

# The Cold War and Decolonization

Chapter 35-36 (1945-1962)

# Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal?

- **Yalta conference (February 1945):**
  - Final fateful conference of Big Three, at former tsarist resort on Black Sea
  - Stalin, Churchill and fast-failing Roosevelt
  - Momentous agreements and plans:
    - Final plans to smash buckling German lines
    - Assigned occupation zones in Germany
    - Stalin agreed Poland, with revised boundaries, should have representative government based on free elections



# Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal?

- Bulgaria and Romania to have free elections—another promise flouted
  - Big Three announced plans for fashioning new international peacekeeping organization—United Nations
- Controversial decisions on Far East:
  - Lacking a tested atomic bomb, FDR wanted USSR to enter Asian war to pin down Japanese troops in Manchuria and Korea
    - Would lessen U.S. losses if had to invade Japan
- Stalin agreed to do so three months after Germany defeated,
  - In return, FDR agreed for USSR to receive:
    - Southern half of Sakhalin Island and Japan's Kurile island
    - Control of railroads and two key seaports in China's Manchuria

## II. Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal

- When it turned out USSR not needed to defeat Japan, Roosevelt's critics charged:
  - He sold Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) down river by conceding control of Manchuria to Stalin
  - Also assailed “sell-out” of Poland and other Eastern European countries
- Roosevelt's defenders:
  - Stalin, with his red army, could have taken more of China
    - So, Yalta actually set limits on his ambitions
  - At time of Yalta, Soviet troops occupied East Europe, and a war to eject them unthinkable

## II. Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal

- Big Three not drafting comprehensive peace settlement:
  - Sketched general intentions and tested one another's reactions
  - More specific understandings among wartime allies awaited arrival of peace

# The United States and the Soviet Union

- Little hope USA and USSR could reach cordial understanding on postwar world:
  - Communism and capitalism historically hostile social philosophies:
    - USA did not officially recognize USSR until 1933
    - Soviet skepticism nourished by long delays of Americans and British to open second front against Germany
    - Britain and America froze Soviet “ally” out of project to develop atomic weapons
    - Washington abruptly terminated lend-lease aid to USSR in 1945 and then spurned Soviet plea for reconstruction loan while approving a loan for England

# The United States and the Soviet Union

- Different visions of postwar world separated two:
  - Stalin aimed to guarantee security of Soviet Union
    - Twice in 1900s, Russia attacked through Poland
    - By maintaining Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern and Central Europe, USSR could protect itself as well as consolidate revolutionary base as world's leading communist country
  - Many Americans saw “sphere of influence” as ill-gained “empire”
    - Doubted Soviet goals purely defensive
    - “Sphere of influence” clashed with Roosevelt's and Wilson's “open world” —decolonized, demilitarized, democratized with strong international organization for global peace



**LEGEND**

RUSSIA AFTER 1st WORLD WAR

ACQUIRED BY RUSSIA SINCE 1940

RUSSIAN-OCCUPIED BY AGREEMENT

RUSSIAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

1917

# RED RUSSIA

1947



RUSSIA UNDER THE CZARS had been a major force in European politics for centuries. In March, 1917, the people rebelled against their corrupt and tyrannical government, and after months of conflict among several factions, the Bolsheviks declared themselves the rulers on Nov. 7. They named the country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Because of its weakened condition, it had to drop out of World War I and

accept the terms, first of Germany, and later, of the Allies. Its postwar boundaries, as shown on this map, were not definitely settled until 1923. World War II was Russia's opportunity to regain its place as a major power. It seized much of its lost territory, including some that had been ceded to Japan by Czarist Russia. The dates give the year that the U.S.S.R. gained final possession of the areas referred to: some of them

had been taken earlier in the war and then lost to the Axis. Manchuria, at present a battleground for Chinese Communist and Government troops, is coveted by Russia, which has partial control of the railroads by agreement with China. The first Bolshevik leaders were frank in telling the world that their object was to have Communism cover the globe; Stalin talks less but acts more. (News map by Staff Artist Sundberg)

NATIONAL CAPITAL ●  
CAPITALS OF S.S.R. \*

SCALE OF MILES

0 100 200 300 400 500

# United States and the Soviet Union

- Both isolated from world affairs before WWII
  - United States through choice
  - Soviet Union through rejection by other powers
- Both had “missionary” diplomacy—trying to export their political doctrines
- Some confrontation unavoidable between
  - Communistic, despotic Russia
  - Capitalistic, democratic America

# United States and the Soviet Union

- “Grand Alliance” only a child of necessity
- In progression of events, suspicion and rivalry
  - Grew because of misperceptions and genuine conflict of interests between two superpowers
- **Cold War:**
  - Tense standoff lasted four and a half decades
  - Shaped Soviet-American relations
  - Overshadowed postwar international order in every corner of globe

# Shaping the Postwar World

- USA erected structures for more open world envisioned by Roosevelt
- 1941 Atlantic Charter proclaimed rights of
  - Self-determination
  - Free trade
  - “Freedom from fear and want” for all individuals

# Shaping the Postwar World

## ■ **Bretton Woods Conference (1944):**

### ■ Western allies established

- International Monetary Fund (IMF) to encourage world trade by regulating currency exchange rates
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) to aid economic growth in war-ravaged and underdeveloped areas
  - Three years later, GATT began global reduction in trade barriers
- USA took lead in creating these bodies and supplied much of their funding
- Soviets declined to participate

# The Origins of the Cold War:

## Key Events in the Early Phases of the Cold War

- 1944: Bretton Woods Conference creates the World Bank and IMF; UN created at Dumbarton Oaks Conference
- 1945: Roosevelt dies; Germany surrenders; U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Japan surrenders
- 1947: Truman Doctrine/policy of containment announced by U.S.; Marshall Plan announced
- 1948-1949: First Berlin Crisis (over partial blockade)
- 1949: North Atlantic Treaty signed creating NATO; Soviets explode first atomic bomb; China falls to communists
- 1950: Sino-Soviet pact signed in Moscow; NSC-68 drafted by U.S.; North Korea invades South Korea
- 1952: U.S. explodes first Hydrogen bomb.

# American and Soviet Goals

## American Goals

- Wanted conquered European nations to experience the democracy and economic opportunity that the United States had fought for during the war
- Wanted to develop strong capitalist economies, which would provide good markets for American products

## Soviet Goals

- Wanted to rebuild Europe in ways that would help the Soviet Union recover from the huge losses it suffered during the war.
- Wanted to establish Soviet **satellite nations**, countries subject to Soviet domination and sympathetic to Soviet goals
- Wanted to promote the spread of communism throughout the world

# Soviets Tighten Their Hold

## **Albania and Bulgaria:**

Communists silence opposition in Albania; Soviet troops seize Bulgaria.

**Czechoslovakia:** It became a Soviet satellite nation in 1948.

**Hungary and Romania:** By using arrests and forced appointments, Communists achieved power in both nations.

**East Germany:** Stalin established a totalitarian government, naming the state the German Democratic Republic.

**Finland and Yugoslavia:** Finland signed a treaty of cooperation, and Yugoslavia followed the leadership of Tito.

## Cold War Divisions, 1949





# Truman and Containment

- The competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for world influence came to be known as the **Cold War**.
- The American policy of containment accepted the fact that Eastern Europe was under Communist control, but sought to prevent Communist governments from forming elsewhere in the world.
- The Truman Doctrine, which applied the principles of **containment**, stated that the United States would support free peoples who resist attempted conquest. The **Truman Doctrine** was first applied in the cases of Greece and Turkey.

# V. The Problem of Germany

- Hitler's ruined Reich had created problems for all wartime Allies:
  - Agreed Nazism had to be cut out of German politics
  - Involved punishing Nazi leaders for war crimes
  - **Nuremberg war crimes trial 1945-1946:**
    - Tried 22 top culprits
    - Accusations included
      - Crimes against laws of war and humanity
      - Aggression contrary to solemn treaty pledges
    - Justice, Nuremberg-style, harsh
    - 12 accused Nazis executed



Bettmann/CORBIS

# V. The Problem of Germany

- Beyond punishing top Nazis, Allies could agree on little about postwar Germany
  - Some American Hitler-haters wanted to dismantle German factories and reduce country to potato patch
  - Soviets, denied U.S. economic assistance, determined to rebuild by extracting reparations from Germans
    - Both clashed with reality that healthy Germany industrial economy indispensable to European recovery
  - Germany divided into four military occupation zones:
    - Each one assigned to one of Big Four powers (France, Britain, America, and USSR) (see Map 35.1)

# The Problems of Germany

- What about Berlin?
  - Deep within Soviet zone
  - Divided into sectors occupied by troops of each of four victorious powers
  - In 1948, after controversies over:
    - German currency reform and four-power control
    - Soviets abruptly closed rail and highway access to Berlin
  - Berlin huge symbolic issue for both sides



