
CHAPTER 28

THE AMERICAN

CENTURY

The American Nation:
A History of the United States, 13th edition
Carnes/Garraty

TRUMAN BECOMES PRESIDENT

- In late 1945 more Americans were probably more concerned with domestic issues than with foreign issues
- Truman was born in 1884, served in WWI then opened a men's clothing store in Kansas City
 - Store failed in the postwar depression
 - Became part of the Democratic machine and was elected to the Senate in 1934
 - Work on "watchdog" committee on defense spending earned Truman position as vice president
- As president, Truman sought to carry on FDR tradition

THE POSTWAR ECONOMY

- Generally, postwar leaders
 - Worried about a depression
 - Accepted the necessity of employing federal authority to stabilize the economy and speed national development
- At end of WWII, almost everyone wanted to
 - Demobilize armed forces
 - Remove wartime controls
 - Reduce taxes
- Hoped to
 - Prevent any sudden economic dislocation
 - Check inflation
 - Make sure that goods in short supply were evenly distributed

THE POSTWAR ECONOMY

- Labor wanted price controls retained but wage controls lifted
- Industrialists wanted to raise prices but not wages
- Farmers wanted subsidies but opposed price controls and the extension of social security benefits to agricultural workers
- Truman proposed a comprehensive program of new legislation
 - Public housing
 - Aid to education
 - Medical insurance
 - Civil rights guarantees
 - Higher minimum wage
 - Broader social security coverage
 - Additional conservation and public power projects
 - Increased aid to agriculture
 - Retention of anti-inflationary controls

THE POSTWAR ECONOMY

- At the same time, Truman
 - Ended rationing and other controls
 - Signed a bill cutting taxes by \$6 billion
- Responded to opposition by vacillating between compromise and inflexibility
- Reconversion was aided by pent up demand for consumer goods and wartime-enforced savings which kept factories operating at full capacity
- Most returning veterans (60,000 came back with foreign brides) found jobs quickly due to demand for labor
- 1944 GI Bill of Rights: made subsidies available to veterans so they could continue education, learn new trades or start a business
 - 8 million used these opportunities



THE POSTWAR ECONOMY

- Cutting taxes and ending price controls resulted in inflation
 - Food prices rose more than 25 percent from 1945 to 1947
 - Resulted in wave of strikes (some 5000 in 1946 alone) demanding higher wages
 - Helped Republicans win control of both houses of Congress in 1946
- Republicans wanted new labor relations act—Taft-Hartley Act 1947
 - Passed over Truman's veto
 - Outlawed the closed shop
 - Authorized the president to seek court injunctions to prevent strikes that endangered the national interest
 - Injunctions would hold for 80 days during which a presidential fact-finding board could investigate and make recommendations
 - If there was not resolution after “cooling off” period, President could recommend action to Congress

THE CONTAINMENT POLICY

Soviet Union

- Stalin made it clear did not intend to consult the West about his domination of Eastern Europe
- Seemed intent on extending his power into central Europe
- Controlled Outer Mongolia, parts of Manchuria, and northern Korea
- Had annexed the Kurile Islands and regained the southern half of Sakhalin Island from Japan
- Fomenting trouble in Iran
- Did not demobilize Red Army (at least twice size of U.S. army which was in the process of dwindling from 6 million to 1.5 million men)

THE CONTAINMENT POLICY

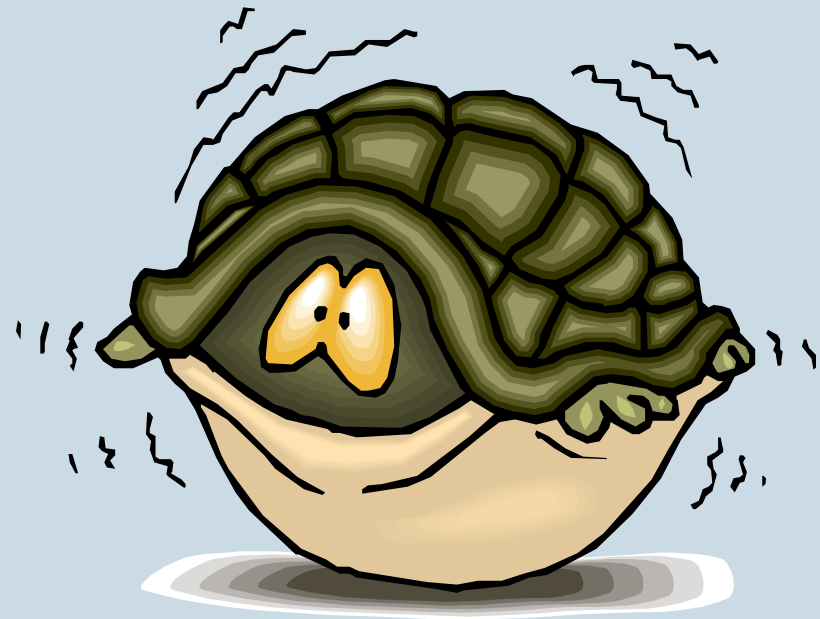
- Averill Harriman, the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, warned that Soviet ideology was more dangerous than the Nazis
- George Kennan, American foreign officer, said Marxism was an ideological fig leaf for naked Soviet aggression
 - June 1947 *Foreign Affairs* “Sources of Soviet Conduct”—argued Soviet Union was outwardly aggressive due to inward pressures and that this aggression could be met by containment

THE ATOM BOMB: A “Winning” Weapon?

