25. Diplomacy and WWII

1. Foreign Policy: The Fiction of Isolation
   1. disillusionment with WWI, Europe’s postwar problems and communism in the Soviet Union made US afraid of another foreign war
   2. but were not completely isolationist-- instead advanced American interests while maintaining world peace
   3. Disarmament and Peace
      1. **Washington Conference (1921)**
         1. many representatives came to conference
         2. wanted to stabilize the size of US Navy relative to that of other powers and to resolve conflicts in the Pacific
         3. **Five-Power Treaty**- certain ratios established for GB, US, Japan, France and Italy
            1. GB and US agreed not to fortify possessions in Pacific
            2. Japanese dominance assured in East Asia
         4. **Four-Power Treaty**- GB, US, France and Japan must respect each other’s territory in the Pacific
         5. **Nine-Power Treaty**- agreed to **Open Door Policy**
      2. **Kellogg-Briand Pact**
         1. renounced the use of force to achieve national ends
         2. failed because:
            1. permitted defensive wars
            2. no provision for violators of the agreement-- based only on “moral force”
   4. Business and Diplomacy
      1. Republicans believed that business brought prosperity at home and strengthened relationships with other nations
      2. Latin America
         1. Mexico wanted government ownership of nation’s mineral and oil resources
         2. US investors not happy, so **Dwight Morrow** negotiated an agreement
         3. investments in Latin America doubled by 1929
         4. troops still in Nicaragua and Haiti
      3. **Secretary of State Hughes** won oil drilling rights for US companies in the Middle East
      4. **Fordney-McCumber Tariff**- increased the duties on foreign manufactured goods by 25 percent
         1. protected short term business interests
         2. Europe had difficulty repaying war debts to the US
         3. responded to US tariffs to their own tariffs on American imports
         4. decreased international trade, weakening the world economy
   5. War Debts and Reparations
      1. before WWI, US was debtor nation (imports > exports) but became creditor nation, after having lent more than $10 billion to the allies
      2. US wanted to be paid back in full, but GB and France said “NO, we just fought a war, yo!”
      3. impossible to collect debt payment from Germany since it was bankrupt, had soaring inflation and was near anarchy
      4. **Dawes Plan**
         1. cycle of payments from US to Germany to rebuild its economy, from Germany to Britain and France in reparations, then war debts to the US
         2. US industries becoming dependent on war torn European economies
         3. but after the stock market crash, bank loans and prosperity stopped
         4. only Finland was able to repay all of its debts
         5. lots of bad feelings on all sides
         6. Europe saw America as greedy, while America just used it as another reason to be isolationist
2. Intro
   1. after WWI, people wanted peace
   2. but in 1933, Japan was threatening Asia and Hitler was coming to power in Europe
   3. but US policy changed
3. **Herbert Hoover**’s Foreign Policy
   1. supported isolationism- US should not enter into firm commitments to preserve the security of other nations
   2. opposed economic sanctions b/c afraid of military involvement but supported peace conferences
   3. Japanese Aggression in Manchuria
      1. since Chiang wanted Manchuria to be part of China, Japan marched into Manchuria
      2. defied Open Door policy and the covenant of the League of Nations
      3. League of Nations just passed resolution condemning Japan, so Japan left the League of Nations
      4. set precedent of not being taken seriously
      5. US did nothing b/c hoped that moderates would retake Tokyo
      6. **Stimson Doctrine**- declared that under the Nine-Power Treaty, US would refuse to recognize legitimacy of any regime established by force
   4. Latin America
      1. ended interventionalist policies of Taft and Wilson; repudiated the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine
      2. removed US troops from Nicaragua and Haiti
      3. would recognize any sitting government in the region without questioning the means it had used to obtain power
4. Franklin Roosevelt’s Policies, 1933-1938
   1. mainly focused on the economic crisis at home
   2. **Good-Neighbor Policy**
      1. didn’t want to be interventionalist anymore
      2. reasons:
         1. interventionism in support of dollar diplomacy didn’t make sense
         2. rise of militarist regimes in Germany and Italy made Roosevelt want Latin America’s support in protecting the region
      3. **Pan-American Conferences**  
         “No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.”
