

UNIT VII

POSTWAR CONCERNS

CHAPTER 17 The Cold War

World War II was the most destructive war in history. It took the lives of 14 million soldiers and more than 20 million civilians. Millions more were wounded. There was widespread suffering from disease and starvation, and many people were left homeless. At the war's end, thousands of cities, villages, factories, and farms lay in ruins.

The war also changed the balance of power. It had left Britain and France too weak to play a decisive role in the postwar world. Two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, now dominated international affairs. It also caused a surge of nationalism, especially in colonial regions. Between 1945 and 1960, more than 30 former colonies became independent countries.

After World War II, many people found it difficult to believe that humanitarian ideals played a part in international relationships. What would the future hold now that the United States had used the atomic bomb against civilians?

PLANNING THE POSTWAR WORLD

After World War I, most Americans had wanted to concentrate on their own affairs. The World War II generation was willing to commit the nation to foreign alliances, foreign aid, and other forms of international involvement.

1. Wartime Conferences. In 1941, four months before Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt and Churchill issued the Atlantic Charter. Though not binding, it set forth a number of aims that other anti-Axis countries

later endorsed. These included the right of people to choose their own form of government, free trade, and the disarmament of aggressor nations.

a. Tehran Conference. After the United States entered World War II, there were several important meetings of the leaders of the "Big Three"—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. At Tehran, Iran, in November 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin not only discussed the Normandy invasion but also talked about reducing the power of Germany after the war.

b. Yalta Conference. In February 1945, the three leaders met again at Yalta, a Soviet resort on the Black Sea. With the war in Europe nearly over, postwar planning could now be more specific. The Big Three agreed on a joint military occupation of Germany after the war. They promised to support free elections to create "broadly representative" governments in liberated countries. Roosevelt and Churchill also secretly promised Stalin territory in Asia if the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan. In addition, Roosevelt and Churchill approved the Soviet annexation of eastern Poland and the transfer of a part of eastern Germany to Poland.

c. Potsdam Conference. A final Big Three meeting took place at Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. Since Roosevelt had died in April, the United States was now represented by Harry S. Truman. Near the end of the conference, Clement Attlee, Britain's new prime minister, replaced Churchill. At this meeting, the Allied leaders made plans for the occupation of Germany. They set up a council of foreign ministers to draw up peace treaties and issued the "unconditional surrender" ultimatum to Japan that would precede the planned atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

2. The Question of Germany. By the end of the war in Europe, eastern Germany had become a Soviet zone of occupation. Western Germany was divided into British, U.S., and French zones. Berlin, in the Soviet zone, was divided into four sectors. (Austria and its capital, Vienna, were divided and occupied in a similar fashion.)

a. Resettlement and reparations. During the war, the Allies had agreed to give the German territory east of the Oder and Neisse rivers to Poland. This agreement forced millions of Germans to resettle within the new German borders.

The Allies had more trouble agreeing on German reparations. The original plan was to take payment in valuable goods, such as factories, rather than money. Realizing, however, that a permanently weakened Germany would create future problems for Western Eu-

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rope, they discontinued the plan. The United States adopted a new policy of supporting Germany's economic recovery.

b. Punishing the Nazis. In their wartime meetings, the Allies had made plans to root out Nazism in Germany. One goal was *denazification*—the removal of all Nazis from positions of authority in Germany. Courts were set up to judge individual cases. But the program was abandoned because it was too expensive and difficult to implement.

Public trials of major Nazi leaders were held in Nuremberg, Germany, in 1945–1946. The main trial involved 22 officials charged with waging aggressive war and committing “crimes against humanity.” A panel of judges representing the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and the United States sentenced 12 of the accused to death and 7 to prison. (Three others were acquitted.)

3. The United Nations. In 1944, representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China met in Washington, D.C. There they drew up plans for a postwar international organization to replace the League of Nations. It was to be called the United Nations (UN). A UN charter was created in the spring of 1945. By October, the organization had been established in New York City with 51 members.



Senator Tom Connally, a member of the U.S. Delegation to the San Francisco Conference on creating the Charter to the UN, signed the Charter on June 26, 1945. On the left, President Truman observed.