- Truman had hoped the atom bomb would serve as a counterweight to the much larger Red Army
 - Stalin refused to be intimidated
 - Also knew that U.S. had only about a dozen bombs in 1947
- Many Americans had become uneasy about the use of the atomic bomb in the wake of the devastation in Japan
- November 1945: U.S. suggested UN supervise all nuclear energy production
 - General Assembly created Atomic Energy Commission headed by Bernard Baruch
 - June 1946: plan for eventual outlawing of atomic weapons
 - UN inspectors operating without restriction anywhere in the world would ensure that no country made bombs
 - Once system was successfully established, U.S. would destroy its stockpile

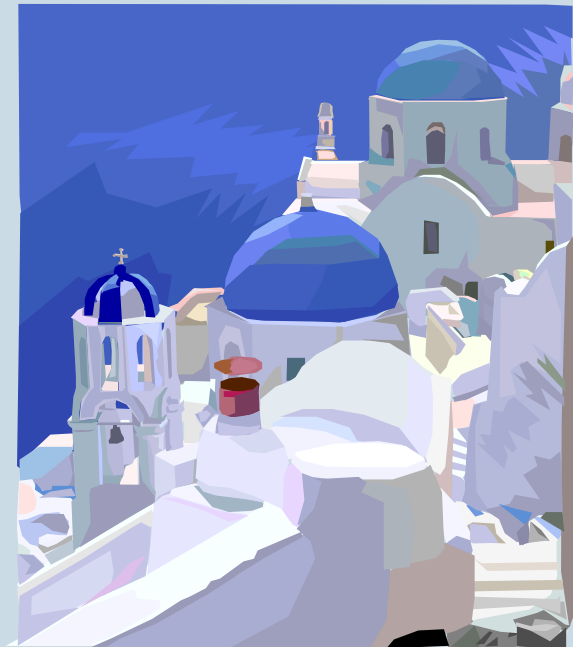
THE ATOM BOMB: A “Winning” Weapon?

- Most Americans considered the Baruch Plan magnanimous, and many thought it to be foolhardy
- Soviets rejected
 - Would not allow inspectors
 - Would not surrender Soviet Security Council veto over matters dealing with atomic energy
 - Demanded U.S. destroy its bombs at once
- U.S. refused



THE TURNING POINT IN GREECE

- Greek communists, waging a guerilla war against the monarchy, were receiving aid from communist Yugoslavia and Bulgaria
- Great Britain had been assisting the monarchists but could no longer afford to do so and informed Truman in February that they would be discontinuing aid
- U.S. afraid communist “iron curtain” was about to engulf another country
 - Soviet Union was actually discouraging the rebels but U.S. did not pay attention
 - U.S. was afraid that if Greece “fell” there might be a ripple effect



THE TURNING POINT IN GREECE



- Truman asked Congress to approve what became known as the Truman Doctrine
 - If Greece or Turkey fell to communists, all of Middle East might be lost
 - Asked for \$400 million in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey
 - “It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures”

THE TURNING POINT IN GREECE

- Result was establishment of right-wing military-dominated government in Greece
- Since Truman did not limit the request specifically to Greece, caused concern in many countries
- U.S. concerned war-torn Western Europe might fall to communism



THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE LESSON OF HISTORY

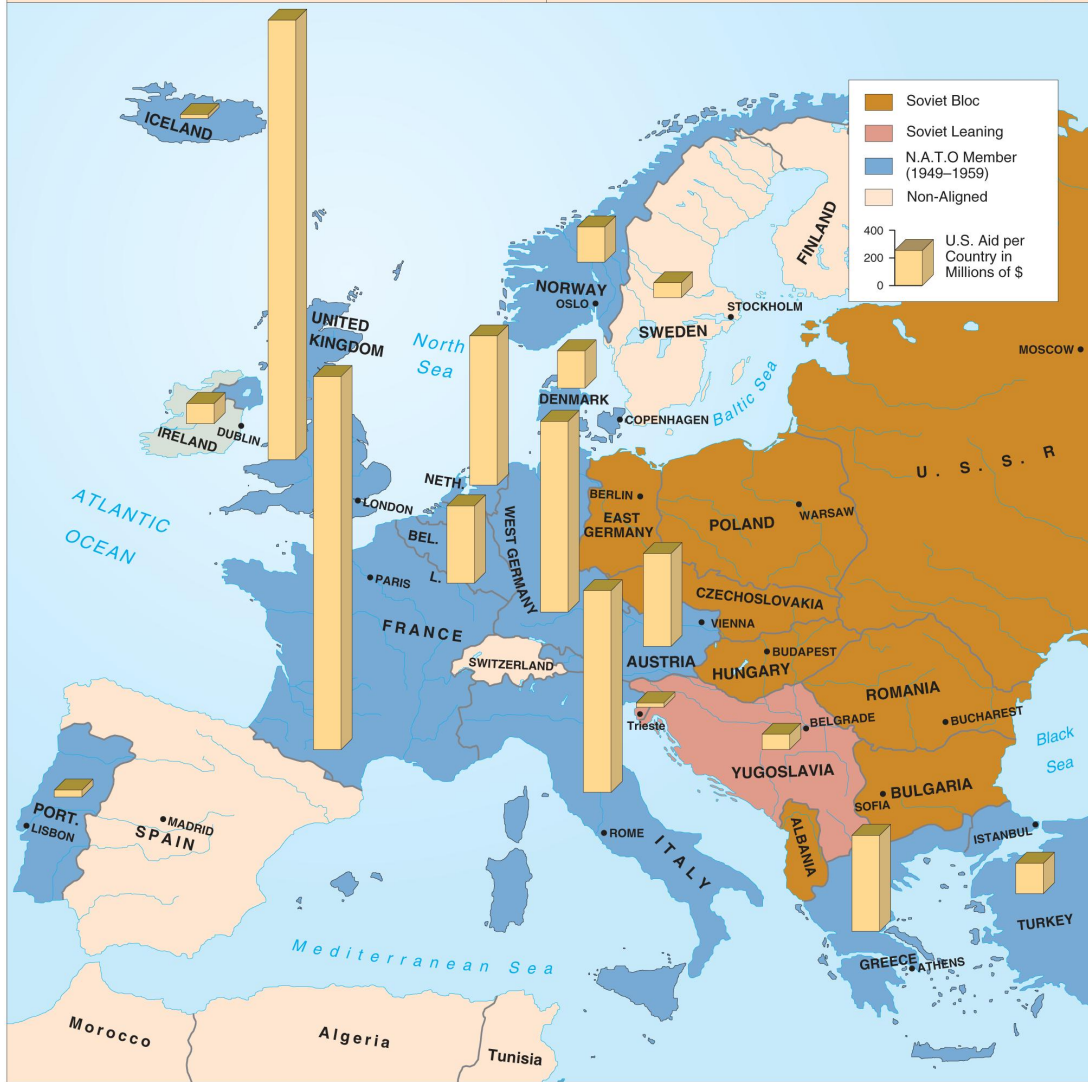
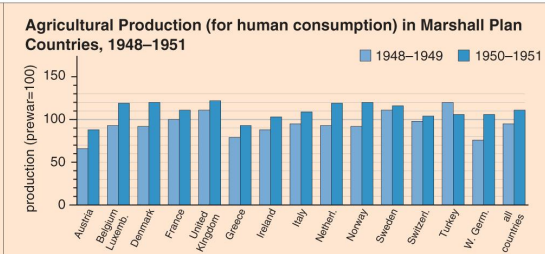
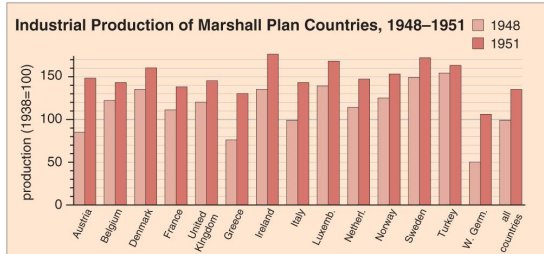
- 1946 speech, “The Lesson of History,” George C. Marshall, army chief of staff during WWII, reminded Americans that their pre-war isolationism contributed to the rise of Hitler
 - Must be prepared to act against foreign aggressors
 - 1947: appointed secretary of state
- Marshall Plan: Provide for the economic recovery of Europe
 - Everyone, even eastern bloc countries, eligible
 - Europeans established 16 nation Committee for European Economic Cooperation which submitted plans calling for up to \$22.4 billion in American assistance

THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE LESSON OF HISTORY

- Soviet Union and Eastern satellites tempted but Stalin afraid American money would draw satellite states into American orbit
 - Recalled his delegates and demanded that the Eastern Europeans do likewise
- February 1948: Communist coup overthrew government of Czechoslovakia
 - Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister, fell (or was pushed) from a window to his death
 - Helped persuade Congress to appropriate over \$13 billion for the Marshall aid program
 - By 1951 Western Europe booming

THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE LESSON OF HISTORY

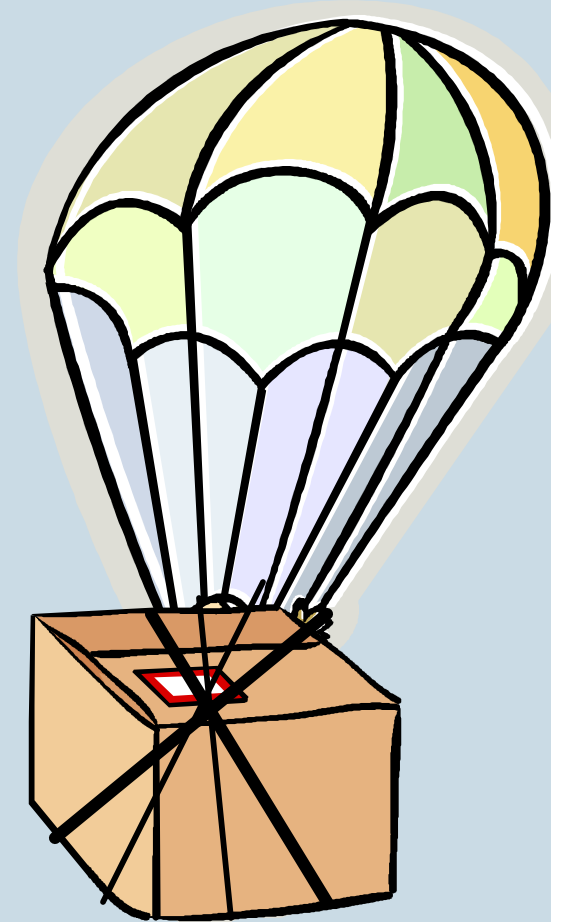
- Europe divided in two
 - **Western Europe:** American influenced governments were elected, private property was respected—if often taxed heavily—and corporations gained influence and power
 - **Eastern Europe:** Soviet Union imposed its will and political system on client states, fostering deep-seated resentment among its peoples
- March 1948: Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed an alliance aimed at social, cultural and economic collaboration
 - Abandoned concept of economically crushing Germany
 - Announced plans for creating a single West German Republic with a large degree of autonomy



★ Recipients of Marshall Plan, 1948–1952

THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE LESSON OF HISTORY

- June 1948: Stalin retaliated by closing off surface access to Berlin from the west
 - Truman launched air drops of supplies flown from western German cities 24 hours a day—Berlin Airlift
 - May 1949, Stalin lifted the blockade