         1. US pledged never to intervene again
         2. promised to put future disputes to arbitration
         3. wanted a unified hemisphere
      4. used economic, rather than military, pressures
      5. nullified the **Platt Amendment**, which Cubans resented
      6. Mexico’s president seized oil, so corporate world wanted intervention, but Roosevelt wanted negotiation instead
   3. Economic Diplomacy
      1. **London Economic Conference** (1933)
         1. Roosevelt did not want to stabilize currency, b/c then American goods would not be able to compete (bombshell speech)
         2. as a result, no agreement reached
      2. breaking with Republican tradition, Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union to increase US trade
      3. stopped making loans to any nation in default on its debts
      4. **Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934)** provided for independence of Philippines and removal of military presence from islands
      5. **Reciprocal Trade Agreements** allowed president to reduce tariffs up to 50 percent for nations that reciprocated with comparable reductions
         1. increased trade by 40 percent
         2. however, imports were not competitive with American industries, so other countries did not obtain the money necessary to buy American products or to pay back debts
   4. Events Abroad: Fascism and Aggressive Militarism
      1. nationalist resentments and economic hardships gave rise to military dictatorships in Italy, Japan and Germany, which formed the Axis Powers
      2. Italy
         1. **Benito Mussolini** led the Italian **Fascist party**
         2. supported by war veterans, nationalists and those afraid of communism
         3. fascism- glorification of race and nation through power
         4. black shirts
      3. Germany
         1. **Hitler** used anti-Semitism and economic resentment to grow in power
         2. argued for **Lebensraum** (living space) for the Aryan, superior race
         3. brown shirts
      4. Japanese nationalists and militarists persuaded Japan’s emperor that the best way to get raw materials was to invade China and SE Asia (the **Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere**)
   5. American Isolationists
      1. nationalistic, but in an isolationist way
      2. isolationism popular in Midwest and with Republicans
      3. Revisionist history of WWI
         1. most believed that entering WWI was a mistake
         2. **Gerald Nye’s** investigating committee concluded that US participation in the world war was to serve the greed of bankers and arms manufacturers
      4. Roosevelt wanted US to become member of World Court, but isolationists opposed
      5. Neutrality acts
         1. isolationists dominated Congress and passed many laws
         2. **Neutrality Act of 1935** authorized president to prohibit all arms shipments and warned US citizens that they traveled at their own risk
         3. **Neutrality Act of 1936** forbade the extension of loans and credits to belligerents.
         4. **Neutrality Act of 1937** forbade the shipment of arms to the opposing sides in the civil war in Spain
      6. Spanish civil war
         1. between fascists, led by **Francisco Franco**, and republicanists (Loyalists)
         2. most Americans, French and British supported the Loyalists
         3. Neutrality Acts prevented US from doing anything to help them
         4. Fascists won
      7. **America First Committee**
         1. formed b/c isolationists alarmed by Roosevelt’s pro-British policies
         2. got speakers like Charles Lindbergh to promote isolationism
   6. Prelude to War
      1. Hitler was creating very powerful air force
      2. France and GB decided on appeasement- letting Hitler get away with small acts of aggression and expansion
      3. let Mussolini take Ethiopia
      4. Hitler
         1. **Munich Conference** gave the Sudetenland to Hitler which was Czechoslovakia land, but mostly populated by German-speaking people
         2. allowed Hitler to remilitarize the **Rhineland**, violating the Treaty of Versailles
         3. Hitler marched into Austria and proclaimed union (**Anschluss**)
      5. US readily accepted Japanese apology for sinking a US gunboat during war with China
      6. Roosevelt tested public opinion with aggressive, “quarantine” speech, but no one liked it
      7. arms buildup for “preparedness”
5. From Neutrality to War, 1939-1941
   1. 1939- Hitler broke the Munich agreement and took all of Czechoslovakia  
      ~~“This is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe.”~~ lel Hitler lied!!
   2. showed Allies that Hitler’s ambitions had no limit
   3. Outbreak of War in Europe
      1. GB and France agreed to fight if Poland was attacked
      2. had always counted on Soviet Union to fight against Germany
      3. but Stalin signed nonaggression pact with Hitler, wanted to split Poland between them
      4. **blitzkrieg** (air power and fast-moving tanks) devastated Poland and the Scandinavian countries
      5. Germany took Paris within a few weeks
      6. GB and France followed through with promise and fought back
   4. Changing US Policy
      1. Americans alarmed by Hitler but still isolationist
      2. Roosevelt believed British survival crucial to US, so got rid of the neutrality laws
      3. by 1940, most people agreed to strengthen US defense, but argued about giving direct aid to Britain
      4. Americans began to believe that German victory would be a threat to the US
      5. 1939, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to create “**cash and carry**” Neutrality Act, which allowed belligerent to buy US arms if it used its own ships and paid cash
         1. benefited Britain much more b/c of British embargo
      6. **Selective Training and Service Act (1940)** provided for registration of all American men
      7. **destroyers-for-bases deal**- agreed to exchange old US destroyers in exchange for military bases on British islands in the Caribbean; by-passed Neutrality Acts
      8. popular movements:
         1. **Committee to Defend America** wanted increased American support, but not actual intervention
         2. **Fight for Freedom** wanted immediate declaration of war
   5. The Election of 1940
      1. Roosevelt was ambiguous about running for a third term
      2. but accepted the nomination saying,  
         “Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.”