The United States became a charter member of the UN. Many Americans felt that their isolationism after World War I had helped bring on World War II. Then, too, Roosevelt's methods of seeking *bipartisan* support (that is, the support of both major political parties) swayed many Americans in favor of the UN. He sent Republicans and Democrats to help create the UN charter. After Roosevelt's death, Truman continued the same bipartisan approach.

a. Structure of the UN. The *General Assembly* is the democratic forum of the United Nations. Each Assembly member has an equal vote. The *Security Council* has a more active role. Unlike any group within the League of Nations, the UN Security Council can take military action against aggressors. Decisions on important matters, however, require the support of the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China. Each can veto any action being considered.

Other UN departments and their duties are as follows: (1) The *Secretariat* does the UN's administrative and clerical work; (2) The *Economic and Social Council* makes recommendations and coordinates activities in a wide variety of fields, from trade and development to population and human rights; (3) The *International Court of Justice* settles legal disputes between nations; (4) The *Trusteeship Council* was set up to supervise colonial possessions. Over the years, as former colonies became independent, its field of responsibility steadily diminished.

b. The UN in action. The UN has been more successful at listening to members' problems than at solving them. Nonetheless, it has many accomplishments to its credit. In 1948, it issued a Declaration of Human Rights, which supported the rights of all people to life, liberty, and safety. The UN also outlawed *genocide*—the mass killing of a national, racial, or religious group. It helped formulate an international agreement banning nuclear weapons in outer space and the setting up of military bases on the moon or the planets. And it sent peacekeeping forces to maintain order in a number of trouble spots, including the Congo, Lebanon, East Timor, and the Balkans.

Specialized agencies have worked to aid refugees, to care for child victims of war or poverty, and to fight epidemics. Technical advice and aid have been extended to developing countries. The UN has also made loans for public works; improved worldwide weather forecasting; and set international standards and regulations for civil aviation, shipping, and postal services.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Big Three, resettlement, Security Council, General Assembly, genocide.

CRITICAL THINKING: Why did the Allies want to set up the United Nations after World War II?

BEGINNING OF THE COLD WAR

During World War II, the Soviet Union had taken over Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. When the war ended, the Soviets occupied not only eastern Germany but also Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and eastern Czechoslovakia.

1. The Iron Curtain. Shortly after the war, Communists controlled the governments of all the countries of Eastern Europe. In some cases, Communists came to power through elections. But in these elections, only Communists had been allowed to run or vote. In other cases, the Communists seized power by force and imprisoned or murdered members of opposition parties. As early as March 1946, Britain's former prime minister, Winston Churchill, spoke of an "iron curtain" separating Communist from non-Communist countries. The last Eastern European country to fall under Communist domination was Czechoslovakia, in 1948.

Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania had close political and economic links to the Soviet Union. These nations became known as *satellites*, since they depended on the Soviet Union as the planets in our solar system depend on the sun. Albania and Yugoslavia also set up Communist governments but broke away from Soviet domination.

Serious tension developed between the two *superpowers*, the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was the *Cold War*—a conflict fought mainly with economic, political, and diplomatic weapons. It pitted the non-Communist (Western) bloc against the Communist (Eastern or Soviet) bloc.

The West distrusted the Soviet Union because, since the Bolshevik Revolution, Soviet leaders had been calling for world revolution to overthrow capitalism. The Soviet Union was generally distrustful of the West. Since the USSR had suffered such severe damage in the two world wars, its leaders wanted to protect it from future attack by surrounding its borders with satellite states.

2. Containment. During this time of mutual suspicion, U.S. leaders were influenced by a State Department expert, George Kennan, who predicted that the Soviet Union would expand wherever it could. He

urged the United States to adopt a policy of *containment* (policy of restricting Soviet aggression and influence).

a. *The Truman Doctrine.* Containment was first put into action in Greece and Turkey. Neighboring Communist countries were aiding Greek revolutionaries in a war against their government. Britain had been helping the Greek government, but by 1947, it could no longer do so. At the same time, the Soviets were demanding that Turkey allow them to share control of the straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Afraid that both Greece and Turkey would fall under Communist control, President Truman declared that the United States must "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." This principle became known as the *Truman Doctrine*. To reinforce it, the United States sent military equipment, supplies, and advisers to Greece and Turkey. The Greek government put down the rebellion, and Turkey successfully resisted Soviet demands.

b. *The Marshall Plan.* Secretary of State George E. Marshall proposed a financial aid plan in 1947 that was also intended to contain Soviet expansion. Concerned that Communists might exploit war-devastated countries, he asked European leaders to draw up a blueprint of their needs. In response, 16 nations adopted a four-year, multibillion-dollar plan to provide participating nations with food, fuel, raw materials, and machinery. In 1948, Congress approved this European Recovery Program, now called the *Marshall Plan*. The Soviet Union and its satellites refused to take part in the plan. They organized strikes in participating nations and sabotaged U.S. foreign aid shipments.

