial Complex in Los Angeles

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 26, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 26.1 Cold War in Europe, 1955
- Map 26.2 The Korean War, 1950–1953
- Map 26.3 Presidential Election of 1948
- Map 26.4 American Global Defense Treaties in the Cold War Era
- Map 26.5 The Military Industrial Complex in Los Angeles
- Figure 26.1 National Defense Spending, 1940–1965
- The Perils of the Cold War
- Postwar Devastation
- The Korean War
- Future Israelis
- “Wonder Why We’re Not Keeping Pace?”
- Satellite Space Race

Using the Bedford Series with *America's History, Sixth Edition*

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 26 include

- *Mao Zedong and China's Revolutions: A Brief History with Documents*, by Timothy Cheek, *University of British Columbia*

- *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*, Edited with an Introduction by Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*
- *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*, Second Edition, by Ellen Schrecker, *Yeshiva University*
- *Pioneers of European Integration and Peace, 1945–1963: A Brief History with Documents*, by Sherrill Brown Wells, *George Washington University*

FOR STUDENTS

Documents to Accompany *America's History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 26 of the companion reader by Kevin J. Fernlund, *University of Missouri–St. Louis*:

1. Nikolai Novikov, Telegram: A Soviet View of U.S. Foreign Policy (1946)
2. George F. Kennan, Containment Policy (1947)
3. Arthur Vandenberg, On NATO (1949)
4. NSC-68 (1950)
5. Lyndon B. Johnson, The American West: America's Answer to Russia (1950)
6. Joseph R. McCarthy, Communists in the U.S. Government (1950)
7. Civil Rights and the National Party Platforms (1948)
8. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954)
9. The Southern Manifesto (1956)
10. Rosa Parks, Describing My Arrest (1956)
11. Nikita Khrushchev, Peaceful Coexistence (1956)
12. John Foster Dulles, Cold War Foreign Policy (1958)
13. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Farewell Address (1961)

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 26:

Map Activity

- Map 26.2 The Korean War, 1950–1953

Visual Activity

- Reading American Pictures: *Why a Cold War Space Race?*

Reading Historical Documents Activities

- Comparing American Voices: *Hunting Communists and Liberals*
- Voices from Abroad: Jean Monnet: *Truman's Generous Proposal*

Critical Thinking Modules at bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules

These online modules invite students to interpret maps and audio, visual, and textual sources centered on events covered in the U.S. History Survey. The relevant module for Chapter 26 is

- N.S.C. 68 and Defense Spending