★ Air Relief to Berlin, 1948-1949

DEALING WITH CHINA AND JAPAN

- While containment worked in Europe in the short run, in Asia where the U.S. had fewer allies, it was
 - More expensive
 - Less effective
 - Less justified
- East Asia in shambles
 - Japan in ruins
 - China:
 - Nationalists under Chiang Kai-Shek (Jiang Jieshi) dominated the south
 - Communists under Mao Zedong controlled the northern countryside
 - Japanese troops still held most northern cities

DEALING WITH CHINA AND JAPAN

- U.S. decided, even before Japanese surrender, to keep Soviets uninvolved in decision making
 - Established four-power Allied Control Council
 - Troops under General Douglas MacArthur actually controlled the country
- Japanese accepted political and social changes that involved universal suffrage and parliamentary government, disbanding of its armed forces, encouragement of labor unions, breakup of some large estates and industrial combines, de-emphasis of the emperor
 - Lost far-flung island empire and claim to Korea and Chinese mainland
 - Emerged economically strong, politically stable and firmly allied with U.S.

DEALING WITH CHINA AND JAPAN

- Truman tried to bring Chiang and Mao together.
 - Sent General Marshall to China to seek a settlement
 - Neither side willing to make concessions
 - Mao convinced could gain control of all China
 - Chiang grossly exaggerated his popularity among the Chinese people
- January 1947: Truman recalled Marshall and made him secretary of state
- Civil war erupted in China



THE ELECTION OF 1948

- Spring 1948: President Truman's fortunes at low ebb
 - Public opinion polls showed most people considered him incompetent
 - Many Democrats considered nominating someone else
 - Two of FDR's sons came out for General Eisenhower as the Democratic candidate
- Republicans nominated Dewey again

THE ELECTION OF 1948

- Truman had alienated southern conservatives...
 - 1946: Established the Committee on Civil Rights which had recommended anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation and the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission
 - Southern delegates walked out when the Democratic Convention adopted a strong civil rights plank
 - Southerners formed the States' Rights (Dixiecrat) party and nominated J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president.
- ...and northern liberals
 - Saw the containment policy as a threat to world peace
 - Organized a new Progressive party and nominated former Vice President Henry A. Wallace

THE ELECTION OF 1948

- Truman launched an aggressive whistle-stop campaign
 - Excoriated “do nothing” Republican Congress
 - Warned that Dewey would do away with gains of New Deal years if he was elected
 - Millions moved by his speeches and by Berlin airlift which occurred during the campaign
 - Disaffection among normally Republican midwestern farmers also helped
 - Progressive party moved increasingly left and appeared to be in the hands of communists which scared away many liberals
 - Dewey presented lackluster speeches — failed to attract independents

THE ELECTION OF 1948

- Truman defeated Dewey with 24.1 million votes to 21.9 million (minor candidates only garnered 2.3 million) and 303 electoral votes to 189
- Truman's victory encouraged him to press ahead with his Fair Deal program, urging Congress to:
 - Increase minimum wage
 - Fund public housing program
 - Develop a national health insurance system
 - Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act
- Little of this program was enacted into law

CONTAINING COMMUNISM ABROAD

April 1949: North Atlantic Treaty signed.

- U.S., Great Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and Iceland agreed that an attack against any of them constituted an attack against them all and would lead them to take whatever actions were deemed necessary, including the use of armed force
- Established North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

CONTAINING COMMUNISM ABROAD

- September 1949: Soviet Union detonated an atomic bomb
 - Truman called for a rapid expansion of American nuclear arsenal
 - Asked advisors whether U.S. should pursue development of more powerful hydrogen bomb
 - Atomic Energy Commission argued against their development
 - Too destructive to use in battle
 - Would precipitate arms race with Soviet Union
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff disagreed
 - Mere existence would intimidate enemies
 - Soviets would build hydrogen bomb regardless of what U.S. did
- 31 January 1950: Truman announced U.S. to build a hydrogen bomb

CONTAINING COMMUNISM ABROAD

- By end of 1949, Chinese communists had defeated the Nationalists
 - Nationalists fled to island of Formosa, now called Taiwan
 - “Loss” of China strengthened right-wing elements of Republican party
 - Charged Truman had not sufficiently backed Chiang
 - Said had also underestimated Mao
 - Unlikely Americans would have supported use of force and there was, really, little U.S. could have done
- Early 1950, Truman proposed paring down budget by reducing American forces

CONTAINING COMMUNISM ABROAD

- Dean Acheson, new secretary of state, was put in charge of a review of containment policy
 - Report was submitted to the National Security Council in March and designated NSC-68
- NSC-68 called for an enormous military expansion.
 - Declared Soviet Union was bent on expansion and a worldwide assault on freedom
 - U.S. must develop military power to prevent communism from spreading anywhere in the world
 - Increase military spending 350 percent to nearly \$50 billion
 - Would ensure U.S. superiority
 - Would force less prosperous Soviet economy to try to keep up and might cause it to collapse
- On 7 April 1950, NSC-68 was submitted to Truman, who was appalled at the cost
 - He had planned to cut \$1 billion from \$14 billion military budget



★ U.S. Defensive Perimeter in the Pacific, January 1950

HOT WAR IN KOREA

- After WWII, Korea was divided at 38 degrees north latitude
 - Democratic People's Republic in the north, backed by the Soviet Union
 - Republic of Korea in the south, backed by the United States and the UN
- Both powers withdrew troops from the peninsula.
 - Soviets left behind well armed force
 - Republic of Korea's army small and ill trained
- U.S. strategists had decided American military involvement in Asian mainland was impracticable



HOT WAR IN KOREA

- America's first line of defense was to be its island bases in Japan and the Philippines
 - In a speech in January 1950, Acheson deliberately excluded Korea from the "defensive" perimeter
 - It was up to South Koreans, backed by UN, to protect themselves
 - This encouraged North Korea to attack
- June 1950: North Korea attacked South Korea, whose troops crumbled