# The Berlin Airlift



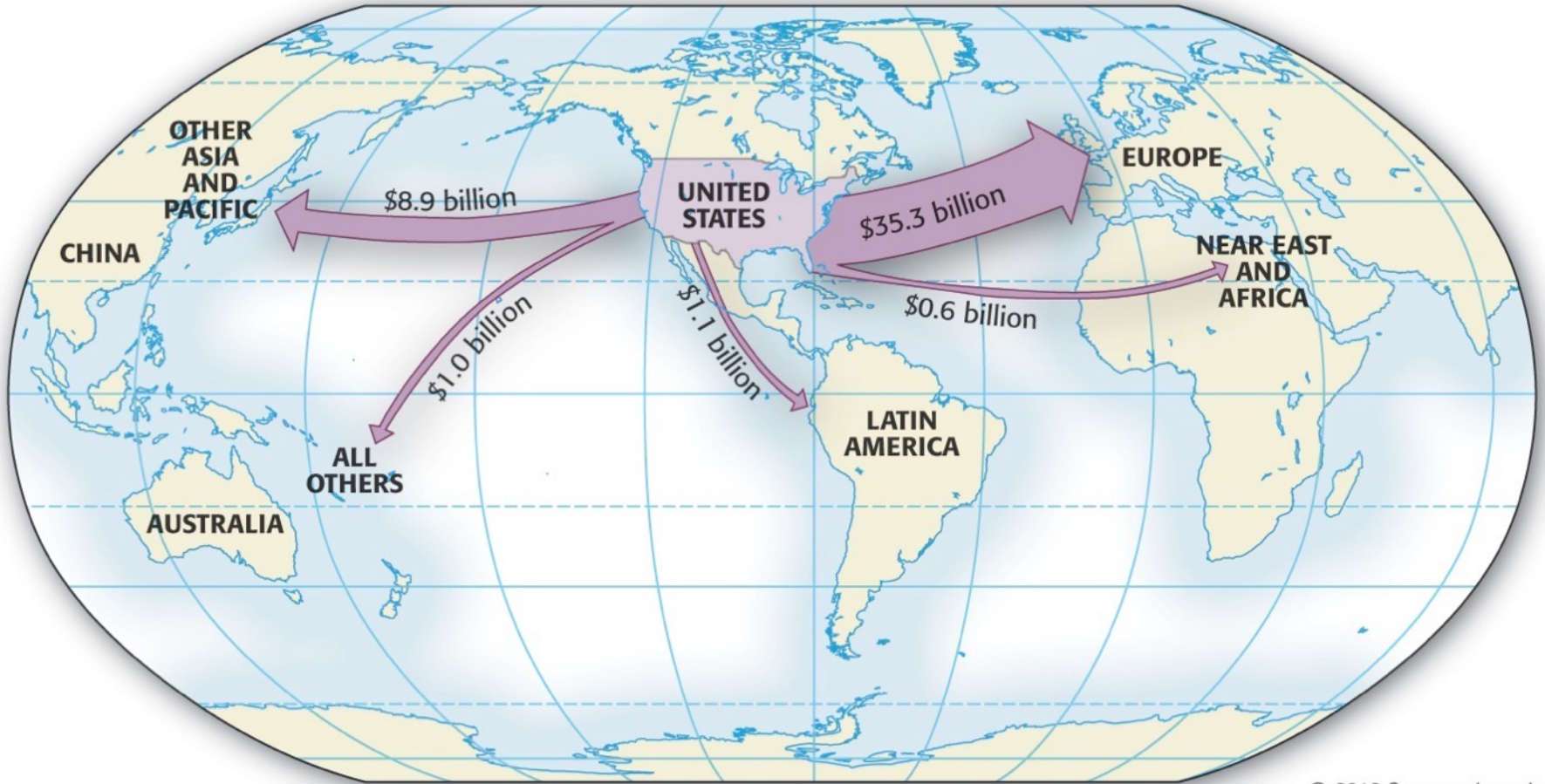
- As part of the postwar division of Germany, the city of Berlin, located in Communist East Germany, was divided into West Berlin (capitalist) and East Berlin (Communist).
- In June 1948, Stalin banned all shipments to West Berlin through East Germany, creating a blockade which threatened to cut off supplies to the city.
- In response, Allied nations began the Berlin airlift, which delivered thousands of tons of food and other supplies to West Berlin via air.
- Although the Soviet blockade ended in May 1949, Berlin remained a focal point of Cold War conflict.

# VI. Cold War Deepens

## ■ Marshall Plan:

- Met in Paris in July 1947 to thrash out details
- Marshall offered same aid to USSR and its allies, but under terms USSR could not accept
- Called for spending \$12.5 billion over four years in 16 cooperating countries (see Map 35.2)
- Congress at first balked at mammoth sum
- Looked huge when added to \$2 billion already provided for European relief
- As Cold War tensions escalated, Congress voted initial appropriations in April 1948





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# VI. Cold War Deepens

- Marshall Plan a spectacular success:
  - U.S. dollars assisted anemic Western European nations
  - “Economic miracle” drenched Europe in prosperity
  - Communist parties in Italy and France lost ground
    - Two countries saved from communism
- Truman on May 14, 1948 officially recognized state of Israel on day of its birth
  - Antagonized oil-rich Arabs who opposed such a state in British mandate territory of Palestine
  - Decision greatly complicated USA-Arab relations

# More Alliances: NATO and Warsaw

## What was NATO?

- The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in April 1949.
- In joining NATO, the United States, Canada, and ten Western European nations pledged to support one another against attack, a principle known as **collective security**.
- In response, the Soviet Union created the **Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance between the Soviet Union and its satellite nations.

# Communist Progress

## The Soviet Atomic Threat

- In September 1949, Truman announced that the Soviet Union had successfully tested an atomic bomb.
- In response, the United States began developing the even more powerful hydrogen bomb, reestablishing itself as the world's leading nuclear power.
- The newly formed Federal Civil Defense Administration distributed information on how to survive a nuclear attack; this information was ridiculed by experts.

## China Falls to the Communists

- During World War II, competing factions in China had cooperated, but fighting between them resumed towards the end of the war.
- At first, the United States supported Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi against Communist Mao Zedong. However, the United States later decided to focus on Western Europe instead.
- Many Americans viewed Mao Zedong's creation of a Communist state in China as a failure of Truman's policies.



U.S. Air Force Photo

# The Communists in Asia

## The Chinese Civil War

- Civil war began in the mid-1920s and intensified after World War II.
- Mao Zedong won support for the Communists by redistributing land and offering schooling and healthcare.
- Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist Party lost support because of harsh treatment of the population, high taxes, and corruption.
- When the Communists took power in 1949, the Nationalists fled to Taiwan.

## The Division of Korea

- World War II ended before a plan could be made for Korean independence from Japan.
- Korea was temporarily divided at the **thirty-eighth parallel**, the latitude line running through approximately the midpoint of the peninsula.
- A pro-American government formed in South Korea, while a Communist government formed in North Korea.

# The Korean Conflict

- In June 1950, the **Korean War** broke out when North Korean troops invaded South Korea, aiming to reunite the nation by force.
- A UN resolution called on member states to defend South Korea and restore peace. Roughly 80 percent of the troops who served in the resulting UN police action were American.
- General MacArthur pushed north initially, North Korea (aided by China) pushed back.
- A truce signed in 1953 left Korea again divided near the thirty eighth parallel. This border remains one of the most intense points of observation in the world today.

# Effects of the Korean War

## Post-Korean War Changes in America

- **Warfare** — Limited war, limited victory
- **Integration of the Military** — First war in which white Americans and African Americans served in the same units
- **Increased Power of the Military** — A military-industrial complex developed as the military established links with the corporate and scientific communities.
- **Foreign Policy in Asia** — September 1951 peace treaty signed with Japan; relations worsen with Communist China

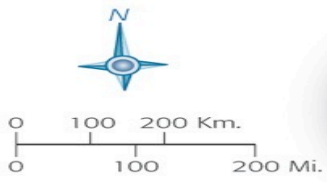


# X. The Military Seesaw in Korea

- MacArthur landed behind enemy's line at Inchon on September 15, 1950:
  - Succeeded brilliantly
  - North Koreans scrambled back behind “sanctuary” of thirty-eighth parallel
  - U.N. Assembly tacitly authorized crossing by MacArthur
  - Truman ordered MacArthur northward as long as no armed intervention by Chinese or Soviets (see Map 35.3)
- Americans raised stakes in Korea:
  - Brought China into dangerous game



- Territory held by South Korean forces
- Territory held by North Korean forces
- Front



# Other Cold War Issues

## Cold War involvement around the world, 1947–1956

- **Eastern Europe** — Wary of war with the Soviets, America did not support uprisings in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary.
- **Southeast Asia** — Korean War ends; former French colony of Vietnam is divided into Communist North and anti-Communist South.
- **Middle East** — United States supports Israel, backs groups that restore a pro-American Shah in Iran; the Suez Crisis in Egypt erupts.
- **Latin America** — Organization of American States (OAS) is created; American aid helps anti-Communist leaders gain and retain power.