      3. **Wendell Willkie** was the Republican candidate who agreed with Roosevelt on everything, except for running for third time
      4. Roosevelt won by a small margin because
         1. strong economic recovery based on defense purchases
         2. fear of war so voters wanted to stick with the experienced dude
   6. Arsenal of Democracy
      1. viewed Hitler as threat to US security and democracy  
         “We must be the great arsenal of democracy.”
      2. justified lending money to Britain to protect four freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear
      3. **Lend-Lease Act**- ended the cash-and-carry requirement of the Neutrality Act and permitted GB to obtain all arms needed on credit
      4. **Atlantic Charter**- secret document with Churchill for peace objectives after the war which included self-determination for all people, no territorial expansion and free trade
      5. began escorting British ships carrying lend-lease materials
      6. after German submarine attack, Roosevelt issued “**shoot on sight**” order-- US now fighting undeclared naval war against Germany
   7. Disputes with Japan
      1. relations became strained b/c of Japan’s invasion of China and expansion into SE Asia: the Dutch East Indies, British Burma, and French Indochina
      2. after Japan joined the Axis in 1940, Roosevelt prohibited the export of steel and scrap iron to all countries except Britain and other western hemisphere nations
      3. when Japan occupied French Indochina, US froze all Japanese credits and cut off Japanese access to US oil
      4. Japan needed oil so if US embargo did not end, then Japan would have to take the resources of the Dutch East Indies
      5. Roosevelt wanted Japan to pull out and Japan wanted Roosevelt to change oil policy, but neither side relented
      6. US wanted to avoid confrontation with Japan until Pacific forces strong, but Japan believed quick action necessary
   8. Pearl Harbor
      1. surprise attack overnight
      2. high level officials knew that there would be an attack, but not where
      3. unified American people in commitment to war  
         “Yesterday, December 7, 1941-- a date which will live in infamy-- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by the naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.”
      4. declared war on Japan, so Germany and Italy declared war on the US
6. World War II: The Home Front
   1. Hitler broke nonaggression pact with Stalin and ordered invasion of Soviet Union
   2. Allies decided to concentrate on war in Europe before shifting resources to counter Japan
   3. Industrial Production
      1. **War Production Board** managed war industries but not as successful as **War Industries Board** of WWI
      2. replaced by **Office of War Mobilization**, which set production priorities and controlled raw materials to prevent inflation
      3. cost-plus system used- war contractors were paid costs of production plus certain percentage for profit
      4. war vanquished the problems of the Great Depression
      5. production was highly efficient; US produced double of all of the Axis countries combined
      6. authorized by the **Anti-Inflation** **Act**, the **Office of Price Administration** froze prices, wages, and rents, and rationed meat, sugar, gasoline and auto tires
         1. not popular b/c of black market and overcharging
      7. unions
         1. labor unions and large corporations agreed that during war, no strikes
         2. union membership increased due to “maintenance of membership” agreement
         3. but **John L. Lewis** called for strikes anyways, because corporations made big profits while worker wages remained restricted
         4. **Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act of 1943** allowed govt to take over war-related businesses whose operations were threatened by a strike
      8. war finance through income tax and war bonds
   4. increase in factory jobs caused millions to leave rural areas for industrial jobs in Midwest and Pacific Coast
   5. young, elderly and women joined the workforce
   6. government invested in West’s transportation and military facilities; West became center of aircraft industry
   7. factories and military bases created new communities
   8. Technological advances
      1. **National Defense Research Committee** funded heavily by the government
      2. Germans innovated tanks and other mechanized armor
      3. Japan developed fighter planes
      4. British and Americans improved aviation, naval, radar and sonar technology
      5. improved bombers and cryptology to investigate Enigma codes
   9. African Americans
      1. more people than the Great Migration left South for jobs in North and West
      2. but still faced racism, so adopted “double v” slogan-- v for victory over fascism and v for victory for equality
      3. military began to integrate b/c segregation wasted manpower
      4. NAACP membership increased