★ North Korean Offensive, June–August 1950

HOT WAR IN KOREA

- Truman, with the backing of the UN Security Council, but without Congressional approval, sent troops to Korea
 - Also ordered the adoption of NSC-68 as soon as feasible
- General MacArthur was placed in command of troops from 16 nations
 - Despite claim that it was a UN event, 90 percent of troops were Americans

HOT WAR IN KOREA

- By September 1950, the front stabilized around Pusan
 - MacArthur executed amphibious landing at Inchon, about 50 miles south of the 38th parallel
 - By October the battlefront had moved north of 1945 boundary
- MacArthur proposed the conquest of North Korea, even if meant bombing in China
 - Other military advisors urged occupying North Korea
 - Several civilian advisors, including George Kennan, opposed advancing beyond the 38th parallel, concerned about the involvement by the Red Chinese and the Soviets

HOT WAR IN KOREA

- Truman authorized MacArthur to advance as far as the Yalu River
 - Chinese Foreign Minister warned the Chinese would not tolerate their neighbors being invaded by “imperialists”
 - Truman flew to Wake Island to confer with MacArthur who assured him the Chinese would not intervene and if they did they would be easily crushed
- On November 26, 33 Chinese divisions attacked MacArthur’s lines as they advanced toward the Yalu River
 - MacArthur’s troops retreated

HOT WAR IN KOREA

UN army rallied south of the 38th parallel

- MacArthur urged that he be permitted to bomb Chinese installations north of the Yalu
- He suggested a naval blockade of the coast of China and the use of Chinese Nationalist troops
- Truman rejected these proposals on the grounds it would lead to a third world war
- MacArthur attempted to rouse the Congress and the American people by openly criticizing the administration's policy
- When MacArthur persisted, despite being ordered to be silent, Truman removed him from command

HOT WAR IN KOREA

- As Korean “police action” continued, Americans became disillusioned and angry
 - Military men backed the president almost unanimously
- June 1951: Communists agreed to discuss an armistice in Korea
 - Did not end until 1953 as Truman left office
 - 157,000 American casualties, including 54,200 dead
- NSC-68, by conceiving of communism as a monolithic force, tended to make it so

THE COMMUNIST ISSUE AT HOME

- Korean War highlighted paradox that at pinnacle of power, influence of U.S. in world affairs was declining
 - Monopoly on nuclear weapons gone
 - China was communist
 - New nations in Africa and Asia, former colonial possessions adopting a “neutralist” stance in the Cold War
 - Despite billions poured into armaments and foreign aid, national security seemed less secure

THE COMMUNIST ISSUE AT HOME

- Alarming examples of communist espionage in Canada, Great Britain and the U.S. convinced many citizens that clever conspirators were at work undermining American security
 - Truman was accused of being “soft” on communism
 - There were never more than 100,000 communists in the United States and the number plummeted at the start of the Cold War
- 1947: Truman established the Loyalty Review Board to check up on government employees
 - Sympathy for a long list of vaguely defined “totalitarian” or “subversive” organizations was grounds for dismissal
 - Over the next 10 years, 2700 government workers were discharged
 - A larger number resigned

THE COMMUNIST ISSUE AT HOME

- 1948: Whitaker Chambers, a former communist, accused Alger Hiss, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a former State Department official, of being a communist in the 1930s
 - Hiss denied the charge and sued Chambers for libel
 - Chambers produced microfilms purporting to show that Hiss had copied classified documents for dispatch to Moscow
 - Statute of limitations meant Hiss could not be charged for espionage but he was charged for perjury
- The first trial ended in a hung jury, but the second trial in January 1950 led to a conviction and a five year jail term
- February 1950: It was disclosed that British scientist Klaus Fuchs had betrayed atomic secrets to the Soviets
 - American associates Harry Gold and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were arrested and convicted
 - The Rosenbergs were executed

McCARTHYISM

- February 1950: Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin claimed that the State Department was infested with communists and that he had a list of names of people whom the secretary of state knew to be communist
 - Had no evidence
 - Never exposed a single spy or secret American communist
 - Yet thousands of people eager to believe accusations
- McCarthy accused a wide variety of people
 - When accused denied charges, McCarthy made even more wild accusations
 - Even General Marshall accused
- Fear of communism was behind the public willingness to believe the accusations

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

- As the 1952 election approached, Truman's popularity was at a low ebb
 - Senator McCarthy attacked him relentlessly for his handling of Korean conflict and his "mistreatment" of MacArthur
- The Republicans nominated General Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Genial
 - Could run army, so could run country
 - Promised to go to Korea and end war
- The Democrats nominated Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois
 - Unpretentious, witty and urbane



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

- Eisenhower won with 34 million to 27 million popular votes and 442 to 89 electoral votes
 - Planned to run country on sound business principles
 - Called for more local control of government affairs
 - Promised to reduce federal spending, balance budget and cut taxes
 - Tried to avoid being caught up in narrow partisan conflicts
 - Unwilling to cut back on existing social and economic legislation or cut back on military expenditures
- Extended social security to an additional 10 million persons
- Created new Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Began the Saint Lawrence Seaway Project
- 1955: Came out for federal support of education and a highway construction act that produced 40,000 miles of superhighways covering every state in the Union

THE EISENHOWER-DULLES FOREIGN POLICY

- Eisenhower chose John Foster Dulles as secretary of state
 - Felt global military containment was expensive and ineffective
 - U.S. needed to put more emphasis on nuclear bombs, less on conventional weapons
 - This “new look” would be less expensive, prevent U.S. from being caught in local conflicts
- When Eisenhower’s trip to Korea failed to stop the war, Dulles signaled American willingness to use nuclear weapons
 - July 1953: Chinese signed an armistice that ended hostilities but left country divided at the 38th parallel
 - Recent years, Chinese officials said they were unaware at the time of the nuclear threat

