

## CHAPTER 28

# The Cold War and American Globalism, 1945–1961

### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you have studied Chapter 28 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Examine and explain the sources of the Cold War.
2. Examine the reasons for the activist, expansionist, globalist diplomacy undertaken by the United States in the aftermath of the Second World War.
3. Discuss the similarities and differences between American and Soviet perceptions of major international problems and events from 1945 to 1961.
4. Explain the rationale behind the containment doctrine; examine the evolution of the doctrine from its inception in 1947 to the end of the Eisenhower administration in 1961; discuss the history, extent, and nature of criticisms of the doctrine; and evaluate the doctrine as the cornerstone of American foreign policy from 1947 to 1961.
5. Examine the nature and extent of the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1961.
6. Examine, evaluate, and discuss the consequences of the defense and foreign policy views, goals, and actions of the Truman administration.
7. Discuss the reconstruction of Japan after that country's defeat in the Second World War, and discuss relations between the United States and Japan from 1945 to 1961.
8. Discuss the nature and outcome of the Chinese civil war, and examine U.S. policy toward the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1961.
9. Examine and evaluate the events and decisions that led to deepening U.S. involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1961, and discuss the course of the war from 1950 to 1961.
10. Discuss the origins of the Korean War; explain its outcome; and examine its impact on domestic politics and U.S. foreign policy.
11. Examine, evaluate, and discuss the consequences of the defense and foreign policy views, goals, and actions of the Eisenhower administration.
12. Discuss the rise of the Third World and explain the challenge the Third World posed to the United States from 1945 to 1961.
13. Explain the U.S. view of the Third World and the obstacles to U.S. influence in the Third World.
14. Discuss the various ways in which the United States attempted to counter nationalism, radical doctrines, and neutralism in the Third World.
15. Examine the role of the CIA as an instrument of U.S. policy in the Third World during the 1950s.

## THEMATIC GUIDE

Chapter 28 surveys the history of the bipolar contest for international power between the United States and the Soviet Union, a contest known as the Cold War, from 1945 to 1961.

We first examine the Cold War as the outgrowth of a complex set of factors. At the end of the Second World War, international relations remained unstable because of (1) world economic problems; (2) power vacuums caused by the defeat of Germany and Japan; (3) civil wars within nations; (4) the birth of nations resulting from the disintegration of empires; and (5) air power, which made all nations more vulnerable to attack. This unsettled environment encouraged competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful nations at the war's end.

Furthermore, both the United States and the Soviet Union believed in the rightness of their own political, economic, and social systems, and each feared the other's system. Their decisions and actions, based on the way each perceived the world, confirmed rather than alleviated these fears. For example, the American resolution to avoid appeasement and hold the line against communism, the American feeling of vulnerability in the age of air power, and American determination to prevent an economic depression led to an activist foreign policy characterized by the containment doctrine, economic expansionism, and globalist diplomacy. These factors, along with Truman's anti-Soviet views and his brash personality, intensified Soviet fears of a hostile West. When the Soviets acted on the basis of this feeling, American worries that the Soviet Union was bent on world domination intensified.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Union had emerged from the Second World War as a regional power rather than a global menace, U.S. officials were distrustful of the Soviet Union and reacted to counter what they perceived to be a Soviet threat. They did so because of (1) their belief in a monolithic communist enemy bent on world revolution; (2) fear that unstable world conditions made U.S. interests vulnerable to Soviet subversion; and (3) the desire of the United States to use its postwar position of strength to its advantage. When the actions of the United States brought criticism, the United States perceived this as further proof that the Soviets were determined to dominate the world.