      5. **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters** led by **Randolph** began to insist that govt require companies receiving defense contracts to integrate their work forces
      6. **Congress of Racial Equality** worked more militantly for black rights; forced restaurant to serve blacks
      7. ***Smith v. Allwright*** ruled denying membership in political parties to blacks to exclude them from voting in primaries was unconstitutional
   10. Native Americans
       1. during war, used own language to communicate with each other
       2. govt subsidies to reservations decreased, so many left for jobs outside
       3. some who left decided to assimilate
       4. others, after the wartime job openings closed, returned
       5. pressure to assimilate returned
   11. Mexican Americans
       1. many worked in defense industries and many served in the military
       2. **braceros**- Mexican farmworkers allowed to enter US during harvest season without going through formal immigration processes
       3. led to zoot suit (style of dress) riots in which whites and Mexican Americans fought
   12. communists and socialists not attacked, because they supported the war effort
   13. Japanese Americans
       1. had always been discriminated against and had never been able to assimilate
       2. many served loyally in army
       3. still suspected of being potential spies and saboteurs
       4. **War Relocation authority** ordered 100,000 Japanese Americans to live in internment camps
       5. became forced laborers
       6. ***Korematsu v. US*** upheld US government’s internment policy as justified in wartime
       7. in 1988, federal government awarded financial compensation to those still alive who had been interned
   14. Chinese Americans
       1. American alliance with China enhanced legal and social status of Chinese Americans
       2. Chinese Exclusion Acts repealed
       3. replaced with slightly greater immigration quota
   15. women
       1. served in noncombatant roles
       2. entered workforce to replace men
       3. employers adjusted and reduced the need for heavy labor
       4. joined unions and helped erode prejudice against women
       5. created communities of working women without families
       6. lack of childcare options led to “latchkey” children, more teen workers, greater violence and prostitution
       7. some worked in dance brigades to accompany servicemen
       8. “**Rosie the Riveter**” was song used to encourage women to take defense jobs
       9. still paid less than males though
   16. culture and entertainment
       1. more money to spend, but no consumer goods
       2. magazines, radios and dance halls became popular
   17. propaganda
       1. movies, radio and popular music controlled by **Office of War Information**
       2. purposes: maintain public morale, encourage sacrifice and conservation of resources and increase war production
       3. against not the people, but the political institutions-- except for the Japanese
   18. The Election of 1944
       1. wanted FDR again, but with new vice president-- not Henry Wallace but Harry Truman
       2. had been downplaying New Deal programs b/c of less unemployment, need for political capital to spend on war policies and the election
       3. Republicans offered Dewey who did not offer alternatives to Roosevelt
       4. Roosevelt elected for fourth term, but only lived to serve three months of it
7. World War II: The Battlefronts
   1. staged on the Pacific and European fronts
   2. Fighting Germany
      1. height of German attack ended in 1942 b/c of US’s entry into the war and b/c of Soviet victory at Stalingrad
      2. British and American strategy
         1. overcoming German submarines-- **Battle of the Atlantic** used radar, sonar and bombed German naval bases
         2. bombing raids on German cities
         3. wanted to launch series of Allied offensives around Nazi empire before invading France
      3. **Operation Torch** tried to take North Africa and the Mediterranean out of Germany’s hands
      4. liberated Paris on D day on the Normandy coast
      5. **Battle of the Bulge**- desperate German counterattack
      6. Germany no longer had industrial capacity to continue fighting
      7. march through germany revealed extent of Nazi genocide
   3. Fighting Japan
      1. whereas many nations contributed to the defeat of Germany, in the Pacific it was mostly the US
      2. Japan was quickly taking all of the Pacific
      3. **Battle of Midway**- turning point in which US won
      4. island-hopping strategy- bypass Japanese islands and isolated them with naval and air power
      5. **Battle of Leyte Gulf** destroyed Japanese navy
         1. first used in this battle, kamikaze (suicide pilots) inflicted heavy casualties
      6. Japan did not respond to unconditional surrender, so Truman authorized use of the atomic bomb (developed in Manhattan Project) on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
         1. scientist’s response: “This thing must not be permitted to exist on this earth. We must not be the most hated and feared people on the world.”