THE EISENHOWER-DULLES FOREIGN POLICY

- Chiang Kai-Shek had stationed 90,000 soldiers (one third of his army) on Quemoy and Matsu, two tiny islands a few miles off the coast of the Chinese mainland
 - 1954: Chinese began shelling the islands
 - Chiang appealed for American protection
 - 1955: At a press conference, Eisenhower announced his willingness to use nuclear weapons to defend the islands
 - The communists backed down
- Massive retaliation allowed Eisenhower to pare half a million men from the armed forces, saving \$4 billion annually

McCARTHY SELF-DESTRUCTS

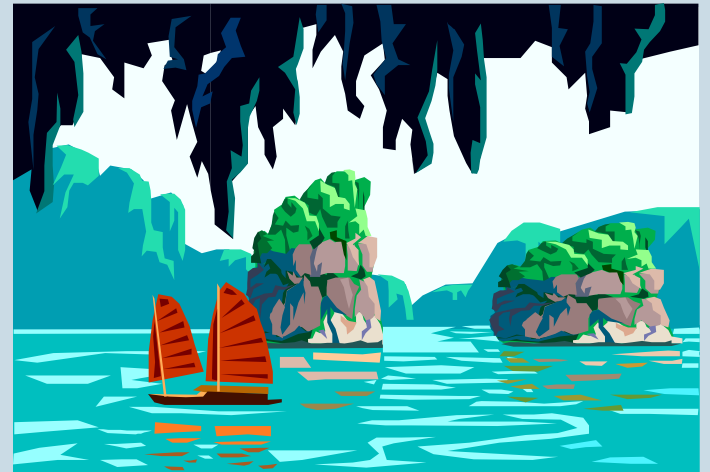
- 1954: McCarthy attacked the army
 - Hearings were televised before the country and they showed Americans just who McCarthy was
- December 1954: The Senate censured him
 - The country no longer listened to his accusations
 - 1957: He died

ASIAN POLICY AFTER KOREA

- Nationalist rebels led by Ho Chi Minh had been harassing the French in Vietnam (which along with Laos and Cambodia composed French Indochina)
 - When communist China recognized the rebels (Vietminh) and provided arms, Truman countered with economic and military assistance to the French
 - Eisenhower continued and expanded this assistance
- Early 1954: Vietminh trapped and besieged French at remote stronghold of Dien Bien Phu
 - Faced with loss of 20,000 troops, the French asked for American assistance
 - U.S. was already paying three-fourths of French expenses but Eisenhower refused to send planes
 - The French garrison surrendered in May

ASIAN POLICY AFTER KOREA

- July 1954: France, Great Britain, Soviet Union and China signed an agreement dividing Vietnam along the 17th parallel
 - France withdrew from the area
 - An election for the future of Vietnam was set for 1956
- Conservative Ngo Dinh Diem replaced emperor Bao Dai as head of the southern section of Vietnam and the nationwide elections were never held
 - Vietnam remained divided
- Dulles established the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) but it only had three Asian members—Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand



ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

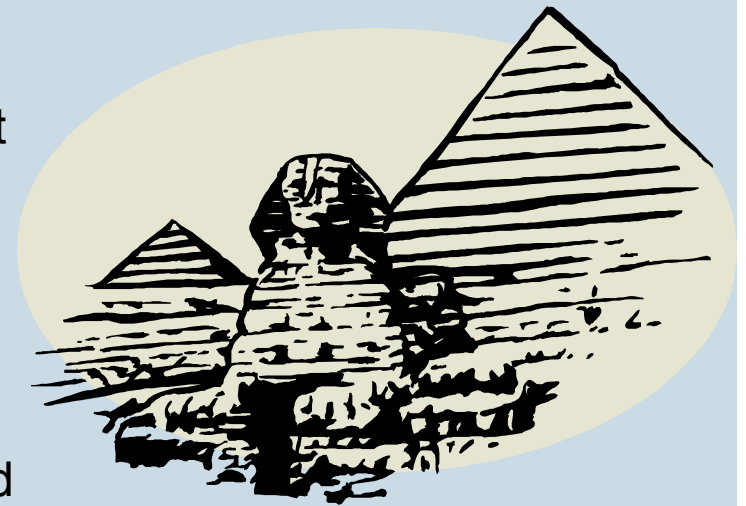
- The Nazi extermination of 6 million Jews strengthened Jewish claims to a homeland and intensified pressure to allow hundreds of thousands of refugees to immigrate to British controlled Palestine
- Immigration, combined with Jewish calls for creation of a Jewish state, provoked Palestinian and Arab leaders and led to fighting
- 1947: UN voted to partition Palestine into Israel and a Palestinian state
- 14 May 1948: Israel was established and recognized almost immediately by the United States

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

- Arab armies from Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon attacked Israel
 - Israelis were outnumbered but better organized and better armed than the Arabs
 - Drove them off with relative ease
 - Nearly a million local Arabs left, creating a major refugee problem in nearby countries
- Truman was a strong supporter of Israel
 - Belief that survivors of holocaust were entitled to a country of their own
 - Political importance of Jewish vote in U.S.