The United States spent more than \$12 billion on the Marshall Plan. The plan helped participating nations raise their industrial and agricultural production above prewar levels and stimulated their international trade. It also helped the United States by reviving the European market for American goods. And it held communism in check by reducing the economic and political instability on which communism thrives.

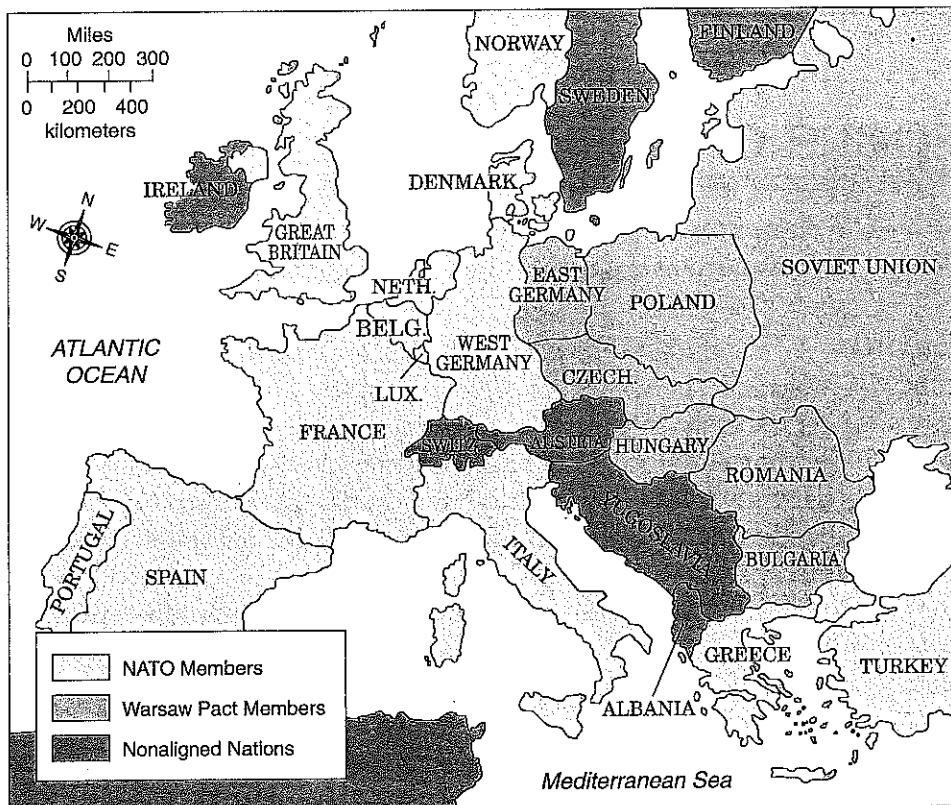
The continuation of the Cold War kept the United States from ending foreign aid in 1952. Gradually, U.S. shifted aid from Europe to developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To these, the United States provided food, raw materials, machinery, and scientific and industrial know-how.

3. Crisis in Germany. The Western powers and the Soviet Union could not agree on a peace treaty for Germany or to the setting up

of a unified German government. In 1948, the United States, Britain, and France acted without the Soviet Union and combined their zones of occupation in western Germany to create a single republic. In retaliation, the Soviet Union refused to allow trucks and trains from the West travel through its zone in East Germany to Berlin. Cut off from their main source of supplies, 2 million West Berliners faced starvation.

The Western Allies broke the Berlin Blockade with a gigantic airlift. For 11 months starting in June 1948, cargo planes flew food, coal, and other supplies into Berlin. The Soviets finally lifted the Berlin Blockade in May 1949. In that same month, the new Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) came into being. Its capital was Bonn. West Germany received Marshall Plan aid and was slowly brought into the ranks of the Western powers. In 1955, the Western Allies granted the country full independence. They also allowed West Germany to rearm by creating an army of up to 500,000 troops. In addition, it was permitted to manufacture its own military equipment (except atomic weapons, guided missiles, and large warships).

European Military Alliances, 1982



4. Military Alliances. In 1949, Western powers organized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Its original members were the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Britain. The NATO nations agreed to treat an armed attack on one member as an attack on all. They set up a unified military force, to which each member contributed funds and personnel. Greece and Turkey became members in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982.