# XI. The Cold War Home Front

- Cold War deeply shaped political and economic developments at home after WWII
- New anti-red chase accelerated by fears of communist spies in USA:
  - In 1947, Truman launched massive “loyalty” program:
    - Attorney general drew up list of 90 supposedly disloyal organizations
    - Loyalty Review Board investigated more than three million federal employees
    - Some 3,000 of whom either resigned or were dismissed, none under formal indictment

# XI. The Cold War Home Front

- House of Representatives in 1938 established **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)** to investigate “subversion”
  - In 1948, Richard M. Nixon, ambitious committee member, led chase after Alger Hiss:
    - Prominent ex-New Dealer
    - Distinguished member of “eastern establishment”
    - Accused of being a communist agent in 1930s
    - Hiss demanded right to defend himself
    - Dramatically met chief accuser before HUAC in August 1948
    - Hiss denied everything but was caught in falsehoods

# XI. The Cold War Home Front (cont.)

- Julius and Ethel Rosenberg:
  - Allegedly “leaked” atomic data to Moscow
  - Convicted in 1951 of espionage
  - Went to electric chair in 1953
    - Only people in American history ever executed in peacetime for espionage
  - Sensational trial and electrocution, combined with sympathy for two orphaned children, began to sour some citizens on excesses of red-hunters

# XI. The Cold War Home Front

- Was America really riddled with Soviet spies?
  - Soviet agents did infiltrate some government agencies, though without severely damaging consequences
- Some conservatives used red brush to tar anyone involved in social change as “subversive”
- Red hunt turned into a witch hunt:
  - 1950: Truman vetoed McCarran Internal Security Bill:
    - Authorized president to arrest and detain suspicious people during “internal security emergency”
    - Critics: bill smacked of police-state tactics
    - Congress enacted bill over Truman's veto





# XI. The Cold War Home Front

- Senator Joseph R. McCarthy: most dangerous practitioner of demagogic anticommunism
  - February 1950: accused Secretary of State Dean Acheson of knowingly employing 205 Communists
    - McCarthy never identified a single actual communist
  - His Republican colleagues encouraged him to attack
  - His rhetoric grew bolder as did his accusations
  - He saw red hand of Moscow everywhere
  - **McCarthyism** flourished in seething Cold War atmosphere of suspicion and fear

# XI. The Cold War Home Front

- McCarthy most ruthless red-hunter and did most damage to American traditions of fair play and free speech
  - Careers of countless officials, writers, and actors ruined by “Low-Blow Joe”
  - At peak of his power, McCarthy controlled personnel policy in State Department
    - Resulted in severe damage to morale and effectiveness of professional foreign service
    - Deprived government of a number of Asian specialists
    - Damaged America's international reputation for fair and open democracy

# XI. The Cold War Home Front

- Went too far when he attacked U.S. Army
  - Military fought back in 35 days of televised hearings (spring 1954) in **Army-McCarthy hearings**:
    - Up to 20 million watched hearings
    - McCarthy publicly cut his own throat by parading his essential meanness and irresponsibility
  - Senate formally condemned him for “conduct unbecoming a member”
  - Three years later McCarthy died of chronic alcoholism
  - “McCarthyism” a label for dangerous forces of unfairness/fear, unleashed by democratic society

# XI. The Cold War Home Front (cont.)

- Cold War shaped American culture
  - Many interpreted conflict between capitalist West and communist East in religious terms
- Religious belief of any kind became distinguishing feature of “American Way”
  - Congress in 1954 inserted words “under God” into Pledge of Allegiance

# XII. Postwar Economic Anxieties

- The 1930s had left deep scars:
  - Joblessness and insecurity pushed up suicide rate and dampened marriage rate
    - Babies went unborn—pinched budgets and sagging self-esteem wrought a sexual depression
  - War banished blight of depression
  - A faltering economy threatened to confirm worst predictions of doomsayers: Great Depression 2???
  - Gross national product (GNP) slumped in 1946-47
  - Epidemic of strikes swept country

# XII. Postwar Economic Anxieties

- Growth of organized labor annoyed conservatives
  - Congress passed **Taft-Hartley Act (1947)** over Truman's veto
    - Outlawed “closed” (all-union) shops
    - Made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves
    - Required union leaders to take a noncommunist oath
  - **CIO's Operation Dixie:**
    - Aimed at unionizing southern textile workers and steel workers
    - Failed because white workers feared racial mixing
    - Service workers proved difficult to organize
    - Union membership peaked in 1950s, then began slow decline

# XII. Postwar Economic Anxieties

- Democratic administration took steps to forestall economic downturn:
  - Sold war factories and government installations to private business at fire-sale prices
  - Secured passage of **Employment Act of 1946**:
    - Made government policy “to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power”
    - Created three member Council of Economic Advisers to provide president with data and recommendations on implementation
  - 1944 passage of Servicemen's Readjustment Act
    - Better known as GI Bill of Rights, or **GI Bill**:

## XII. Postwar Economic Anxieties

- Feared job market not able to absorb so many returning vets
- Offered \$20 a week for up to 52 weeks in compensation
- Generous provision for sending former soldiers to school
- Some eight million veterans advanced their education
- Most attended technical and vocational schools
- Some two million attended colleges and universities
- Total spent on education = \$14.5 billion in taxpayer dollars
- Act enabled Veterans Administration to guarantee \$16 billion in loans for vets to buy homes, farms, and small businesses
- Act nurtured robust and long-lived economic expansion and profoundly shaped entire history of postwar era





# XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948

## ■ 1948 election:

### ■ Republicans (won control of Congress in 1946)

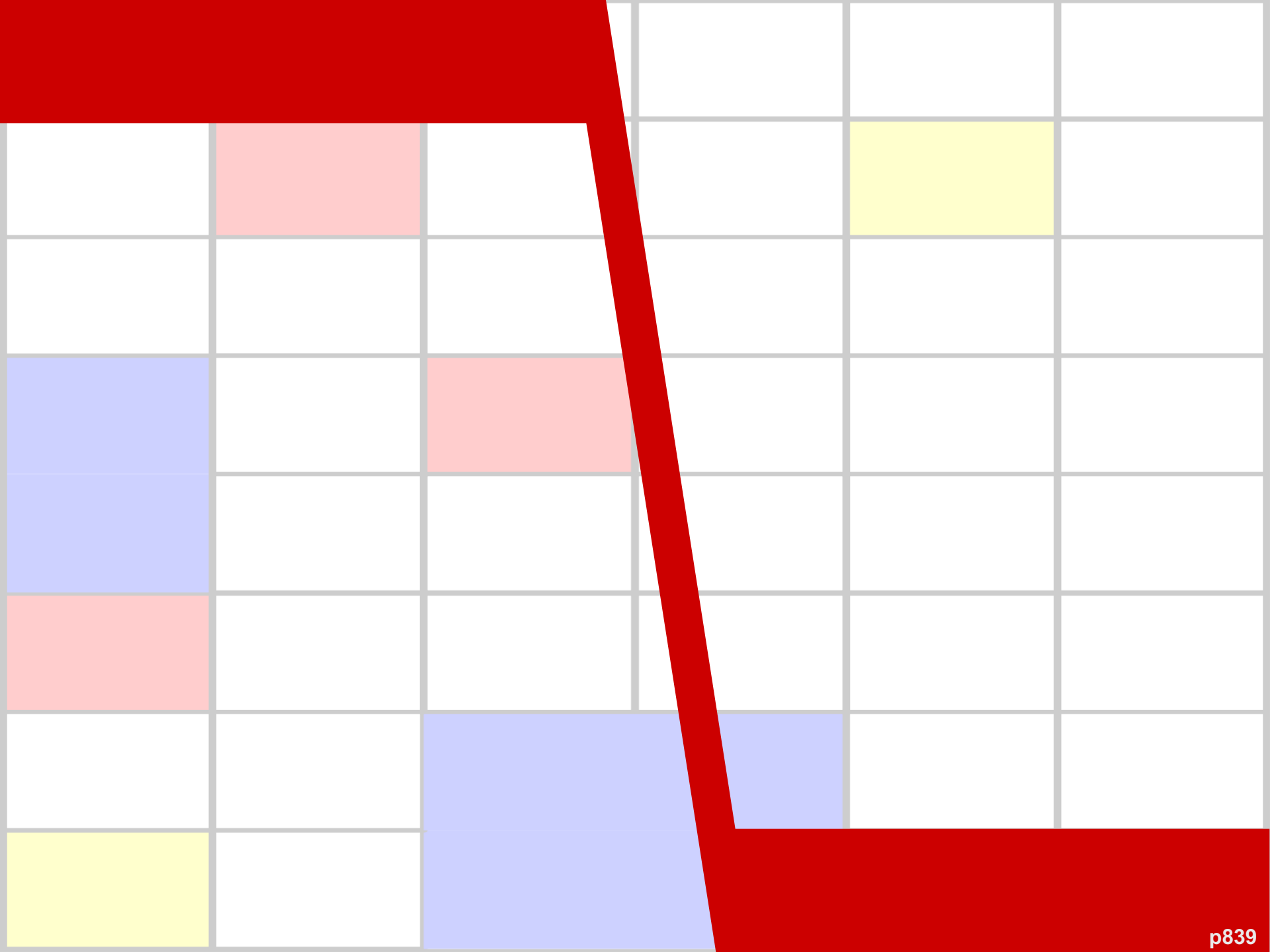
- Gathered in Philadelphia in 1948 to choose their presidential candidate
- Nominated Thomas E. Dewey again

### ■ Democrats chose Truman:

- In face of vehement opposition by southern delegates
  - Alienated by his strong stand in favor of civil rights for blacks, especially his decision in 1948 to desegregate military

# XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948

- Truman's nomination split party:
  - Embittered southern Democrats from thirteen states
    - Met in convention in Birmingham, Alabama
    - Nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina on States' Rights party ticket
  - Henry A. Wallace also threw his hat in:
    - Nominated at Philadelphia by new Progressive party
    - Opposed Truman's get-tough-with-Russia policies
  - With Democrats split, Dewey's victory seemed assured





Harry S. Truman Library

## XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948 (cont.)

- Truman delivered over 300 speeches
  - Lashed out at Taft-Hartley “slave-labor” law
  - And “do-nothing” Republican Congress
- Whipped up support for his
  - Program of civil rights
  - Improved labor benefits
  - Health insurance
- On election night, *Chicago Tribune* early edition: “DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN”