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

- Eisenhower and Dulles tried to restore balance by deemphasizing U.S. support of Israel
 - Hoped to mollify the Arabs
 - Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia sat upon nearly 60 percent of the world's known oil reserves
- 1952: The revolution in Egypt had brought Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser to power.
 - U.S. agreed to loan him money to build a dam on the Nile for irrigation purposes and as a source of electrical power
 - U.S. would not sell Nasser arms, the communists would



ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST



- When Eisenhower pulled his funding for the dam, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal
- British (who had evacuated their Suez base in 1954 at Nasser's request) and France were deeply concerned
- 1956: Israeli armored columns crushed the Egyptian armies in the Sinai Peninsula in a matter of days
 - France and Britain occupied Port Said
 - Nasser sank ships to block the canal
 - U.S. and Soviet Security Council proposals for a cease fire were vetoed by Britain and France

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

- Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of Communist Party since Stalin's death in 1953, threatened to send "volunteers" to Egypt and launch atomic missiles against France and Britain
- Eisenhower also demanded France and Britain pull out of the area
- November 9: Prime Minister Anthony Eden announced a cease fire
 - Israel withdrew its troops
- Eisenhower Doctrine 1957: United States was "prepared to use armed force" anywhere in the Middle East against "aggression from any country controlled by international communism"

EISENHOWER AND KHRUSHCHEV

- 1956: Eisenhower reelected after an easy defeat of Adlai Stevenson
- United States detonated first hydrogen bomb in November 1952
 - Soviets detonated their version six months later
- Stalin died in 1953 and Nikita Khrushchev emerged, after a period of internal conflict, as new leader of Soviet Union
 - Appealed to anti-Western prejudices of newly emerging countries and offered them economic aid while pointing to Soviet scientific and technological achievements
 - Sought to purge system of Stalinism and released thousands of political prisoners while telling party functionaries that Stalin had committed monstrous crimes

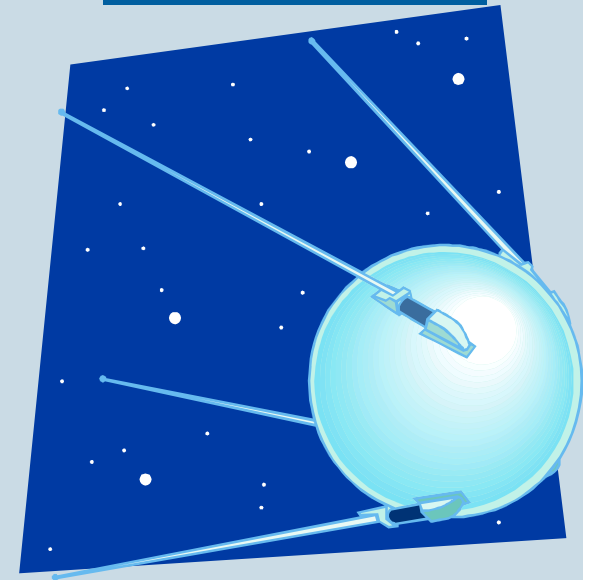
EISENHOWER AND KHRUSHCHEV

Soviet weaknesses

- Opposition to Soviet rule in Eastern Europe
- Deficiencies of over centralized Soviet economy, especially agriculture
- Bureaucratic ossification of armed forces
- Had nuclear weapons but not nuclear parity
- U.S. planes, based in Europe, Northern Africa and Turkey, were within easy reach of Soviet Union while Soviet bombers had thousands of miles to travel to reach U.S.

EISENHOWER AND KHRUSHCHEV

- 4 October 1957: The Soviets launched *Sputnik*, the first satellite to orbit the earth.
 - Presaged development of rocket delivery systems and made bomber defenses obsolete
 - Massive retaliation also obsolete
- Khrushchev made matters worse by claiming Soviet missile capabilities were much better than they were.
 - Eisenhower, who did not want to goad Khrushchev into a showdown, accused of allowing a “missile gap”



EISENHOWER AND KHRUSHCHEV

- 1957: Dulles had surgery for abdominal cancer and resigned in April 1959, a month before his death
- Summer 1959: Vice President Richard Nixon visited the Soviet Union and his Soviet counterpart toured the United States
- September 1959: Khrushchev visited the United States
- A proposed four power summit, scheduled for 1960, was canceled after an American U-2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960

LATIN AMERICA AROUSED

- During WWII, because the U.S. needed raw materials, it had supplied Latin America liberally with economic aid
- After the war
 - September 1947: Hemispheric defense pact was signed in Rio de Janeiro
 - 1948: Organization of American States (OAS) was formed and run by two-thirds vote
- As the Cold War progressed, U.S. neglected Latin American questions
 - Economic problems plagued the region
 - Reactionary governments controlled most countries
 - Eisenhower increased economic assistance though resistance to communism remained the first priority

LATIN AMERICA AROUSED

- 1954: Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman began to import Soviet weapons
 - U.S. sent arms to neighboring Honduras
 - Within a month, Arbenz was overthrown
 - Eisenhower continued to support regimes kept in power by the local military
- Depth of Latin American resentment became clear in spring 1958 when Nixon's goodwill tour of the region was met with hostility nearly everywhere
 - Mobbed in Lima, Peru
 - Pelted with eggs and stones in Caracas, Venezuela
 - Had to abandon the remainder of the trip



LATIN AMERICA AROUSED

CUBA

- 1959: Fidel Castro overthrew dictator Fulgencio Batista in Cuba
 - Eisenhower recognized the Castro government at once
 - Castro quickly began to criticize the United States
 - Cuba confiscated American property without providing adequate compensation, suppressed civil liberties, and entered into close relations with the Soviet Union
- After Castro negotiated a trade deal with the Soviets in February 1960, the U.S. prohibited the importation of Cuban sugar
- Khrushchev announced the Soviets would use nuclear weapons to protect the Cubans
- 1961: Eisenhower broke diplomatic relations with Cuba

THE POLITICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- After 1945, question of racial equality took on special importance due to competition with communists
 - Evidence of race prejudice hurt U.S. image abroad, especially in Asia and Africa where U.S. and Soviets competing for influence
 - Awareness of this and deep resentment of their treatment led American blacks to be increasingly militant
- 1950: over Truman's veto, Congress passed Internal Security Act (McCarren Act) which required every "communist front organization" to register with the attorney general
 - Members of these organizations barred from defense work and from traveling abroad
 - Law provided for construction of internment camps in case of national emergency