      7. Japan surrendered, but wanted emperor to remain on throne as a nominal head of state
8. The Holocaust
   1. despite knowledge of the atrocities, requests for help were rejected as militarily unfeasible
   2. argued that the best way to save them was to win the war
   3. immigration of Jews severely limited
9. Wartime Conferences
   1. US, Soviet Union and GB coordinated their military strategies and laid the foundation for peace terms
   2. Casablanca (1943)- Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to invade Sicily and demand “unconditional surrender” from the Axis powers
   3. Teheran (1943)- agreed for America and GB to liberate France and for SU to invade Germany
   4. **Yalta**- agreed that after European victory achieved:
      1. Germany divided into occupation zones, Berlin also divided into occupation zones
      2. free elections in liberated countries of Eastern Europe, except SU didn’t agree
      3. SU enter in war against Japan
      4. SU control some Pacific islands and Manchuria
      5. UN would be created
   5. Roosevelt died suddenly
   6. **Potsdam** (1945)
      1. warning to Japan to surrender unconditionally
      2. war-crime trials of Nazi leaders
10. War’s Legacy
    1. Costs
       1. many injured and killed
       2. huge debt and deficit incurred
    2. The United Nations quickly created by delegates from 50 nations and accepted by Congress
    3. US was now the most powerful nation in the world

Chapter 26- Truman and the Cold War, 1945-1952

1. Origins of the Cold War
   1. conflict between Soviet Union and United States
      1. US wanted international organization to be arbitrator of conflicts
      2. but GB and SU wanted spheres of influence
   2. close to nuclear war
   3. some saw Truman as reasonable, others felt he misunderstood and overreacted to Russia’s need to secure its borders
   4. US-Soviet Relations to 1945
      1. wartime alliance was temporary halt in poor relations of the past
      2. **Bolshevik Revolution** which established Communist government in Russia was seen as threat to all capitalistic economies-- led to Red Scare
      3. refused to recognize SU until 1933
      4. still no trust b/c no trade in Russia and no protection from Japanese expansion
      5. Nonaggression Pact of 1939 (Stalin and Hitler agreed to divide up Eastern Europe) only confirmed their view
   5. Allies in WWII
      1. alliance of convenience, not mutual trust
      2. Stalin bitter that allies waited to open second front in France as SU took brunt of German effort on the Western Front
      3. Truman was always suspicious of Soviet Union
   6. Postwar cooperation-- UN
      1. General Assembly meant to provide representation to all member nations
      2. 15-member Security Council given primary responsibility for maintaining international security and authorizing peacekeeping missions
      3. US, GB, France, China and SU given permanent seats in Security Council
      4. SU agreed with Atomic Energy Commission, but rejected **Baruch Plan** which wanted to regulate nuclear energy and eliminate atomic weapons
      5. US offered participation in World Bank, but SU saw it as instrument of capitalism and declined
      6. SU also did not participate in Nuremberg trials of 22 top Nazi leaders for war crimes and violations of human rights
      7. SU wanted Poland to be procommunist, but GB and US wanted democratic government
   7. Satellite states in Eastern Europe
      1. more distrust and hostility b/c SU remained in control of Eastern Europe
      2. elections held, but manipulated in favor of Communist dictators loyal to Russia
      3. Russia wanted buffer states as protection from Hitler-like invasion from West
      4. US and GB viewed the satellite states as violations of self-determination, genuine democracy and open markets
   8. Occupation zones in Germany
      1. Germany and Austria only supposed to be temporarily divided into French, British, Soviet and US zones of occupation
      2. but eastern zone under Soviet occupation became German Democratic Republic
      3. Soviets wanted weak Germany for security reasons and large war reparations for economic reasons
      4. US and GB wanted economic recovery of Germany for Central European stability
      5. Soviets tightened grip over East Germany and attempted to kick the others out of their assigned sectors of Berlin, which laid within Soviets’ zone
   9. Iron Curtain
      1. get-tough policy encouraged by news of spies stealing atomic secrets for the Soviets and continued Soviet occupation of northern Iran  
         “I’m tired of babying the Soviets.”