The interplay of these factors provides the thread running through the examination of American-Soviet relations from 1945 to 1961. The action-reaction theme is evident throughout the chapter, and the events discussed serve as evidence to support the authors' interpretation of the sources of the Cold War. For example, in the discussion of the origins of the Korean War, we find that Truman acted out of the belief that the Soviets were the masterminds behind North Korea's attack against South Korea. However, closer analysis of the situation shows the strong likelihood that North Korea started the war for its own nationalistic purposes and secured the support of a reluctant Joseph Stalin only after receiving the support of Mao Zedong. We examine the conduct of the war, Truman's problems with General Douglas MacArthur, America's use of atomic diplomacy, and the war's domestic political impact. In the war's aftermath, the globalist foreign policy used to justify it became entrenched in U.S. policy. This, in turn, led to an increase in foreign commitments and military appropriations and solidified the idea of a worldwide Soviet threat.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, accepted this view of a worldwide communist threat. During Eisenhower's administration, this belief and the fear of domestic subversives that accompanied it led to the removal of talented Asian specialists from the Foreign Service, an action that would have dire consequences later on. Meanwhile, a new jargon invigorated the containment doctrine and the U.S. undertook propaganda efforts to foster discontent in the communist regimes of Eastern Europe. Despite Eisenhower's doubts about the arms race, the president continued the activist foreign policy furthered during the Truman years and oversaw the acceleration of the nuclear arms race. Therefore, during the Eisenhower-Dulles years, the action-reaction relationship between the superpowers continued. Each action by one side caused a corresponding defensive reaction by the other in a seemingly endless spiral of fear and distrust. As a result, problems continued in Eastern Europe, Berlin, and Asia.





12. Mao Zedong and the People's Republic of China
13. the Korean War
14. General Douglas MacArthur
15. the Inchon landing
16. Chinese entry into the Korean War
17. liberation, massive retaliation, deterrence and brinkmanship
18. the domino theory
19. President Eisenhower's use of the CIA
20. *Sputnik* and the missile race

21. the Hungarian uprising
  
22. the Berlin crisis of 1958
  
23. the U-2 incident
  
24. the process of decolonization
  
25. Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution
  
26. Mohammed Mossadegh
  
27. the Eisenhower Doctrine
  
28. Dienbienphu

29. the Vietcong and the division of Vietnam

## IDEAS AND DETAILS

### Objective 1

1. In the aftermath of the Second World War, which of the following destabilized the international system and caused friction between the Soviet Union and the United States?
  - a. The power vacuums created by the collapse of Germany and Japan
  - b. Great Britain's refusal to grant independence to its former colonies
  - c. France's immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia
  - d. The refusal by the Eastern European states of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary to ally with either the United States or the Soviet Union.

### Objectives 1 and 3

2. Which of the following was a major Soviet objective in the aftermath of the Second World War?
  - a. To oversee the rebuilding of a unified German nation
  - b. To prevent another invasion of the Russian homeland
  - c. To share power with the United States in the reconstruction of Japan
  - d. To create a strong, independent China

### Objective 2

3. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the United States
  - a. gave substantial monetary aid to the Soviet government for the rebuilding of its economic system.
  - b. agreed to assume control over the colonies that had been part of the pre-war British empire.
  - c. believed that a world economy based on free trade was essential to its economic well-being.
  - d. wanted to prevent economic competition from Germany and Japan by going slowly on rebuilding those war-torn countries.

### Objective 4

4. The containment policy, expressed in the Truman Doctrine and George Kennan's "Mr. X" article, committed the United States to
  - a. extend economic and medical aid to impoverished people throughout the world.
  - b. help only those countries that showed a determination to help themselves.
  - c. assist peoples throughout the world in resisting communist expansion.
  - d. create a more stable world through the use of diplomatic rather than military means.

### Objectives 3, 6, and 8

5. Which of the following is true of U.S. policy toward China during the Chinese civil war?
  - a. The United States attempted to open diplomatic relations with Mao's forces but was rebuffed.
  - b. U.S. officials recognized the nationalist origins of the struggle.

- c. The United States decided not to take sides in the struggle.
- d. Most U.S. officials supported Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) because of their belief that Mao was part of an international communist movement.