Chicago Daily Tribune Home

# DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN

## G.O.P. Sweep Indicated in State; Boyle Leads in City

REPUBLICAN Ticket Catches in 2nd Race  
TICKET AHEAD for Attorney  
BOYLE VOTE

RECORD CITY  
VOTE SEEN IN  
LATE TALLIES

BULLETIN ON ELECTIONS

Early Count Shows G.O.P. Senate Edge

PUTS DEW BACK IN WHITE

Frank Cancellare/Bettmann/Corbis

# XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948

## ■ Election results:

- Truman swept to stunning triumph
  - Thurmond took 39 electoral votes in South
  - Truman won 303 electoral votes, primarily from South, Midwest, and West
  - Dewey's 189 electoral votes principally from east
  - To make it sweeter, Democrats regained Congress
- Truman's victory rested on farmers, workers, and blacks, all of whom were Republican-wary

# XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948

- Fourth point of Truman's inaugural address
  - Thereafter known as “Point Four”
    - Lend money and technical aid to underdeveloped lands to help them help themselves
    - Truman wanted to spend millions to keep underprivileged peoples from becoming communists
      - Rather than billions to shoot them after they became communists
    - Program officially launched in 1950
      - To help impoverished nations in Latin America, Africa, Middle East, and Asia



# XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948

- **Sweeping Fair Deal** reform program
  - Presented to Congress in 1949 for:
    - Improved housing
    - Full employment
    - National health insurance
    - Higher minimum wage
    - Better farm price supports
    - New TVAs
    - Extension of Social Security

# XIII. Democratic Divisions in 1948

- Most proposals killed by opposition from congressional Republicans and southern Democrats
  - Only major successes:
    - Raised minimum wage
    - Provided for public housing in Housing Act of 1949
    - Extended old-age insurance to more beneficiaries in Social Security Act of 1950

# XIV. The Long Economic Boom, 1950–1970

- 1950s economic surge:
  - U.S. economic performance became envy of world
  - National income nearly doubled in 1950s
  - Nearly doubled again in 1960s
  - Shoot through trillion-dollar mark in 1973
  - Americans, 6% of world's population, enjoyed about 40% of planet's wealth
  - Fantastic eruption of affluence
  - Prosperity underwrote social mobility
  - Paved way for success of civil rights movement

# XIV. The Long Economic Boom, 1950-1970

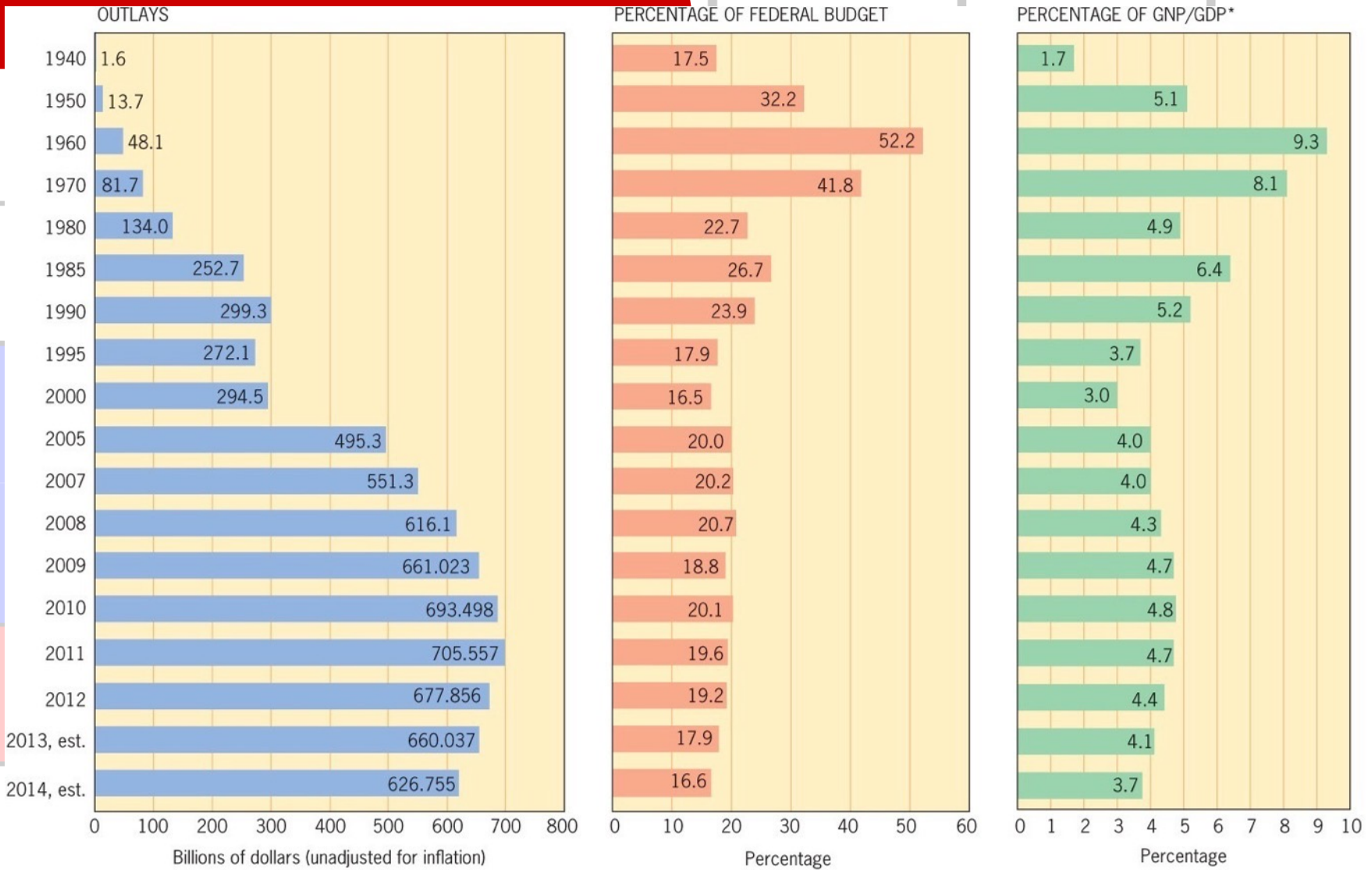
- Funded vast new welfare programs (e.g., Medicare)
- Gave Americans confidence to exercise unprecedented international leadership
- Americans drank deeply from gilded goblet:
  - Made up for sufferings of 1930s
  - Determined to “get theirs” while getting was good
  - “Middle class” households (earn between \$3,000 and \$10,000 a year) doubled to include 60% of Americans by mid-1950s
  - 60% of families owned their own homes in 1960, compared to 40% in 1920s
  - 1960: nearly 90% of families owned a television

# XIV. The Long Economic Boom, 1950-1970

- Women reaped great rewards:
  - Urban offices and shops provided bonanza of employment
  - Great majority of new jobs created went to women
  - Especially as service sector outgrew manufacturing sector
  - Women accounted for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of U.S. workforce at end of WWII and nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  by 1990s
  - Yet popular culture glorified traditional feminine roles of homemaker and mother
  - Clash between demands of suburban housewifery and realities of employment eventually sparked feminist revolt in 1960s

# XV. The Roots of Postwar Prosperity

- What propelled economic growth:
  - Second World War itself:
    - USA used war to fire up factories and rebuild economy
  - Much rested on underpinnings of colossal postwar military budgets (see Figure 35.2)
    - Fueled by massive appropriations for Korean War and defense spending (10% of GNP)
    - Pentagon dollars primed pumps of high-technology industries—aerospace, plastics, and electronics



(Sources: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2014*, from US Office of Management and Budget [Congressional Budget Office], *Budget of the United States Government, Historical Tables*, annual. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2014/assets/hist.pdf>.)

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# XV. The Roots of Postwar Prosperity

- Military budget financed much scientific research and development (“R & D”)
  - Unlocking secrets of nature key to unleashing economic growth
- Cheap energy fed economic boom:
  - Americans and Europeans controlled flow of abundant petroleum of Middle East to keep prices low
  - Americans doubled oil consumption (1945-'70) as they:
    - Built endless ribbons of highways
    - Installed air-conditioning in homes
    - Engineered sixfold increase in country's electricity-generating capacity between 1945-'70



# XV. The Roots of Postwar Prosperity

- Spectacular gains in worker productivity
  - 1950s: on average productivity increased 3% per year
  - Enhanced by rising educational level of work force
    - By 1970, nearly 90% of school age population enrolled in educational institutions
    - Better educated and better equipped workers in 1970 could produce twice per hour as much as in 1950
    - Rising productivity in 1950s and 1960s virtually doubled average American's standard of living in postwar years
- Changes in nation's basic economic structure
  - Accelerating shift of work force out of agriculture



## MODEL 33 CROP-CHOPPER



Powerful flail harvester with exclusive Curvo-Thrust cutterhead double-chops, clean-chops your forage for easier handling, feeding and storing.

