

The Fair Deal and Containment

- ❖ **What was the economic, social, and political aftermath of WWII, and what were the origins and early developments of the cold war?**
- ❖ **What was Truman's Fair Deal?**
- ❖ **What was the extent of US involvement in the Korean War?**
- ❖ **What were the roots of McCarthyism?**
- **Cold war began immediately after WWII**
 - US-Soviet alliance collapsed
 - US and Soviet union could not bridge ideological differences
 - Mutual suspicion
 - Power vacuums created conflict
 - Anti-colonial uprisings in Asia and Africa, threatened British and French empires
 - **postwar world was unstable**

Demobilization under Truman

Truman's Uneasy Start

- **Roosevelt and Truman came from different backgrounds**
 - Truman: no college, etc.
 - Unglamorous
- **Truman served in France as captain of artillery battery during WWI**
 - Went into clothing business after that
 - Became politician in Kansas
 - Democratic
- **Truman lacked Roosevelt's charm**
 - Clumsy public speaker
 - Evoked spirit of Andrew Jackson
- **Truman favored much of New Deal**
 - Was prepared to extend its scope
 - Replaced much of the Roosevelt cabinet
 - On the whole, more conservative appointments
- **Truman gave clue to his domestic policies in 1945**
 - Sent Congress a comprehensive peacetime program—enlarged the New Deal
 - **21 points included:**
 - **Expansion of unemployment insurance**
 - **Higher minimum wage**
 - **Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee**
 - **Slum clearance and low-rent housing**
 - **Development**
 - **Public works**

Converting to Peace

- **Rapid demobilization of armed forces, return to congenial pursuits**
 - Public demanded that troops be brought home
- **Military veterans eagerly returned to schools, jobs, wives, babies**
 - Population growth soared
 - Baby-boom generation
- **End of war brought sharp dislocations but not postwar depression**
 - Unemployment insurance and Social Security benefits cushioned demobilization
 - **Servicemen's Readjustment Act: GI Bill of Rights** \$13 billion spent for veterans in education, training, medical equipment, insurance, loans, demand for consumer goods
 - **Created opportunities to spend money**

Controlling Inflation

- **Acute economic problem was inflation, not depression**
 - Business was frustrated by government control of prices
 - Truman endorsed wage increases
 - Union demands for higher wages and benefits
- **Series of strikes followed**
 - United Automobile Workers walked out on General Motors—Walter Reuther argued that company could afford pay raise
 - Strike in steel industry generalized formula for settling most disputes
 - **Truman suggested pay raise of 18.5 cents per hour, United Steelworkers accepted but management refused**
 - **Administration agreed to let company increase prices**
 - **Dangerous precedent of price-wage spirals was set**
- **Major disputes developed in coal and railroad industries**
 - **John Lewis, head of United Mine Workers**, wanted more than 18.5 cent raise
 - Also demanded improved safety regulations and a health and welfare fund for union members
 - Owners refused demands, strike followed
 - **Government used wartime powers to seize mines, Union demands accepted**
- **Truman seized control of railroads and won five-day postponement of a strike**
 - Union leaders refused to budge
 - Truman demanded Congress to draft strikers into the armed forces
 - House passed a bill, but died in Senate
 - Strike was settled before
- **Office of Price Administration maintained some restraint on price increases while gradually ending rationing**
 - Truman asked for renewal of its powers
 - Business leaders campaigned against price controls
 - Truman gave up battle after Congressional elections of 1946
 - Ended price controls except on rent, sugar, rice
 - **Truman wanted price controls**