### Objectives 4, 6, and 9

6. For which of the following reasons did the United States refuse to recognize Vietnamese independence in 1945?
- a. The United States feared that such recognition would jeopardize negotiations with China.
  - b. Ho Chi Minh had worked with the Japanese against the United States during World War II.
  - c. Roosevelt had guaranteed the return of French colonies at the end of the Second World War.
  - d. Since Ho Chi Minh was a communist, the United States chose to support the imperialist stance of its Cold War ally, France.

### Objectives 3, 4, 6, and 10

7. Truman's claim that the Soviet Union was the mastermind behind North Korea's invasion of South Korea is questionable because available evidence now indicates that
- a. the Soviet Union gave no aid to North Korea during the course of the war.
  - b. President Kim Il Sung undertook the war for his own nationalist objectives and drew a reluctant Stalin into the crisis.
  - c. the Soviet Union was sending military aid to South Korea at the time of the invasion.
  - d. North Korea was fiercely independent and had broken its ties with the Soviet Union.

### Objective 10

8. President Truman fired General Douglas MacArthur because
- a. the general denounced the concept of limited war supported by President Truman and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
  - b. MacArthur refused to obey Truman's order to attack China with massive bombing raids.
  - c. the United Nations Security Council demanded MacArthur's removal.
  - d. the failure of the Inchon operation destroyed MacArthur's credibility.

### Objective 11

9. The New Look of the American military during the Eisenhower-Dulles years emphasized
- a. nuclear weapons and airpower.
  - b. a United Nations police force.
  - c. conventional military forces.
  - d. Soviet-American cooperation in space.

### Objectives 4 and 11

10. As a result of the 1954 crisis concerning Jinmen (Quemoy) and Mazu (Matsu),
- a. the United States severed relations with Jiang Jieshi.
  - b. the United States recognized the People's Republic of China.
  - c. Congress formally gave up its constitutional authority to declare war by authorizing the president to use force if necessary to defend Formosa.
  - d. Khrushchev called for "peaceful coexistence" with the United States.

### Objectives 1, 2, and 12

11. Because of its strategic and economic interests in the Third World, the United States
  - a. tried to thwart challenges to U.S. influence in the region by directing more foreign aid toward the Third World.
  - b. suffered more than Western Europe from the worldwide postwar economic depression.
  - c. enjoyed improved relations with developing nations during the 1950s.
  - d. increased its commitment to and support for the United Nations.

### Objective 13

12. The United States found it difficult to make friends in the Third World because
  - a. the United States usually supported the propertied, antirevolutionary elements in the Third World.
  - b. diplomats from Third World countries disliked America's pluralistic society.
  - c. American business interests refused to invest in Third World countries.
  - d. the Soviets were more adept at doing so.

### Objectives 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15

13. Upon learning that Cuba had signed a trade treaty with the Soviet Union in 1960, the Eisenhower administration responded by
  - a. immediately cutting off all trade with Cuba.
  - b. establishing a blockade of Cuba.
  - c. ordering the CIA to plot Castro's overthrow.
  - d. negotiating new trade agreements with Cuba designed to increase Cuban imports into the U.S.

### Objectives 4, 11, 12, 14, and 15

14. What do Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán of Guatemala and Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran have in common?
  - a. Both agreed to the deployment of Russian intermediate-range missiles in their respective countries.
  - b. Both strongly supported U.S. interests in the Third World.
  - c. Both were killed while observing the 1954 test of a 15-megaton H-bomb.
  - d. Both threatened American investments in their respective countries and were overthrown in CIA-supported coups.

### Objective 9

15. Why did Ngo Dinh Diem and President Eisenhower refuse to allow national elections in Vietnam as called for in the Geneva accords?
  - a. They believed the elections would have been virtually impossible to administer.
  - b. They held that the 1955 South Vietnamese election had given Diem a mandate to govern.
  - c. They feared that communist leader Ho Chi Minh would win.
  - d. They realized that the communists would never allow a genuinely free election.

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

### Objectives 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5

1. Defend or refute the following statement: “Both the United States and the Soviet Union must share responsibility for the Cold War.”