After West Germany joined NATO, the Communist bloc announced its own military alliance, the Warsaw Pact. When organized in 1955, it had eight members—the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Albania, and East Germany. The armed forces of these nations were placed under a unified command, with headquarters in Moscow. Albania withdrew from the pact in 1968, and Yugoslavia (another Communist country of Eastern Europe) never joined.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: iron curtain, superpower, Cold War, containment, Berlin Blockade, NATO, Warsaw Pact.

CRITICAL THINKING: How and why did the United States policy toward the Soviet Union change soon after World War II?

FOCUS ON ASIA

The Cold War extended to the Far East, where events threatened to plunge both superpowers into a "hot" war again.

1. Japan. At the end of World War II, U.S. troops, with General Douglas MacArthur in charge, occupied Japan. Japan was disarmed, its war industries dismantled, its war criminals tried, and its government made more democratic. (The emperor, however, was allowed to keep his throne.) Japan was forced to withdraw from territories it had seized during the war and to surrender all of its prewar acquisitions.

For five years, the Western Allies and the Soviet Union could not agree on a peace treaty for Japan. In 1951, the United States bypassed the Soviet Union and (with 48 other countries) signed a treaty with Japan. The treaty gave Japan back its independence. Japan promised to abide by the principles of the UN charter, and became a UN member in 1956.

2. China. Since the 1920s, Chinese Communists, led by Mao Zedong, had fought a civil war against the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek. When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, the two Chinese blocs suspended their civil war so that they could both fight the invaders. But after Japan's defeat in 1945, they resumed their struggle.

At the end of the war, the Soviets gave huge quantities of captured Japanese weapons to the Chinese Communists. Although aided by the United States, the Nationalists were unable to withstand the stepped-up Communist attacks. In 1949, the victorious Mao's forces set up the People's Republic of China. Chiang and his Nationalist followers withdrew to Taiwan. The United States and the United Nations refused to recognize the new Communist government on the mainland. It regarded the Taiwan regime as the legitimate government of China.

3. The Korean War. Annexed by Japan in 1910, Korea came under Soviet and U.S. control in 1945 after Japan's defeat. The Soviet Union occupied Korea north of the 38th parallel; the United States, south of it. A single government was supposed to be set up after national elections. Instead, two rival nations emerged: North Korea, backed by the Soviet Union, and South Korea, with ties to the United States.



More than 500,000 U.S. troops served in the Korean conflict, 1950–1953.

a. Beginning of the conflict. In June 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The UN Security Council ordered North Korea to withdraw, but it refused. The Council called on all UN members to help enforce its demands. (The Soviet Union could not veto the resolution because it was boycotting UN meetings at the time.) Although other UN members besides the United States pledged aid, the war was fought mainly by South Korean and U.S. troops. Douglas MacArthur commanded the UN forces in Korea.

After capturing the capital city of Seoul, the North Koreans pushed the UN forces southward. In September 1950, with only a small area around the southeastern city of Pusan remaining in UN hands, MacArthur launched a counterattack. He landed 50,000 U.S. troops 150 miles north of enemy lines. UN troops in the Pusan area began to drive northward. MacArthur forced the invaders back across the 38th parallel and captured the North Korean capital of Pyongyang. Then he moved toward the boundary between North Korea and China.

b. Chinese intervention. In November 1950, more than 200,000 Chinese soldiers from the People's Republic entered North Korea from Manchuria. They drove the UN armies south, crossing the 38th parallel, and advancing 70 miles into South Korea. In the spring of 1951, UN troops counterattacked and forced the enemy back into North Korea. The opposing lines continued to face each other about 25 miles north of the 38th parallel.

To drive Chinese troops from Korea, MacArthur wanted to bomb military targets in China and allow Nationalist Chinese troops from Taiwan to invade China. Truman opposed this plan because it might involve the United States in a large-scale war with China and the Soviet Union. MacArthur persisted and attempted to gain the support of Congress. Truman responded by removing MacArthur from his command.

c. Negotiating peace. In July 1951, the two sides in the Korean War began to discuss a cease-fire. They soon came to a deadlock over the issue of exchanging prisoners. The Communists demanded the forced *repatriation* (return) of all prisoners held by the UN side. The UN insisted on voluntary repatriation—prisoners themselves deciding whether to go back to their homeland. After two years of negotiations, the Communists accepted the principle of voluntary repatriation.