**NH** NEW HOLLAND

# XV. The Roots of Postwar Prosperity

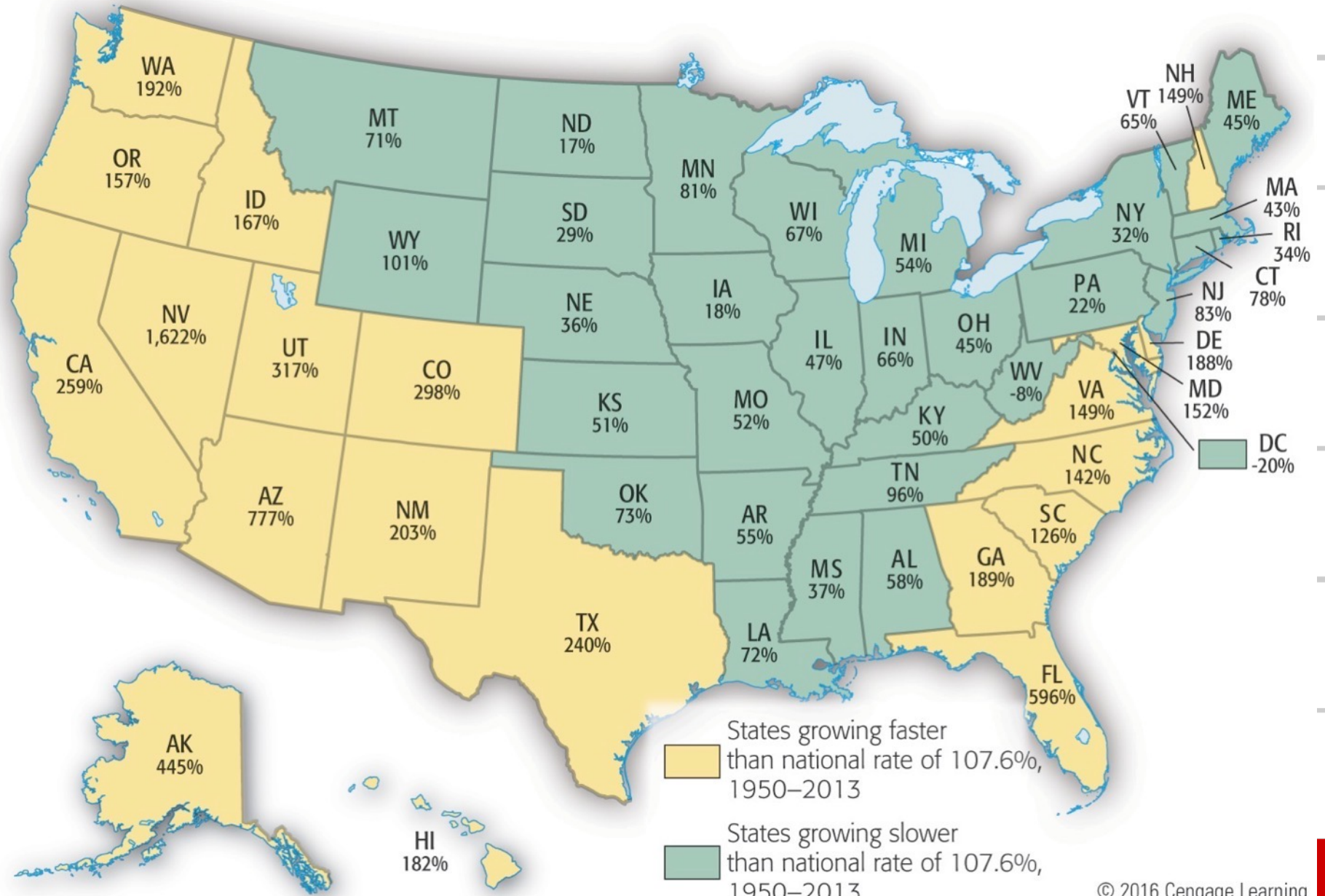
- Consolidation produced giant agribusinesses able to employ costly machines
- With mechanization, new fertilizers, government subsidies and price supports:
  - One farmworker could now feed 50 people, compared to 15 people in 1940s
  - Farmers now plowed fields in air-conditioned tractor cabs, listening to stereophonic radios
  - By end of 1900s, farmers made up only 2% of working Americans—yet fed much of world

# XVI. The Smiling Sunbelt

- Population redistribution begun by WWII:
  - Americans had always been a people on the move
  - After 1945, on average 30 million people changed residences every year
  - Families especially felt strain of separation
  - Popularity of advice books on child-rearing:
    - Dr. Benjamin Spock's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*
  - In fluid postwar neighborhoods, friendships hard to sustain
  - Mobility exacted high human cost in loneliness/isolation

# XVI. The Smiling Sunbelt

- **Growth of Sunbelt—15-state area:**
  - From Virginia through Florida, Texas, Arizona, California
  - Had population growth rate twice that of Northeast
  - California by 1963 = most populace state in USA
  - South and Southwest a new frontier
  - Distribution of population increase, 1958 (see Map 35.4)
  - Federal funds key to prosperity of South and West states:
    - Annually received \$444 billion more than North and Midwest by 2000s
    - New economic war between states shaped up
  - Big effects on presidency and House of Representatives



# XVII. The Rush to the Suburbs

- In all regions, whites fled cities for new suburbs (see *Makers of America*)
  - Government policies encouraged movement away from urban centers
    - Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) offered home-loan guarantees
    - Tax deductions for interest payments on home mortgages a financial incentive
    - Government-built highways sped commuters to suburban homes; facilitated mass migration



Levittown, NY and PA





# XVII. The Rush to the Suburbs

- Home construction industry boomed in 1950s and 1960s
  - **Levittown** revolutionized techniques of home construction
  - Helped people move to suburbs
  - Critics wailed at monotony of suburban “tract” development
- “White flight” to suburbs left inner cities black, brown, and broke (see *Makers of America* in Chap. 36)
  - Businesses (and their taxes) left cities for new suburban malls
  - Government policies aggravated pattern of residential segregation by often denying FHA mortgages to blacks
    - Limited black mobility out of city, sent them to urban public housing projects— thus solidifying racial separation
    - Blacks missed out on huge increase in value of suburban homes





B. Anthony Stewart/National Geographic Society/Corbis

# XVIII. The Postwar Baby Boom

## ■ Baby boom:

- Huge leap in birthrate in fifteen years after 1945:
  - Record number of marriages at war's end
  - Began immediately to fill nation's empty cradles
  - Touched off demographic explosion adding 50 million to nation by end of 1950s
  - Crested in 1957
  - By 1973, fertility rates dropped below point necessary to maintain existing population without immigration

# XVIII. The Postwar Baby Boom

- Boom-or-bust cycle of births begot bulging wave along American population curve
  - For example, increased elementary school enrollments to nearly 34 million by 1970
  - Then a closing of elementary schools and unemployment of teachers in late 1970s
- By 1960s, economic shift of baby products to youth products (“youth culture”)
- Baby boomers continued to affect culture and economy as they aged

# American Zenith

## Chapter 36

# I. Affluence and Its Anxieties

## ■ Prosperity boom

### ■ Housing:

#### ■ Fabulous surge in home construction

- 1960: 25% of all homes had been built in decade of 1950s
  - 83% of those new houses in suburbia

### ■ Science and technology:

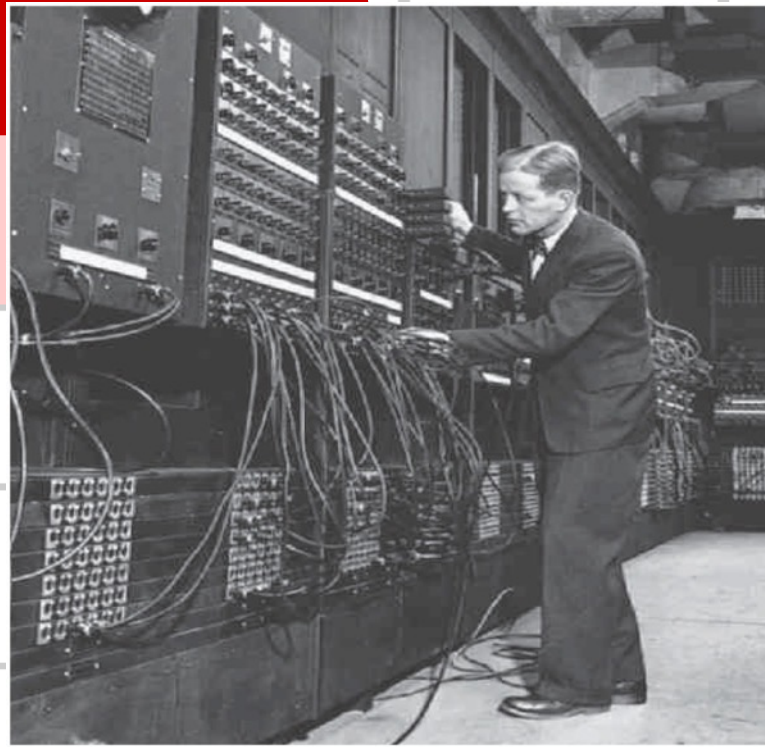
#### ■ Invention of transistor (1948) sparked revolution in electronics, especially computers

- First electronic computers were massive machines
- Computer giant International Business Machine (IBM) prototype of “high-tech” corporation in new “information age”

# I. Affluence and Its Anxieties

- Aerospace industries:
  - Connection between military and civilian aircraft production
  - Seattle-based Boeing Company (1957)—first large passenger jet, “707,” based on long-range bomber, B-52
  - General Electric: more revenue from jet engines than lightbulbs...then AND now.
- Nature of work force changing:
  - “White collar” workers outnumbered “blue collar”
    - Passage from industrial to postindustrial or service-based economy
    - Union membership peaked at about 35% of labor force in 1954; then began steady decline (see Figure 32.3)





Bettmann/CORBIS

**TABLE 36.1 Occupational Distribution of Workingwomen, 1900–2010\***

	1900	1920	1940	1960	1980	2010
Total white-collar workers†	17.8%	38.8%	44.9%	52.5%	65.6%	72.7%
Clerical workers	4.0	18.7	21.5	28.7	30.5	32.3
Manual workers	27.8	23.8	21.6	18.0	14.8	5.8
Farmworkers	18.9	13.5	4.0	1.8	1.0	0.3
Service workers‡	35.5	23.9	29.4	21.9	18.1	21.3

\*Major categories; percentage of all women workers in each category, calculated at fourteen and older until 1970 and then sixteen and older.