### Objectives 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10

2. Explain and evaluate the American perception of events in Asia between the end of the Second World War and North Korea’s invasion of South Korea. What bearing did these perceptions have on the Truman administration’s response to North Korean aggression?

### Objective 10

3. Explain the impact of the Korean War on U.S. foreign policy.

### Objective 5

4. Examine and evaluate the nuclear arms race and attempts at arms control between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1961.

### Objective 4

5. Examine the containment doctrine as the cornerstone of American foreign policy from 1945 to 1961.

### Objective 9

6. Examine the deepening involvement of the United States in Vietnam from 1945 to 1961.

### Objectives 12, 13, 14, and 15

7. Explain and evaluate the Eisenhower administration’s perception of and response to nationalist movements in the Third World. Illustrate with examples from the Middle East and Latin America. Pay particular attention to the administration’s response to Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and Gamal Abdul Nasser.

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE ANSWERS

1.
  - a. Correct. The collapse of the former enemies of the United States left a power vacuum in both Asia and Europe. Since both the United States and the Soviet Union sought influence in these regions, these power vacuums caused friction between the two former allies.
  - b. No. Great Britain, having been economically devastated by the Second World War, faced severe financial constraints in the war’s aftermath. In addition, the Second World War unleashed nationalist movements in some of Great Britain’s former colonies. Because of these two factors, Great Britain granted its colonies independence in the aftermath of the Second World War.

- c. No. Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) was occupied by Japan during the Second World War. After the surrender of Japan in 1945, France attempted to restore its colonial authority over Indochina and fought in vain to do so from 1946 to 1954.
- d. No. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the Soviet Union established buffer states between itself and Western Europe in an effort to secure its borders against another invasion from Western Europe. Although Yugoslavia established a communist government independent of Moscow, the Soviet Union supported communist coups in Hungary in 1947 and in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Both Hungary and Czechoslovakia remained under Soviet domination until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990.
2. b. Correct. Russia was invaded from the West by Napoleon in 1812 and again by Hitler in 1941. Furthermore, after the Bolshevik Revolution brought Lenin to power in 1917, the United States, Great Britain, and France sent troops to Russia to help the anti-Bolshevik forces overthrow Lenin's government. Although the Soviet Union was allied with Great Britain and the United States during World War II, it remained suspicious that the West wanted to destroy its communist government and prevent its expansion. Therefore, in 1945 Stalin was intent on securing the western border of the Soviet Union against another invasion from the West.
- a. No. The Soviet Union saw a unified Germany as a threat to its security.
- c. No. Had the Soviet Union played a substantial role in the Pacific War, it could have claimed a right to share in the reconstruction of Japan. However, the use of the atomic bomb against Japan prevented the Soviets from playing such a role, and the United States monopolized Japan's reconstruction.
- d. No. A strong independent China was seen as a security risk to the Soviet Union.
3. c. Correct. In 1947 exports constituted about 10 percent of the gross national product of the United States. Therefore, U.S. officials believed that the economic well-being of the country depended on maintaining the flow of American goods into foreign markets. This could best be achieved through a world economy based on free trade.
- a. No. Although the United States offered aid to the Soviet Union in 1947 under the Marshall Plan, the Soviets refused to participate.
- b. No. In 1947 Great Britain informed the United States that it could no longer financially afford to give aid to Turkey or to the British-supported government of Greece. In response, Truman asked Congress to appropriate \$400 million for aid to Turkey and Greece. Even though Congress did vote in favor of this appropriation, the United States did not "assume control" over any pre-war British colonies.
- d. No. The United States believed that it was essential to its security to rebuild Germany and Japan as quickly as possible.
4. c. Correct. The containment policy, as expressed by Truman and Kennan, pledged unconditional aid to peoples resisting communist expansion.
- a. No. The containment policy did not include a specific commitment to extend aid to the impoverished.
- b. No. The containment policy did not make American aid conditional on a country's demonstration of its determination to help itself.
- d. No. The containment doctrine did not emphasize the use of diplomacy in international relations.