A *cease-fire* agreement was signed in July 1953. Each side withdrew 1 1/4 miles from the final battle line, thus forming a 2 1/2-mile

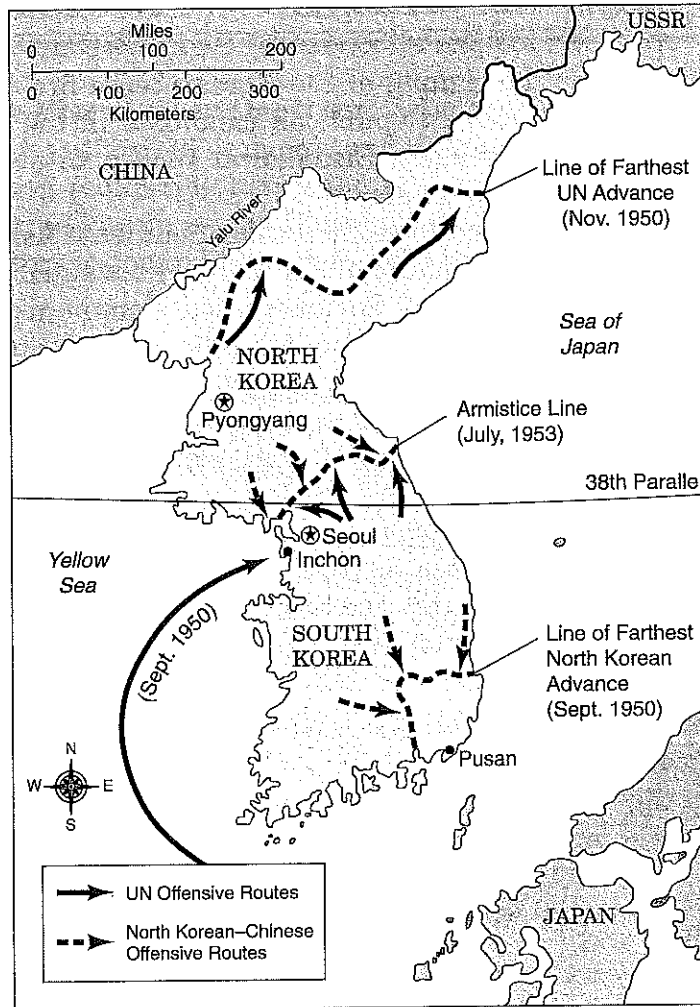
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READING A MAP

The Korean War



1. Name the Asian countries in this map that are separated by the Yalu River.
2. Name the capitals of North and South Korea.
3. What has been the significance of the 38th parallel?

wide *demilitarized zone* between them. U.S. troops have remained in South Korea to help maintain the uneasy truce.

FURTHER CHALLENGES TO PEACE

Six months before the signing of the Korean cease-fire, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the victorious Republican candidate in the 1952 election, assumed the presidency. Eisenhower tended to avoid armed confrontation with Communists.

When the French tried to reclaim their Southeast Asian possessions after World War II, nationalists there who wanted independence resisted the French. A Soviet-trained Communist, Ho Chi Minh, led the Vietnamese nationalists. The United States aided France with money and supplies, but by 1954, the French cause seemed doomed. Eisenhower refused to allow direct intervention by U.S. troops, and the French were defeated. Vietnam was then divided into a Communist north and a non-Communist south. The United States became the main supporter of South Vietnam.

When a popular uprising in Hungary in 1956 threatened Communist control of that country, the Soviets brutally put down the rebellion. The United States made no military response.

1. Southwest Asia. The Middle East was important to the United States because of its vast oil fields and its location, and because it contained the Suez Canal, one of the world's main shipping routes. It was also the home of the Jewish state of Israel, re-established in 1948. As the only democracy in the region, Israel developed a friendly relationship with the United States.

a. The Suez Canal. In 1956, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt sought international support to build a huge dam at Aswan on the upper Nile River. It would supply irrigation and hydroelectric power and help control flooding. The United States and Britain withdrew promised financial help after Nasser strengthened ties with the Soviet Union. Nasser then seized control of the Suez Canal, which had been owned and operated by a private company with mostly British and French shareholders. Nasser planned to operate it and use the toll money to pay for the Aswan Dam.