Partisan Cooperation and Conflict

- **Congress and the administration worked out two important initiatives: Employment Act and Atomic Energy Commission**
 - Full employment had been Democratic promise
 - Conservatives objected to what seemed like a carte blanche for deficit spending
 - Conservatives proposed nonpartisan commission to advise the president on the economy
 - Compromise resulted in **Employment Act**: dropped commitment to full employment and set up **Council of Economic Advisers** to make evaluations of economy, advise president
 - **Joint Committee on the Economic Report** would propose legislation
- **Public welfare required control of atomic energy through a government monopoly**
 - Disagreement over military vs. civilian control
 - **Atomic Energy Commission**: president alone was given power to order use of atomic weapons in warfare
- **Public discontent was high, focused on administration**
 - Truman was seen as responsible for labor problems
 - Republicans charged that Communists had infiltrated the government
 - **Republicans won majority in both houses of Congress in 1946**
- **Republican Congress sought to curb the power of the unions**
 - **Taft-Hartley Labor Act**: banned the closed shop (non union workers could not be hired) but permitted a union shop (newly hired workers were required to join union)
 - Included provisions against unfair union practices
 - Union political action committees were only allowed to function on voluntary basis
 - Employers were permitted to sue unions for breaking contracts that declared they were not Communist
 - **The act forbade strikes by federal employees and imposed a “cooling-off” period of 80 days on any strike that the president found to be dangerous to national safety**
- **Truman’s veto of the Taft-Hartley Bill restored his credit with labor, and many unionists**
 - **But bill passed over Truman’s veto**
 - **Most severe impact was on the CIO’s Operation Dixie**, a drive to win unions a more secure foothold in the South
- **Truman clashed with Republicans over domestic issues, including tax-reduction**
 - Vetoed tax cut—believed high production and employment would allow people to afford higher taxes and thus reduce national debt
 - Congress overrode veto
- **Conflicts between Truman and Congress obscured high degree of bipartisan cooperation**
 - **National Security Act**: created **National Military Establishment**, headed the secretary of defense, National Security Council, made permanent **Joint Chiefs of Staff**, wartime innovation, **established Central Intelligence Agency CIA**

The Cold War

Building the UN

- **Wartime alliance would not carry over**
- **Allied delegates from 50 nations met in San Francisco and drew up Charter of the United Nations**

- General Assembly
- Security Council
- International Court
- **Senate ratified UN charter**, first meeting in London

Trying War Criminals

- **Allies agreed that war criminals would be punished**
 - At Nuremberg, 21 German offenders faced international military tribunal
 - Thousands were tried

Differences with the Soviets

- **Orthodox view suggests that Soviets tried to dominate globe, were first to spark Cold War**
- **Revisionists argue that Truman and American imperialists were the culprits**
- **There were signs of trouble in the Grand Alliance of Britain, Soviet Union, and US: Soviets installed compliant governments in Eastern Europe—violated Yalta promises**
 - Soviet puppet governments
 - Protests led to Soviet counter protests
- **Churchill sent a telegram to Truman, iron curtain was apparent in Europe**
 - US forces withdrew from the German occupation zone assigned to Soviet Union
 - American diplomats hoped Yalta agreements would be carried out
- **There was little the Western powers could do to prevent Soviet control of their region**
 - Non-Communists could not gain influence due to military presence
- **Secretary of State Byrnes struggled with postwar treat problems**
 - Council of Foreign Ministers produced treaties for Italy, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Finland
 - Confirmed Soviet control over Eastern Europe
 - Yalta agreements of democracy in Eastern Europe turned out to be nothing more than rhetoric
- **Byrnes's impulse to pressure Soviet diplomats by brandishing atomic bomb did not intimidate anyone**
 - Soviets paid little notice to America's growing arsenal of nuclear weapons

Containment

- **Relations with Soviet Union became troubled by 1947**
 - Stalin believed peace was impossible due to capitalism
- ***Foreign Affairs*, published anonymously by Kennan in State Department, spelled out ideas for response to Soviets**
 - Analysis of Soviet insecurity
 - Insisted that main element of US policy must be long-term, patient, vigilant—**containment**
- **Truman and his advisers feared that Soviet aims would reach beyond Eastern Europe**
 - Soviet Union sought access to Mediterranean
 - 1946 Civil war broke out in Greece between British-backed government and Communist faction
 - British announced that they could no longer bear the economic burden of aiding Greece

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

- **Truman requested aid for Greece and Turkey**
- **Truman doctrine: justified aid to Greece and Turkey in terms more provocative than Kennan's ideas**
 - Policy of US should be to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation

- Kennan did not support Truman's indiscriminate commitment to contain communism everywhere
- **Congress passed Greek-Turkish aid bill, spent \$659 million**
 - Turkey achieved economic stability
 - Greece defeated Communist insurrection
- **The Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of the Cold War**
 - Ideological struggle
 - Europe was devastated
 - Communist parties of France and Italy were flourishing
 - UN support provided little basis for economic recovery
- **General George Marshall, secretary of state, called for program of massive aid to rescue western Europe from disaster**
 - Policy against hunger, poverty, and chaos, not particular countries
 - Offered aid to all European countries, including Soviet Union
 - Meeting in London to discuss needs
 - Soviet foreign minister Molotov withdrew, feared imperialist scheme
- **In 1947 Truman submitted proposal for European Recovery Program**
 - Communist insurgence in Czechoslovakia
 - Ensured passage of Marshall Plan
 - **Economic Cooperation Administration managed Marshall Plan, poured \$13 billion into European economy**