THE POLITICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- Eisenhower completed the integration of the armed forces begun by Truman
- The Supreme Court had been gradually undermining the 1896 “separate but equal” decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson*
 - 1938: Court ordered the University of Missouri law school to admit a black student because no law school for blacks existed in the state
 - 1948: Court ordered Oklahoma to provide equal facilities
 - 1950: Court declared that the creation of a separate law school for a single black applicant in Texas did not constitute an equal education

THE POLITICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- 1953: Eisenhower appointed California Governor Earl Warren to the Supreme Court
 - Warren welded his colleagues into a unit on the question of civil rights
- 1954: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*
 - NAACP lawyer Thurgood Marshall challenged the separate but equal doctrine with a mass of sociological evidence showing that segregation made equal education impossible by psychologically damaging both black and white children
 - Court reversed the *Plessy* decision
- 1955: Court ordered states to end segregation “with all deliberate speed”

THE POLITICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- Few southern or border states moved to integrate schools
 - As late as September 1956, barely 700 of South's 10,000 school districts had been desegregated
 - White citizens' councils dedicated to opposing desegregation sprang up throughout the South
 - Tennessee, riot against school desegregation resulted in the National Guard being called in and rioters responding by blowing up the school in question
 - Governor of Virginia called for massive resistance to integration and denied state aid to any school that tried to integrate
 - When University of Alabama admitted a single black woman in 1956, riots caused the university to request her to withdraw temporarily then expel her when she complained

THE POLITICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

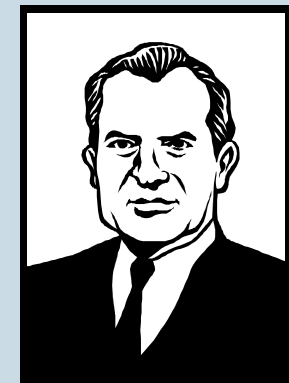
- Eisenhower did not believe black equality could be obtained by government edict
 - Said court must be obeyed but did little to assist
- 1957: School Board of Little Rock, Arkansas, opened Central High School to a handful of black students
 - Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to prevent them from attending
 - Eisenhower sent 1000 paratroopers to Little Rock and summoned the 10,000 National Guardsmen to federal duty
 - A token force of soldiers was stationed at the school for an entire year to ensure the black students could attend class

THE POLITICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- Besides pressing cases in the federal courts, leaders of the civil rights movement organized a voter registration drive among southern blacks
- The administration responded with the Civil Rights Act of 1957
 - Authorized the attorney general to obtain injunctions to stop election officials from interfering with blacks' efforts to register to vote
 - Established Civil Rights Commission with broad investigative powers
 - Established Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice

THE ELECTION OF 1960

- Eisenhower endorsed Vice President Richard Nixon for the Republican nomination
 - Nixon had used anti-communist hysteria to make a reputation
- The Democrats nominated Massachusetts Senator John F. Kennedy
 - Chief rival, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, became his running mate
 - Kennedy had written a book, rescued his men during WWII, and served three terms in the House and then moved to the Senate in 1952
 - Also a Catholic



THE ELECTION OF 1960

- Kennedy showed little interest in civil rights, accused Eisenhower of falling behind the Soviets in missile production, and backed the Cold War
- During the campaign, he tried to appear forward-looking and stressed his youth and vigor while promising a “New Frontier”
- Televised debates gave Kennedy an edge
- Kennedy defeated Nixon by 303 to 219 electoral votes but only 34,227,000 popular votes to 34,109,000

MILESTONES

1944	Congress provides subsidies to veterans in GI Bill of Rights
1947	Taft-Hartley Act regulates unions and labor disputes Truman announces Truman Doctrine to stop communism's spread
1948	Marshall Plan provides funds to rebuild Europe Harry S Truman is elected president State of Israel is created as Jewish homeland; Arabs declare war
1948–1949	United States supplies West Berlin during Berlin airlift
1949	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) formed USSR detonates atom bomb
1950	North Korea invades South Korea NSC-68 calls for massive military buildup Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury McCarran Act restricts “subversive” activity Senator Joseph McCarthy charges that the State Department is riddled with communists UN counterattack in Korea is driven back by Red Chinese army
1952	Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected president
1953	John Foster Dulles institutes nuclear-based foreign policy Korean War ends with armistice
1954	Senate holds Army-McCarthy hearings United States helps overthrow Arbenz in Guatemala French are defeated after siege of Dien Bien Phu Supreme Court orders school desegregation in <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i>
1956	Egypt nationalizes Suez Canal in Suez Crisis Eisenhower is reelected president
1957	National Guard enforces desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas
1959	Fidel Castro overthrows Fulgencio Batista, takes power in Cuba
1960	John F. Kennedy is first Roman Catholic to be elected president

WEBSITES

- Harry S Truman

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/hstruman.html>

- Cold War

<http://cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war>

- The Marshall Plan

http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/treasures_of_congress/page_22.html#

- Korean War Project

<http://www.koreanwar.org>

- NATO at 50

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/1999/nato>

- Senator Joe McCarthy—A Multimedia Celebration

<http://www.apl.org/history/mccarthy/index.html>

WEBSITES

- Harry S Truman Library and Museum

<http://www.trumanlibrary.org>

- Dwight David Eisenhower

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/ddeisenhower.html>

- 1950s America

<http://www.writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/home.html>

- Hollywood and the Movies During the 1950s

<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/50sbib.html>

- The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library and Museum

<http://www.eisenhower.utexas.edu>