†Includes clerical, sales, professional, and technical workers, managers, and officials.

‡Includes domestic servants.

(Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States*, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, and Bureau of Labor Statistics, relevant years.)

# I. Affluence and Its Anxieties

- Women and industry:
  - Surge in white-collar employment opened special opportunities for women (see Table 36.1)
  - After WWII, many women left paid work
  - A “cult of domesticity” emerged in popular culture to celebrate eternal feminine functions of wife and mother
- Quite revolution occurred:
  - Of 40 million new jobs created from 1950-1980,
  - more than 30 million jobs in clerical and service work
  - “Pink-collar ghetto” were occupations dominated by women (see Figure 36.1)

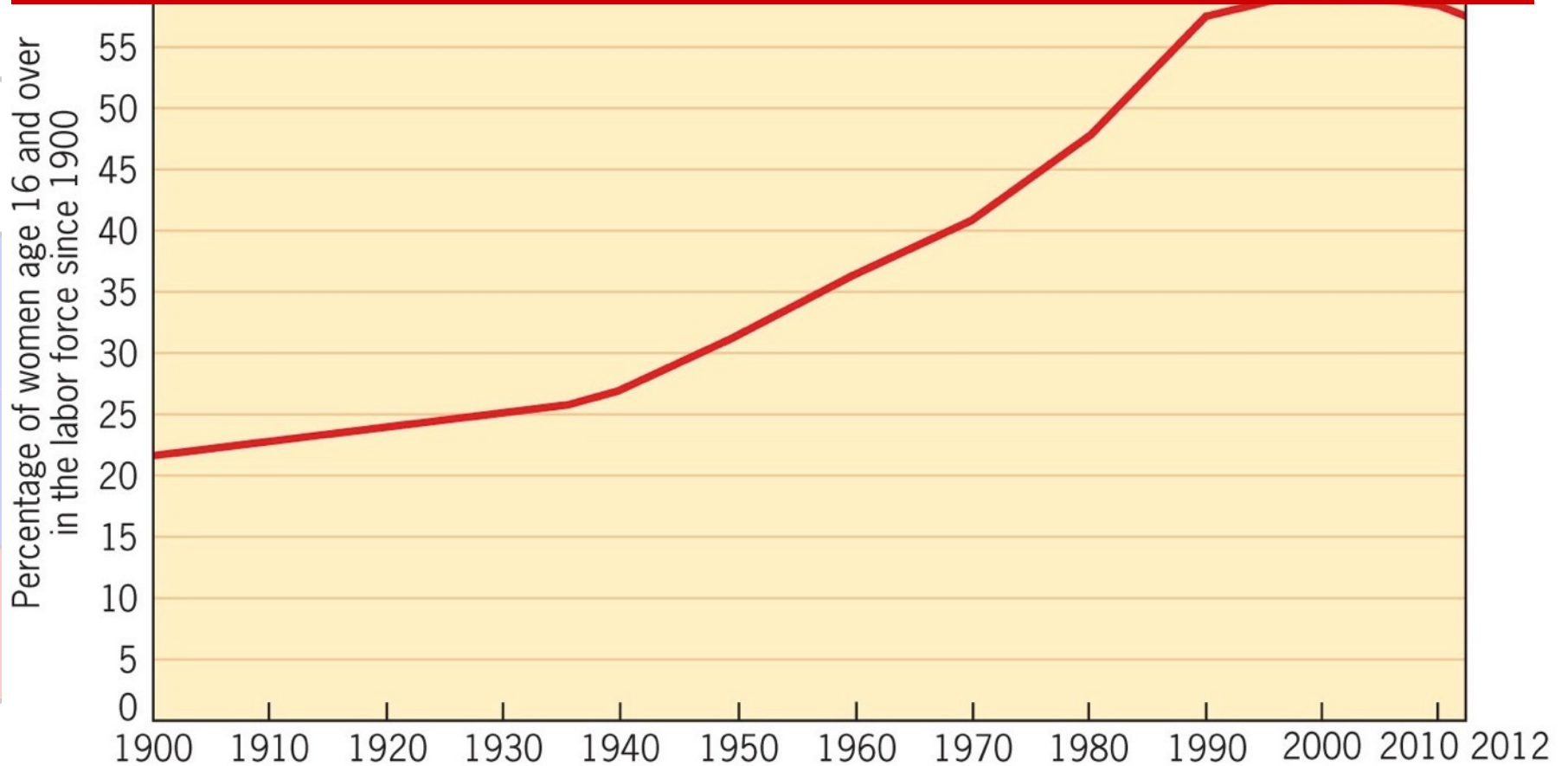


# I. Affluence and Its Anxieties

## ■ Urban age and women:

- Women's new dual role: *both* worker *and* homemaker raised urgent questions:
  - About family,
  - And traditional definitions of gender differences
- Feminist Betty Friedan:
  - *The Feminine Mystique* (1963): a classic of feminist protest literature that launched modern women's movement
  - Criticized stifling boredom of suburban housewifery

# Working Women...



(Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States* and *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, relevant years.)

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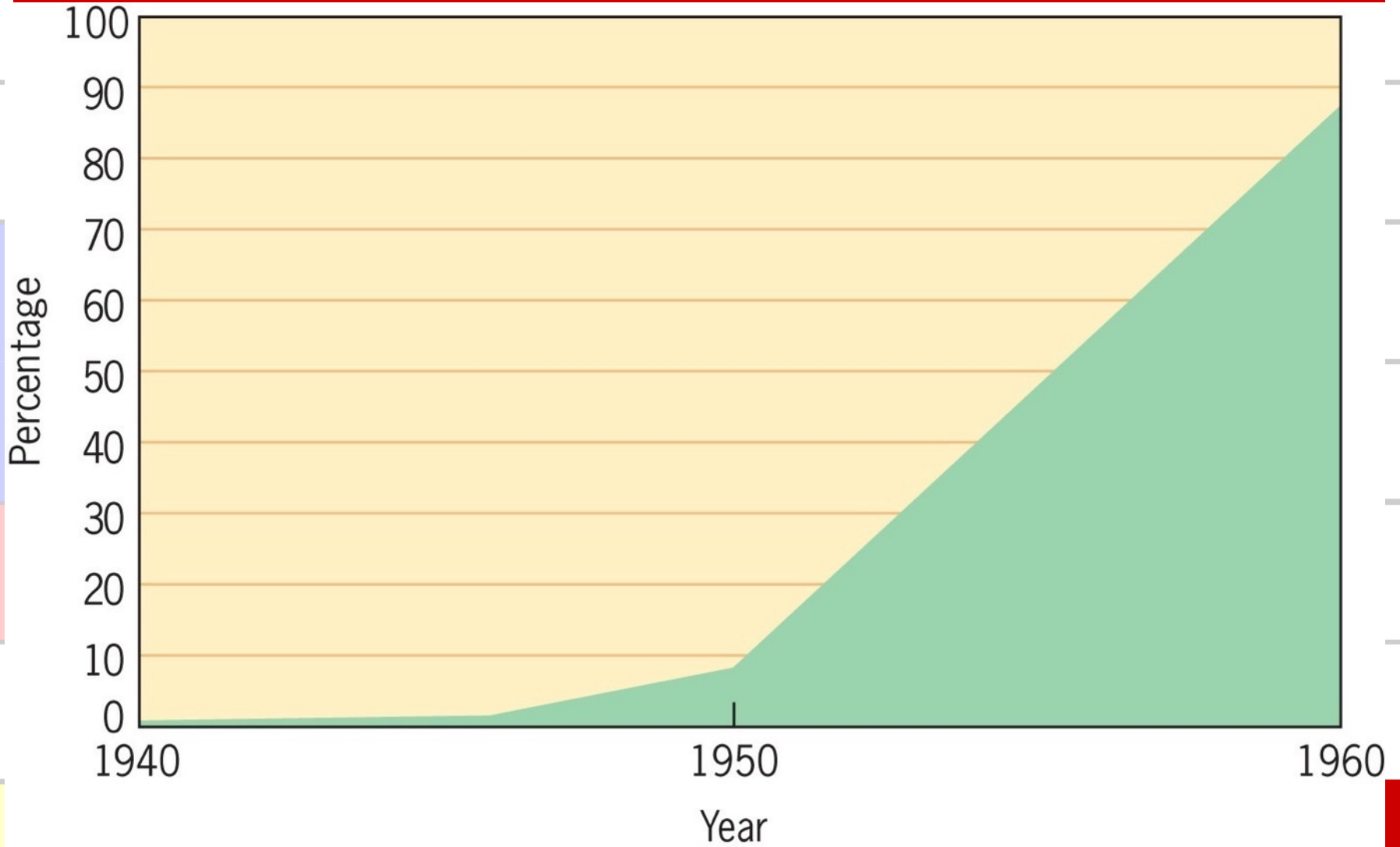
Underwood & Underwood/Corbis