Dividing Germany

- **Marshall Plan drew the nations of western Europe closer together**
 - Germany economy stagnated
 - Zones of occupation evolved into governments
 - US, French, and British zones united to form West Germany
 - **Soviet leaders resented the Marshall Plan and West Germany**
 - **Soviets began to restrict road and rail traffic to West Berlin**
 - **Stalin cut electricity, led to war by starvation**
 - **Soviets hoped blockade would force Allies to give up Berlin**
- **Truman insisted the West remain firm**
 - Opted for airlift
 - After talks, Soviets lifted blockade
 - Federal Republic of Germany had a government under Chancellor Adenauer
 - West Germany gradually acquired more authority

Building NATO

- **Transatlantic unity ripened into military alliance**
 - **North Atlantic Treaty was signed by twelve nations, Senate ratified, isolationism had disappeared**
 - **Treaty pledged that an attack against any was an attack on all**
 - **Provided North Atlantic Treaty Organization**
- **Zionists, who advocated Jewish nation in Palestine, migrated there**
 - Number of migrants increased during WWII
 - British control offered promise of homeland

- Jews of Palestine demanded their own state
- **UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states—Arab opposition**
 - British mandate of control expired, Jewish leaders proclaimed Israel
 - Truman recognized Israel
 - Neighboring Arab nations attacked Israel
 - UN mediators worked out truce
 - Complicates US foreign affairs

Civil Rights during the 1940s

- **America's racial landscape was transformed**
 - Times were ripe to fight against bigotry and prejudice
 - Treatment of blacks was compared to treatment of Jews
- **Truman showed little concern with African Americans**
 - Began to reassess his convictions
 - Hosted delegation of civil rights activists
 - Condemned KKK and lynchings
 - **Truman appointed Committee on Civil Rights to investigate violence**
 - **Renewal of Fair Employment Practices Committee**
 - Federal aid denied to segregated schools
- **Truman banned racial discrimination in hiring federal employees in 1948**
 - **Issued end to segregation in armed forces**

Jackie Robinson

- **Racial segregation was confronted in baseball**
 - First player to cross the color line
 - Robinson was booed
 - Appreciated by blacks
 - Other teams signed black players

Shaping the Fair Deal

- **Truman had a weak image on the domestic front**
 - **Democratic party was about to fragment:** southern conservatives resented Truman's outspoken support of civil rights, left flared over firing of Secretary of **Commerce Henry Wallace** after he criticized policy against Russia
 - Left itself was splitting between **Progressive Citizens of American** (supported Wallace) and **Americans for Democratic Action**
- **Predictions that Truman would be defeated in 1948 election**
 - Truman mounted furious reelection campaign
 - **Strong support from farmers**
 - **Got support from metropolitan areas by supporting labor and civil rights**
- **State of the Union address: protect human rights, resources, education, extend unemployment benefits, rural electrification, higher minimum wage, admission of refugees, more money for Marshall Plan**

The Election of 1948

- **Republican-controlled Congress rejected Truman**
 - **Republicans nominated Thomas E. Dewey**
 - **Platform:** endorsed New Deal, bipartisanship, efficiency
- **Truman won Democratic nomination**
 - Opposed racial discrimination only in general terms to appease south
 - Liberal Democrats wanted more strict action for civil rights
- **Rebellious southern Democrats met in Birmingham and nominated Strom Thurmond on States' Rights Democratic ticket—Dixiecrat Party**
 - Goal was to draw away votes and defer election to House
 - Left wing Democrats nominated **Henry Wallace** on Progressive Party ticket
- **Polls predicted win for Dewey, but Truman won**
 - Dixiecrat rebellion backfired: angered black voters
 - Thurmond's success caused disruption in Democratic South
 - **Democratic majorities in Congress**
- **Truman viewed his election has vindication of New Deal and mandate for moderate liberalism**
 - "Every individual has a right to expect from his government a fair deal"
 - **Fair Deal**
- **Some Fair Deal proposals became law, most remained extensions of the New Deal**
 - Higher minimum wage
 - Extension of Social Security
 - Extension of rent controls
 - Increased subsidies
 - Slum-clearance and housing
 - **Conservative coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans thwarted drastic new departures in domestic policy**
 - Congress rejected civil rights bills, health insurance, federal aid to education, plan to provide subsidies to farm income
 - Turned down repeal of Taft-Hartley Act

The Cold War Heats Up

- **Global concerns plagued Truman's second term**
 - Called for anti-Communist foreign policy
 - Four pillars: UN, Marshall Plan, NATO, technical assistance to underdeveloped world (**Point Four**)