5.
  - d. Correct. Most American officials believed Mao was part of an international communist conspiracy and failed to see him as an independent communist fighting for a China free from outside interference, and therefore, free to control its own future.
  - a. No. Many American officials became convinced that Mao was a Soviet puppet. Therefore, when Mao made secret overtures to the United States to begin diplomatic talks in 1945 and 1949, he was rebuffed by American officials.
  - b. No. Most American officials saw the Chinese civil war as part of the East-West conflict and did not recognize the nationalist nature of Mao's struggle against Jiang.
  - c. No. The United States did take sides in the struggle between Jiang Jieshi and Mao Zedong.
6.
  - d. Correct. American leaders failed to see Ho Chi Minh as a nationalist seeking independence from foreign domination. They could see him only as a communist.
  - a. No. Although the United States was attempting to negotiate a cease-fire in the Chinese civil war in 1945, recognition of Vietnamese independence would not have jeopardized those negotiations.
  - b. No. During the Second World War, Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese nationalist, worked with the American Office of Strategic Services against Japanese domination of his country.
  - c. No. Roosevelt never made such a pledge to France.
7.
  - b. Correct. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s led to the opening of previously classified Soviet documents. These documents reveal that North Korean President Kim Il Sung initiated the North Korean attack against South Korea in an attempt to achieve his own nationalist objectives. Stalin, in fact, only reluctantly approved the attack, and his support for North Korea remained lukewarm throughout the war.
  - a. No. The Soviet Union did give aid to North Korea during the course of the Korean War.
  - c. No. The Soviet Union was not sending military aid to South Korea.
  - d. No. Although Kim Il Sung, the communist leader of North Korea, probably decided to invade South Korea for nationalistic reasons and Joseph Stalin only reluctantly approved the attack, North Korea had not broken its ties with the Soviet Union.
8.
  - a. Correct. After MacArthur began publicly to question President Truman's war policies, Truman, with the backing of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, fired him for insubordination.
  - b. No. MacArthur demanded that Truman allow an attack on China, but Truman never agreed to the policy because he was sure it would widen the war.
  - c. No. MacArthur was not removed at the insistence of the U.N. Security Council.
  - d. No. The Inchon landing (September 1950) was successful for the United Nations forces under MacArthur's command and led to the liberation of Seoul, the South Korean capital.
9.
  - a. Correct. Eisenhower's desire to trim federal spending led to the New Look military. Based on the policies of "massive retaliation" and "deterrence," the New Look emphasized nuclear weaponry and airpower over conventional forces.
  - b. No. Eisenhower's New Look military did not involve a United Nations police force.
  - c. No. Eisenhower's New Look military de-emphasized conventional military force.
  - d. No. The New Look military did not involve Soviet-American cooperation in space. In 1957, the Soviets launched *Sputnik*, to the shock and surprise of many Americans. In response, the United States created the National Aeronautics and Space Agency in 1958.