Israel, meanwhile, had been troubled by border raids from Egypt. (The Egyptians and other Arab nations in the region had sworn to destroy the Jewish state.) In October 1956, Israel invaded Egypt and advanced to within a few miles of the Suez Canal. A British-French

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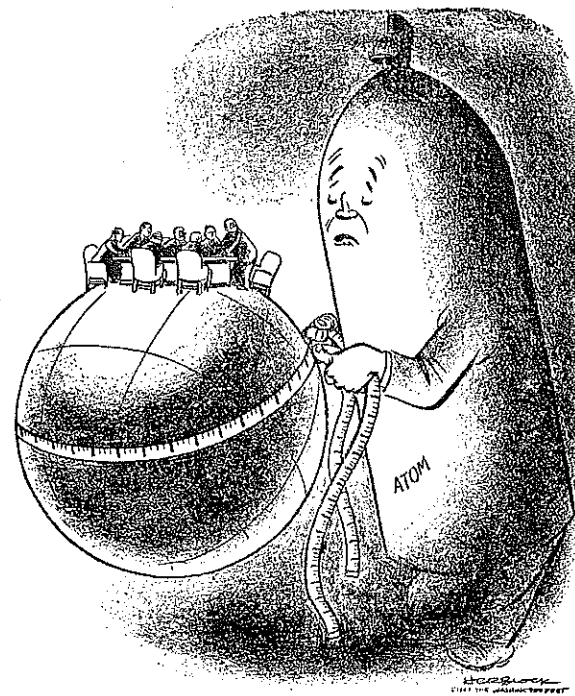
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force also invaded Egypt and seized the northern part of the canal. The Egyptians then scuttled a number of their own ships in the waterway, making it unusable. The United Nations, with U.S. and Soviet support, criticized the actions of Israel, Britain, and France. The three countries agreed to a cease-fire, and a UN emergency force went to Egypt to supervise the truce. UN engineering teams cleared the Suez Canal, which was reopened to shipping in 1957.

b. The Eisenhower Doctrine. After the Suez crisis, President Eisenhower authorized economic and military aid to any Southwest Asian nation requesting help against Communist aggression. This policy became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. It was the basis for U.S. intervention in Lebanon in 1958 to help put down a civil war there.

2. Soviet-U.S. Relations. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union shifted several times in the 1950s. The first "thaw" grew out of the death of Stalin in 1953. The new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, brought some increase in freedom within the Soviet Union and a spirit of greater cooperation abroad.

In 1949, the Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb. Early in the 1950s, both the Soviets and the Americans developed



"Don't Mind Me—Just Go Right On Talking"

A 1947 HERBLOCK CARTOON, COPYRIGHT BY THE HERB BLOCK FOUNDATION

even more powerful hydrogen bombs. In 1955, the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union met to discuss nuclear arms control. This summit conference resulted in an increase in cultural exchanges between East and West. Improved relations led to a visit by Khrushchev to the United States in the summer of 1959.

Eisenhower planned to visit the Soviet Union in 1960, after another summit conference in Paris. Just before this meeting, though, Khrushchev announced that a U.S. spy plane had been shot down over the Soviet Union. The United States admitted that it had been flying such planes, called U-2s, over the Soviet Union for several years. Khrushchev broke up the Paris meeting and canceled his invitation to Eisenhower.

3. Latin America. During World War II, all the Latin American nations but Argentina actively supported the Allied cause. After the war, they all joined the United Nations. They also allied themselves with the United States in the Organization of American States (OAS), founded in 1948 to promote cooperation and prevent disputes.

Despite these alliances, relations between the United States and Latin America during the Cold War period were not always friendly. Many Latin Americans felt that the United States was too overbearing. Americans controlled much of the wealth in Latin America. They cooperated with wealthy landowners and with local rulers, who were often dictators. The majority of Latin Americans were poor. But most U.S. government aid was going to Europe and Asia, not to Latin America.

Revolts and military takeovers were common. In 1959, Fidel Castro overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. At first, most Americans were sympathetic to Castro. But they changed their minds when he seized U.S. property, executed hundreds of opponents, and announced that he was a Communist. Soon, Khrushchev pledged Soviet military aid to Cuba. The United States then broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba (1961), and the OAS excluded Cuba from active membership (1962).

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Mao Zedong, Chiang Kai-shek, Ho Chi Minh, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Nikita Khrushchev, Fidel Castro.

CRITICAL THINKING: Do you think General Douglas MacArthur was correct in wanting to bomb China and allow Nationalist troops to invade the Chinese mainland? Why or why not?