"Losing" China and the Bomb

- **Chinese nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, were fighting against Mao Zedong and the Communists**
 - Chiang's government was corrupt and inefficient
 - US policy promoted peace between the factions
 - Civil war broke out in 1945
- **Nationalists fought losing battle against Communists**
 - Nationalist government fled to Taiwan
 - US continued to recognize Nationalist government in Taiwan

- Delayed formal relations with Communist China
- US recognized Emperor Bao Dai in Vietnam to create friendship in Asia
- **Mao and Communists gained control of China, US found out that Soviets had made their own atomic bomb**
 - Strategic balance of power was upset
 - Truman ordered construction of hydrogen bomb
- **National Security Council produced top-secret document: NSC-68, called for rebuilding of American's conventional military forces to provide options other than nuclear war**
 - Departure from aversion to keeping large standing armies
 - Expensive
 - Most Americans accepted America's role as a world leader

War in Korea

- **Japanese had occupied Korea since 1910, withdrew after losing WWII, Allies had to create new Korean nation**
 - Soviet troops had advanced into North Korea, US into South Korea—divided by 38th parallel
 - Separation of government
- **Initial goal was to unify Korea, but Cold War made the division permanent**
 - Weakened US army gave impression that South Korea was more vulnerable
 - Soviets encouraged North Koreans to use force to unify Korea and oust Americans
- **North Korean soldiers crossed the boundary in 1950, Truman responded decisively**
 - Decided to wage war under auspices of UN rather than unilaterally
 - Decided to wage war without asking Congress for formal declaration
- **Emergency UN Security Council meeting censured the North Korean "breach of peace"**
 - Soviet delegate boycotted
 - UN called for assistance to the Republic of Korea to repel armed attack and restore peace
 - Truman ordered US air, naval, and sea forces into action, **MacArthur put in command**
 - Important precedent: war ordered by president without Congressional approval
 - Had been done before, but to this scale
- **Fighting in Korea went badly for the Republic of Korea and the UN forces**
 - **Brilliant maneuver by MacArthur in 1950:** sudden blow coordinated with arrival of troops, MacArthur persuaded Truman to allow him to push north and seek unification
 - **Wake Island Conference:** Truman met with MacArthur due to fear of Chinese intervention, MacArthur discounted
- **Beijing announced that China could not stand idly by**
 - UN forces entered North Korean capital
 - Chinese "volunteers" counterattacked, turned the tables on UN troops
 - MacArthur wanted 34 atomic bombs
- **Truman opposed leading US into gigantic booby trap of war with China**
 - UN troops under General Ridgway secured lines below Seoul, launched counterattacks
 - **Truman wanted to negotiate to restore status quo, MacArthur undermined and issued ultimatum for China to make peace or suffer attack**
 - **Truman fired MacArthur, replaced with Ridgway**
- **Truman's actions resulted in uproar in the US**
 - But MacArthur was criticized
 - General Bradley: taking on China would result in expensive deadlock

- **Soviet delegate in UN proposed ceasefire in Korea**
 - China and North Korea favored it
 - truce talks began in 1951
 - demilitarized zone separated forces, no final peace talk happened

Another Red Scare

- **United States American Activities Committee (HUAC) kept up accusations**
 - Truman approved procedures for employee loyalty program within government
- **Alger Hiss, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace**
 - Whittaker Chambers, former Soviet general, accused Hiss of giving him secret documents
 - Hiss sued for libel, denied accusation, but convicted in 1950
- **Most damaging to administration was that Truman took at face value the many testimonials to Hiss's integrity, called the charges against him a "red herring"**
 - Political consequence: raised Richard Nixon to national prominence
- **More cases of Communist infiltration surfaced**
 - Supreme Court upheld accusations, doctrine of "clear and present danger"

McCarthy's Anti-Communist Witch Hunt

- **Politicians exploited public fears**
- **McCarthy took up cause of anti-communism**
 - Claimed that State Department was infested with Communists
 - McCarthy never uncovered a single Communist agent in the government
 - Called General Marshall a traitor
- **Fear of Communist espionage led Congress to pass McCarran Internal Security Act over Truman's veto**
- **Made it unlawful to conspire with any person to perform any act which would contribute to establishment of totalitarian dictatorship**
 - Communist and Anti-Communist organization had to register with Attorney General
 - Smith Act of 1940 outlawed conspiracy to overthrow government

Assessing the Cold War

- **Cold War was inevitable**
 - America preferred international policies and self-determination and democracy
 - Soviet Union preferred international sphere of influence and totalitarianism
 - Communists believed in world revolution
- **International conditions set the stage for war**
 - Actions of politicians set it in motion
 - American policies may have incited hysteria
- America became "garrison state"
- American abandoned aversion of peacetime alliances