      2. iron curtain referred to the Soviet satellite states of Eastern Europe
      3. Churchill’s speech called for union of Western democracies to halt the expansion of communism
2. Containment in Europe
   1. containment policy formulated by:
      1. secretary of state, General **George Marshall**
      2. undersecretary of state, **Dean Acheson**
      3. expert on Soviet affairs, **George F. Kennan**  
         “[only] a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendences” would eventually cause the Soviets to back off
      4. some felt that it was too much-- that only some places were necessary to US security
      5. but others, learning from Munich and appeasement, felt that Communist aggression must be challenged no matter where or what
   2. The **Truman Doctrine**
      1. containment policy enacted because of:
         1. Communist-led uprising against the Greek government
         2. Soviet demands for control of Turkey’s Dardanelles
      2. wanted $400 million in economic and military aid to assist the people of Greece and Turkey against SU
   3. **The Marshall Plan**
      1. discontent encouraged growth of Communist party; Truman administration afraid that democracies would vote communists into power
      2. **European Recovery Program** was $17 billion aid program to Western Europe
      3. SU and Eastern European offered, but refused b/c afraid of dependence on US
      4. helped create self-sustaining growth and ended possibility of Communist political successes
      5. increased US exports to Europe
      6. deepened rift b/w non-Communist West and Communist East
   4. **Berlin Airlift**
      1. June 1948, Soviet cut off all access by land to Berlin
      2. Truman didn’t want to withdraw *or* use force to open up the roads-- feared full-scale war
      3. instead, flew in supplies to the people of West Berlin while flying atomic bombers to bases in England
      4. Stalin didn’t challenge the airlift and eventually opened up the highways to Berlin
      5. long term impact: two Germanies created
   5. **NATO and National Security**
      1. Truman broke with Washington’s tradition of no permanent alliances with European nations
      2. created **North American Treaty Organization (NATO)**, military alliance for defending all members from outside attack
      3. General Eisenhower was Supreme Commander
      4. troops stationed in Western Europe as deterrent against Soviet invasion
      5. **Warsaw Pact** was Soviet military alliance for the defense of Communist states of Eastern Europe
      6. **National Security Act (1947)**
         1. provided for centralized Department of Defense to replace the War Department
         2. creation of **National Security Council** for Cold War foreign policy making
         3. created **Central Intelligence Agency** to gather information on foreign governments
      7. Selective Service and peacetime draft instituted
      8. arms race began
      9. Soviet Union developed atomic bomb, then US developed hydrogen bomb
      10. decided in **NSC-68** that following were necessary for Cold War:
          1. quadruple US government defense spending to 20 percent of GDP
          2. form alliances with non-Communist countries
          3. convince Americans that costly arms buildup was necessary for nation’s defense
      11. critics said that Truman only intensified Russian fears and started unnecessary arms race
      12. but NATO was very successful in deterring and checked Soviet expansion in Europe
3. Cold War in Asia
   1. not as successful in Asia as was in Europe
   2. Japan
      1. unlike Germany, solely under control of US
      2. some generals tried for war crimes and executed
      3. constitution created parliamentary democracy and renounced war as national policy instrument and provided for only limited military capability
      4. **US-Japanese Security Treaty**
         1. Japan surrendered its claims to Korea and Pacific islands
         2. 1951- ended formal occupation of Japan, but allowed US troops to remain in Japan to protect against communism
   3. The Philippines became independent republic, but US retained important naval and air bases
   4. China
      1. Nationalist party retained control during WWII with help of US military aid
      2. however, were losing loyalty b/c of inflation and corruption, while Communists appealed to the poor landless peasants
      3. civil war between Communists and Nationalists began again
      4. money given to Nationalist government, but 80 percent of military supplies ended up in Communist hands b/c of corruption and collapse of Nationalists
      5. mainland China lost to Mao Zedong and Taiwan became Nationalist
      6. Republicans blamed Democrats for the “loss of China”
      7. **Sino-Soviet pact** between Stalin and Mao was proof of worldwide Communist conspiracy
      8. instead of China, decided to go for Japan as the pro-US force in the Pacific
   5. **The Korean War**
      1. after defeat of Japan, Korea divided at 38th parallel
      2. Soviets occupied north, while US occupied south
      3. north became Communist under Kim Il Sung and south became democratic under Syngman Rhee
      4. North Korea invaded South Korea, so Truman asked UN to authorize force to defend South America
      5. wanted to create a “unified, independent and democratic Korea”
      6. UN was losing, but turned it around under General MacArthur in amphibious assault
      7. pushed North Korea too far and too close to China, so China drove UN out of North Korea
      8. while MacArthur stabilized the fighting at the 38th parallel, he wanted full war (bombing and invasion of mainland China)
      9. Truman perceived this as criticism of US policy, but the general continued speaking out  
         “There is no substitute for victory.”