10. c. Correct. In reaction to the crisis, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Formosa (December 2, 1954) and Congress passed the Formosa Resolution (January 1955) in which it authorized the president to use force if necessary to defend Formosa. Since the resolution did not require the president to obtain Congress's approval for the use of force, Congress formally gave up its constitutional authority to declare war.
- a. No. The islands were bombarded by the People's Republic of China, and this led to the signing of a mutual defense treaty between the United States and Nationalist China (Formosa) on December 2, 1954. The treaty was ratified by the Senate in February 1955.
- b. No. The United States continued to refuse to recognize the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Chinese government.
- d. No. In response to Cold War pressures that increased the likelihood of a nuclear confrontation, Khrushchev did call for "peaceful coexistence" between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, this was not in direct response to the Formosa crisis.
11. a. Correct. The U.S. economy was dependent on exports of finished products, imports of strategic raw materials, and foreign investments. Therefore, disorder caused by nationalist revolutions in the Third World was seen as a threat to the American standard of living and partially explains why America was hostile toward such revolutions. The United States hoped that by directing more foreign aid to the Third World it could help undermine nationalist revolutions in the region and thwart challenges to U.S. influence.
- b. No. Western Europe was economically devastated by the Second World War, while the United States was not. In fact, in order to prevent economic discontent in Western Europe from leading to the emergence of extremists, the United States financed a massive European recovery program known as the Marshall Plan.
- c. No. Extensive American investments abroad did not cause improved relations with developing nations.
- d. No. The United States did not increase its commitment to the United Nations because of extensive American investments abroad.
12. a. Correct. The United States stood against Third World revolutions that threatened the interests of America's allies and threatened American investments and markets. As a major world power interested in its own security, the United States desired order and stability.
- b. No. Racism in American society, rather than a negative reaction by diplomats to America's pluralistic society, made it difficult for the United States to make friends in the Third World.
- c. No. American business interests engaged in economic expansion and invested heavily in Third World countries. In 1959 over one-third of America's private foreign investments were in Third World countries.
- d. No. The Soviet Union enjoyed only a slight edge, if any, in the race to win friends in the Third World.
13. c. Correct. After learning in February 1960 of the trade treaty that Cuba entered into with the Soviet Union, President Eisenhower ordered the CIA to organize an invasion force made up of Cuban exiles for the purpose of overthrowing the Castro government. In addition, President Eisenhower drastically cut U.S. purchases of Cuban sugar.
- a. No. In response to the trade treaty between Cuba and the Soviet Union, the United States cut off all economic aid to Cuba and drastically cut U.S. purchases of Cuban sugar. However, President Eisenhower did not cut off all trade with Cuba.

- b. No. The United States imposed an embargo on all exports to Cuba except food and medicine in the fall of 1960, but the United States did not establish a blockade of Cuba.
- d. No. The Eisenhower administration did not negotiate new trade agreements with Cuba after learning of the trade treaty between Cuba and the Soviet Union in February 1960.
14. d. Correct. Both Arbenz of Guatemala and Mossadegh of Iran threatened the interests of American-owned companies operating in their countries. As a result, the CIA, through covert actions, aided in the overthrow of these men.
- a. No. Neither Arbenz of Guatemala nor Mossadegh of Iran agreed to the deployment of Russian missiles in their countries.
- b. No. Both Arbenz of Guatemala and Mossadegh of Iran were strongly nationalist in their views. As nationalists, they tended to view American interests in the Third World as exploitative.
- c. No. You may be thinking of the 1954 hydrogen-bomb test that destroyed the island of Bikini and caused the death of a crew member aboard the Lucky Dragon, a Japanese fishing boat.
15. c. Correct. Although the United States professed to believe in democracy and in the right of peoples throughout the world to determine for themselves the government they wanted, U.S. policy also called for the containment of communism everywhere. In viewing the situation in Vietnam, both President Eisenhower and Ngo Dinh Diem believed that the national elections to be held in 1956 would result in a communist victory. As a result, with U.S. backing and encouragement, Diem announced in 1956 that South Vietnam would not participate in the national elections.
- a. No. President Eisenhower and Diem did not refuse to allow the 1956 national elections because of the belief that those elections would be virtually impossible to administer.
- b. No. At the insistence of the Eisenhower administration, Emperor Bao Dai appointed Diem his prime minister in 1954. In 1955, in a referendum rigged and controlled by Diem, South Vietnam was declared a republic. Emperor Bao Dai resigned and Diem declared himself to be the first President of the Republic of Vietnam. The Eisenhower administration knew that the 1955 referendum, in which Diem received over 98 percent of the vote, was rigged; therefore, in its refusal to allow national elections in Vietnam in 1956, the United States did not contend that Diem had a mandate to govern.
- d. No. The refusal by the Eisenhower administration and President Diem to participate in national elections in Vietnam in 1956 was not based on the belief that the communist leader of North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, would not allow free elections.