      10. Truman fired MacArthur for insubordination and was viewed as an appeaser to communism, while MacArthur was a hero
      11. war stalemated
      12. containment policy stopped Communist aggression without starting a world war
      13. used as justification for dramatically expanding the military, funding new jet bomber and stationing more US troops in overseas bases
      14. Republicans characterized Truman and Democrats as “soft on communism”
      15. **Office of Defense Mobilization** created to fight inflations by holding down prices and discouraging union demands, but overall ineffective against unions

Chapter 27: The Eisenhower Years, 1952-1960

1. Eisenhower and the Cold War
   1. Dulles’ Diplomacy
      1. **John Foster Dulles** was Secretary of State
      2. criticized Truman’s policy as too passive
      3. **brinkmanship**- wanted to push Communist powers to the brink of war so they’d back down b/c of American nuclear superiority
      4. Eisenhower reined Dulles’ ideas in
      5. Dulles wanted more investment in nuclear weapons and air power and less investment in the army and navy
      6. reasons: save money, balance federal budget and increase pressure on potential enemies
      7. US developed hydrogen bomb and SU soon followed
      8. nuclear weapons were deterrent against superpower wars, but could not prevent small “brushfire” wars in the developing nations
   2. Unrest in the Third World
      1. many colonies gained independence, but lacked stable political and economic institutions
      2. need for foreign aid made them pawns of the Cold War
      3. Covert action
         1. undercover intervention seemed less objectionable and less expensive than US troops
         2. CIA helped overthrow an Iranian government that had tried to nationalize the holding of foreign oil companies, instead allowing for **Reza Pahlavi** to return and give the West with good oil prices and large arms purchases
         3. supported corrupt, ruthless dictators in Guatemala and Venezuela over communist, leftist governments
   3. The Middle East
      1. Israel created as Jewish state; was protested by Palestinians and other Israeli neighbors, but recognized by UN and US
      2. **Suez crisis**
         1. Egypt nationalized the British- and French-owned Suez Canal
         2. Britain, France and Israel carried out surprise attack against Egypt and retook the canal
         3. Eisenhower was furious that he was unaware, so he condemned the invasion of Egypt, forcing them to withdraw
         4. Britain and France would never again be major powers in world affairs
      3. **Eisenhower Doctrine**
         1. pledged economic and military aid to any middle Eastern country threatened by communism
         2. after Suez crisis, US became dominant western power in Middle East
         3. doctrine first applied to Lebanon; sent troops to prevent civil war between Christians and Muslims
         4. **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries** consisted of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran and Venezuela
   4. US- Soviet Relations
      1. relations fluctuated between calm and tension
      2. Spirit of Geneva
         1. Eisenhower wanted slowdown in arms race, so presented **atoms for peace** plan
         2. Soviets withdrew troops from Austria and established peaceful relations with Greece and Turkey
         3. Eisenhower proposed “open skies” over each other’s territory to eliminate chance of surprise nuclear attack
         4. Soviets rejected it, but **Khrushchev** still supported “peaceful coexistence” with West
      3. Hungarian revolt
         1. workers started demanding reforms from Communist government
         2. overthrew government and replaced it with leaders who wanted to pull Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact
         3. but Khrushchev sent in troops to crush them
         4. US didn’t do anything, giving de facto recognition to the Soviet sphere of influence
      4. **Sputnik** shock
         1. SU launched first satellites into orbit around the world
         2. American technological leadership questioned, especially when similar rockets failed
         3. also intensified fear of nuclear war, because the missiles used for the satellites could also be used for nuclear weapons
         4. Congress responded with **National Defense and Education Act** which gave hundreds of millions in federal money for science and foreign language education
         5. **NASA** created to built missiles and explore outer space
      5. **Second Berlin crisis**  
         “We will bury capitalism.”-- Khrushchev
         1. gave West six months to pull troops out of West Berlin, but US refused
         2. to defuse crisis, Khrushchev and Eisenhower went to presidential retreat of Camp David
         3. crisis put off for another summit conference in Paris
      6. **U-2 Incident**
         1. Russians shot down high-altitude US spy plane
         2. exposed secret US tactic for gaining information despite rejection of open-skies proposal
         3. Khrushchev called off the Paris summit
   5. Communism in Cuba
      1. **Fidel Castro** overthrew Cuban dictator **Fulgencio Batista**
      2. nationalized American-owned businesses and properties and accepted SU assistance
      3. Eisenhower retaliated by cutting off US trade with Cuba
      4. Castro turned to Soviets for support, revealing his Marxist sentiments
      5. set up Communist totalitarian state
      6. CIA authorized to train anticommunist Cuban exiles to retake the island
   6. Eisenhower’s Legacy
      1. claimed credit for checking Communist aggression, keeping the peace and relaxing tensions
      2. wanted to “guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence...by the military-industrial complex.”
      3. didn’t want US to become military/imperial state

Chapter 28: Promises and Turmoil, the 1960s

1. Introduction
   1. economic prosperity peaked in the 1960s, while racial strife, controversial war and student radicalism started to tear the country apart
2. John F. Kennedy’s New Frontier
   1. created **Peace Corps**, an organization that recruited young American volunteers to give technical aid to developing countries
   2. **Alliance for Progress** promoted land reform and economic development in Latin America
   3. **Agency for International Development** coordinated foreign aid
   4. **Trade Expansion Act** authorized tariff reductions with the European Economic Community (Common Market) of Western European nations
   5. **Bay of Pigs invasion (1961)**
      1. Kennedy authorized CIA to train Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro’s regime
      2. failed to set off general uprising and were not saved by US forces
      3. Castro used failed invasion to get even more aid from the Soviet Union
   6. **Berlin Wall**
      1. Khrushchev demanded that US troops pull out of Berlin, but Kennedy refused
      2. started to build wall between East and West Berlin
      3. Kennedy called up reserves, but did not oppose the wall
      4. still assured Americans of US’s support though  
         “Freedom has many difﬁculties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put up a wall to keep our people in. . . . As a free man, I take pride in the words, ‘Ich bin ein Berliner’ [I am a Berliner].”
      5. was symbol of Cold War
   7. **Cuban missile crisis (1962)**
      1. counter to the American missiles in Turkey
      2. Russians were building missile sites in Cuba-- missiles could reach US in minutes
      3. Kennedy set up naval blockade of Cuba until the weapons were removed
      4. if Soviet ships challenged the blockade, nuclear war was likely
      5. but Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba if Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba
      6. hotline established between US and SU for communication during crises
      7. **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** ended the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere
   8. **Flexible response**
      1. “brushfire wars” were aided by Soviet arms and training
      2. expanded the **Special Forces**- soldiers trained specifically to fight guerrilla conflicts
      3. Kennedy started spending on conventional arms and mobile military forces to send elite forces to third world countries like Vietnam
   9. Assassination in Dallas
      1. Kennedy murdered by **Lee Harvey Oswald**
      2. many conspiracy theories about his assassination contributed to loss of credibility in government
3. Vietnam War
   1. Fall of Indochina
      1. France wanted to take Vietnam back, but native Vietnamese and Cambodians resisted under nationalist and Communist leader **Ho Chi Minh**
      2. US gave aid to France, while China and SU gave aid to Ho Chi Minh
      3. at **Geneva Conference,** France agreed to give up Indochina, which was divided into Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam
   2. Division of Vietnam
      1. Geneva Conference wanted to temporarily divide Vietnam at the 17th parallel until election possible
      2. but North Vietnam controlled by Ho Chi Minh and South Vietnam controlled by **Ngo Dinh Diem**, supported by anticommunist, Catholic and urban Vietnamese
      3. general election never held b/c South Vietnam afraid that the Communists would win
      4. US gave $1 billion in economic and military aid to South Vietnam
      5. justified with **domino theory** that if one nation fell to communism, then the other countries in the area would fall as well
      6. **SEATO** created to prevent the fall to communism
         1. like NATO, member nations would defend each other in case of attack
         2. signed by US, GB, France, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan
   3. Early Stages
      1. involvement became larger and larger
      2. Buildup under Kennedy
         1. adopted domino theory, so increased military aid to South Vietnam’s regime and increased military “advisers”
         2. troops were support, not combat
         3. South Vietnam’s government not popular-- Buddhists setting themselves on fire and Diem assassinated
      3. **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**
         1. Vietnam falling apart-- seven different governments
         2. allegedly, North Vietnamese gunboats had fired on US warships in Gulf of Tonkin
         3. naval incident used to secure congressional authorization for combat
         4. Congress approved and allowed president to take “all necessary measures” to protect US interests in Vietnam
         5. Johnson faced with dilemma: pull out and look weak, or stop defeat of weak, unpopular government without turning it into an American war?
      4. Dominican Republic
         1. Juan Bosch gained control after assassination of General Rafael Trujillo
         2. believed that Bosch wanted to establish pro-Castro, communist regime
         3. American troops sent until conservatives beat Bosche in next election
   4. Escalating the War
      1. **Operation Rolling Thunder** was prolonged air attack against North Vietnam
      2. used troops to fight Vietcong
      3. tried to win war of attrition using search-and-destroy tactics
      4. Controversy
         1. credibility gap b/w public and govt created b/c of misinformation from military and civilian leaders
         2. hawks (supporters) believed that the war was Soviet-backed aggression against South Vietnam
         3. doves (opponents) believed that conflict was civil war between nationalists and Communists against corrupt Saigon government
         4. some Americans opposed b/c of cost in lives and money-- money could be better spent on cities and poor
         5. strong opposition from college students who would become eligible for drafts after graduation
      5. **Tet Offensive**
         1. surprise attack against almost all bases in South Vietnam
         2. heavy tolls on both sides, but victory was for Americans
         3. however, viewed as destructive setback
         4. American public no longer as supportive of Johnson
      6. LBJ started to decrease troops and would negotiate peace
      7. peace talks stalled, war continued and many more died