## II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties

- 1950s: expansion of middle class and blossoming of consumer culture defined a distinctive lifestyle:
  - Dinner's Club introduced plastic credit card (1949)
  - 1948: First “fast-food” style McDonald's opened in San Bernardino, California
  - 1955: Disneyland opened in Anaheim, California
  - Easy credit, high-volume “fast food,” and new forms of leisure marked emerging culture of consumption
  - especially critical was development of television (see Figure 36.2)



# TVs in houses...





## II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties

### ■ Attendance at movies sank:

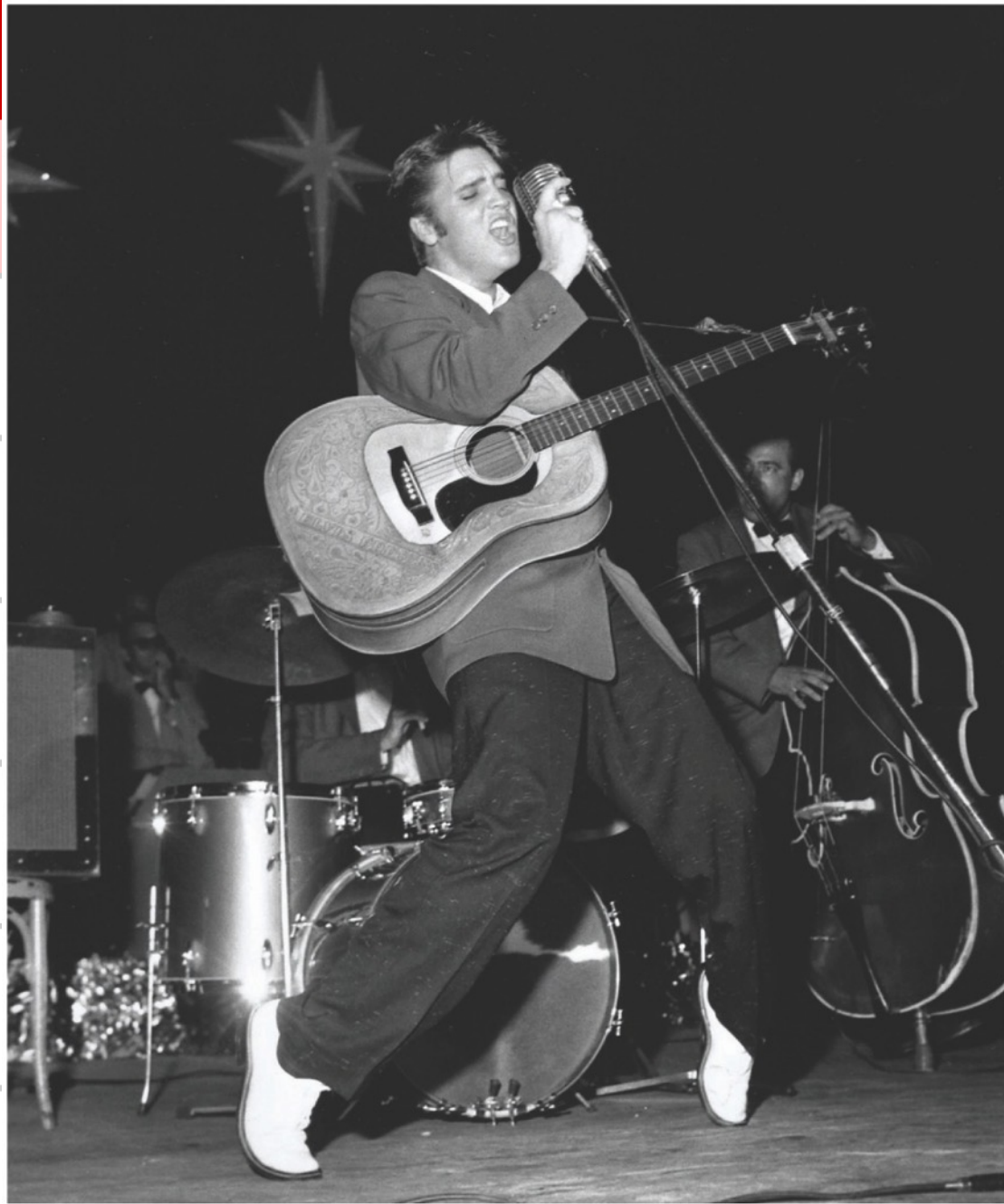
- Entertainment industry changed from silver screen to picture tube
- \$10 billion spent on advertising on television in mid-1950s
- Critics fumed that new mass medium degrading public's aesthetic, social, moral, political, and educational standards

### ■ Religion:

- Capitalized on powerful new electronic pulpit
- Billy Graham, Oral Roberts, Fulton J. Sheen took to TV to spread Christian gospel

# II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties

- Catalyzed commercialization of sports:
  - Once numbered in stadium-capacity thousands, viewers could now be counted in couch-potato millions
  - Sports reflected shift in population to West and South
    - 1958: NY Giants move to San Francisco; Brooklyn Dodgers move to LA
    - Expansions in major league baseball, football, and basketball followed. Most of this expansion was in the West.
- Popular music dramatically transformed
  - Chief revolutionary was Elvis Presley:
    - Fused black rhythm and blues from Louisiana and Mississippi with white bluegrass and country styles
    - Created **rock 'n' roll**



Charles Trainor/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

## II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties

- As 1950s closed:
  - Americans becoming free-spending consumers of mass-produced, standardized products
  - Critics lamented implications of new consumerist lifestyle:
    - David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), portrayed postwar generation as pack of conformists
      - As did William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (1956)
      - And Sloan Wilson, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955)
    - John Kenneth Galbraith bemoaned spectacle of private opulence amidst public squalor in *The Affluent Society* (1958)
      - His call for more investment in public good ignored during affluent 1950s

# III. The Advent of Eisenhower

## ■ Election of 1952:

### ■ Democrats

- Nominated a reluctant Adlai E. Stevenson

### ■ Republicans

- Enthusiastically chose war hero General Dwight D. Eisenhower on first ballot
- “Ike's” running mate was Richard M. Nixon, who gained notoriety as a red-hunter
- Nixon campaigned with bare-knuckle style of political combat

# III. The Advent of Eisenhower

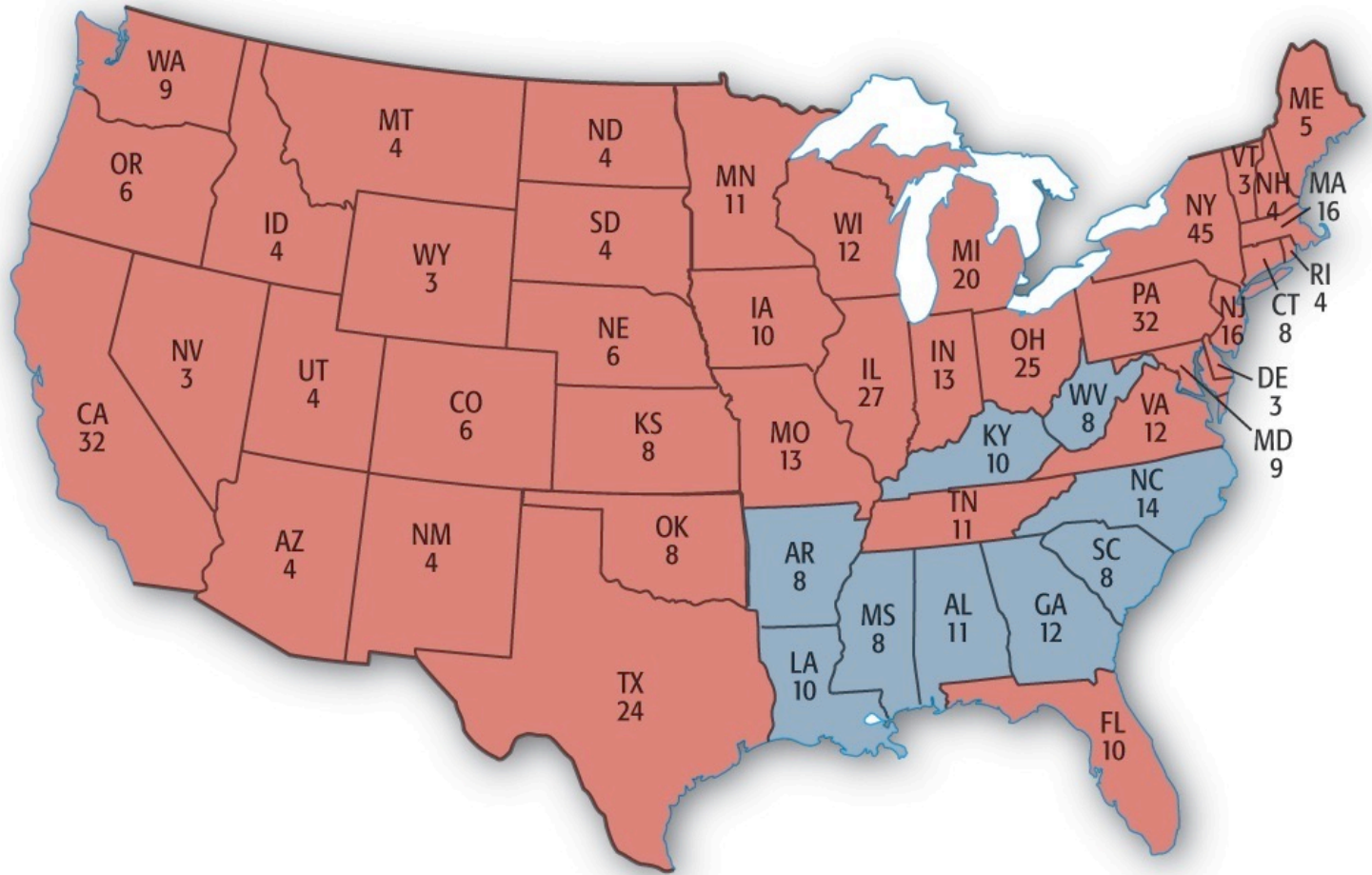
## ■ Politics and television:

- Nixon, accused of taking illegal donations, denied charges on television—**Checkers Speech** saved his spot on ticket
  - Television now a formidable political tool
  - Allowed candidates to bypass party machinery

## ■ Results of 1952 presidential election:

- Eisenhower pledged to go to Korea to end war if elected:
  - Won 33,936,234 votes to Stevenson's 27,314,992
  - 442 electoral votes to 89 (see Map 37.1)
  - Ike brought Republicans to GOP control of new Congress

1952



Candidate (Party)

Electoral Vote

Popular Vote

Eisenhower (Republican)

442 83%

33,936,234 55.1%

Stevenson (Democrat)

89 17%

27,314,992 44.4%

# III. The Advent of Eisenhower

- Eisenhower's presidential term:
  - Fulfilled pledge with three-day visit to Korea
    - Took him seven more months to get armistice signed
  - Korean War lasted three years (1950-1953):
    - more than 30,000 Americans lay dead
    - more than one million Chinese, North Koreans, South Koreans dead
    - Tens of billions American dollars spent
    - War bought only return to conditions of 1950
    - Korea remained divided at 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
    - Cold War continued



# III. The Advent of Eisenhower

- Eisenhower as a leader (military and civilian):
  - Cultivated style that self-consciously projected image of sincerity, fairness, and optimism
  - As President, struck pose of “unpolitical” president  
Serenely above partisan fray
  - His greatest “asset” was “affection and respect of our citizenry”
    - Critics charged he hoarded “asset” of immense popularity, rather than spend it for a good cause (e.g., civil rights)
    - Ike failed to stand up to McCarthyist demagoguery in GOP

# IV. Desegregating American Society

- America's black community in 1950s
  - 15 million African American citizens in 1950
    - Two-thirds of whom lived in South
    - **Jim Crow** laws:
      - Rigid set of laws governed black life in South
      - Array of separate social arrangements kept blacks insulated from whites, economically inferior, and politically powerless
      - Only about 20% of those eligible to vote were registered
        - Fewer than 5% in Deep South
      - Where law proved insufficient to enforce regime, vigilante violence did job:



New York Times Co./Archive Photos/Getty Images

# IV. Desegregating American Society

- Six black war veterans, claiming rights for which they had fought overseas, murdered in summer of 1946
- Mississippi mob lynched 14-year-old Emmett Till in 1955 for allegedly leering at a white woman
- Segregation tarnished America's international image
  - African American entertainers Paul Robeson and Josephine Baker toured world recounting horrors of Jim Crow
  - Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* exposed scandalous contradiction between  
“American Creed” of liberty and  
Nation's shameful treatment of black citizens

# IV. Desegregating American Society

- International pressure combined with grassroots and legal activism
  - Propelled some racial progress in North during and after WWII
    - Fought for and won equal access to public accommodations
  - Jackie Robinson cracked baseball's color barrier when Brooklyn Dodgers signed him in 1947
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) pushed Supreme Court:
  - To rule in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) that separate professional schools for blacks failed to meet test of equality
  - Other rulings benefited blacks as well as other minorities

# IV. Desegregating American Society

- African American suffering continued, especially in South:
  - Increasingly blacks refused to suffer in silence
  - In Dec. 1955 Rosa Parks made history in Montgomery, Alabama, when she boarded a city bus, took a seat in “whites only” section, and refused to give it up
    - Her arrest for violating city's Jim Crow statutes sparked year-long black boycott of city buses
    - Served notice throughout South that blacks would no longer submit meekly to absurdities and indignities of segregation

# IV. Desegregating American Society

## ■ **Montgomery bus boycott:**

### ■ Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.:

- Unlikely champion of downtrodden and disfranchised
- Had been sheltered from grossest cruelties of segregation
- His oratorical skill, strategic savvy, mastery of biblical and constitutional conceptions of justice, and devotion to nonviolent principles of India's Mohandas Gandhi thrust him to forefront of black revolution.





# V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- Supreme Court and civil rights:
  - Assumed political leadership in civil rights struggle
  - Chief Justice Earl Warren:
    - Courageously led Court to address urgent issues that Congress and Ike preferred to avoid
    - ***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954):***
      - Segregation in public schools “inherently unequal” and thus unconstitutional
      - Reversed Court's verdict in *Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)* that “separate but equal” facilities were constitutional

# V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- Desegregation must go ahead with “all deliberate speed”
  - Border States made reasonable efforts to comply
  - Deep South organized “massive resistance”
  - Southern members of Congress signed “Declaration of Constitutional Principles” in 1956:
    - Pledged unyielding resistance to desegregation
  - Some states diverted public funds to start private schools
  - Ten years later, fewer than 2% of eligible blacks in Deep South in classrooms with whites

# V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- Eisenhower reluctant to promote integration
  - His personal attitudes helped restrain him
    - Felt Court's ruling upset “customs and convictions of at least two generations of Americans”
    - Refused to issue public statement endorsing Court's conclusion
  - September 1957, Ike forced to act:
    - Orval Faubus, governor of Arkansas, mobilized National Guard to prevent 9 black students from enrolling in Little Rock's Central High School
    - Ike sent troops to escort children to their classes

# V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- Congress passed first Civil Rights Act since Reconstruction
  - Set up permanent Civil Rights Commission to investigate violations of civil rights
  - Authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights
- Martin Luther King formed Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957
  - Mobilized black churches on behalf of black rights
  - Churches were largest and best-organized black institutions



# V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- Black “sit-in” movement launched Feb. 1, 1960
  - By four black college freshmen in Greensboro, NC
    - Demanded service at whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter
  - Swelled into wade-ins, lie-ins, and pray-ins to compel equal treatment
  - April 1960: southern black students formed **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**
    - Gave more focus to these efforts
    - Impassioned, young SNCC members would eventually:
      - Lose patience with more stately tactics of SCLC
      - And even more deliberate legalism of NAACP



Francis Miller/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

# VI. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home

- Ike backed **Federal Highway Act of 1956:**
  - \$27 billion plan to build 42,000 miles of fast motorways
  - Dwarfed public work programs of New Deal
  - Ike saw interstates as essential to national defense
  - Also created countless construction jobs
  - Sped suburbanization
  - Offered big benefits to trucking, automobile, oil, and travel industries
  - Robbed railroads, especially passenger trains, of business
  - Exacerbated problems of air quality and energy consumption
  - Disastrous for cities as downtown shopping replaced by shopping malls in suburbs





J. R. Eyerman/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

# VII. A “New Look” in Foreign Policy

- Ike sought thaw in Cold War after Stalin's death:
  - Through negotiations with new Soviet leaders
  - In the end, “new look” proved illusory
  - Nikita Khrushchev rejected Ike's call for “open skies” mutual inspection program
  - Ike refused aid to **Hungarian uprising** (1956)
    - America's nuclear sledgehammer too heavy for relatively minor crisis
    - Exposed strategic limitations of “massive retaliation”



Keystone/Getty Images

# VIII. The Vietnam Nightmare

- Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh:
  - Nationalists sought to end French colonial rule
    - Ho appealed to Wilson for self-determination in 1919
- Cold War damped dreams of anticolonial Asians:
  - Their leaders became increasingly communists while United States became increasingly anticommunist
  - By 1954, America paying 80% of war costs in Indochina
    - Amounted to \$1 billion a year
    - Done partly to get French approval for rearmed W. Germany
      - W. Germany entered NATO in 1955

# VIII. The Vietnam Nightmare

## (cont.)

- Ho in north consented to arrangement on assurance that Vietnam-wide elections held within two years
- South: pro-Western government under Ngo Dinh Diem entrenched at Saigon
  - Refused to hold promised elections
- U.S.A. proved aid to Diem
- Diem faced growing campaign by communist guerrillas
- Americans backed a losing horse (Diem) but could see no easy way to call off bet

# IX. Cold War Crises in the Middle East

- Fears that Soviets would penetrate oil-rich Middle East heightened Cold War tensions
  - Iranian government resisted Western oil companies
  - CIA helped engineer coup in 1953 that installed Mohammed Reza Pahlevi as dictator
    - U.S. intervention created resentment among Iranians
  - Two decades later, Iranians took revenge on shah and his American allies (see Chap. 38)

# IX. Cold War Crises in the Middle East

## ■ Suez crisis:

- Egypt's Nasser sought funds to build dam on Nile
- America tentatively offered financial help
- When Nasser began to deal with communists, Dulles withdrew dam offer
  - Nasser then nationalized Suez Canal, owned chiefly by British and French stockholders
  - Britain and France, with help from Israel, staged assault on Egypt (Oct. 1956) thinking they would get help from U.S.A.
  - A furious Eisenhower refused to release emergency oil supplies
  - U.N. force sent in after oil-less invaders withdrew

# IX. Cold War Crises in the Middle East

- Suez crisis last time U.S.A. could use “oil weapon”
  - 1940: U.S.A. produced 2/3 of world's oil, with 5% coming from Middle East
    - By 1948, U.S.A. had become net oil importer
  - Arab nations attempted to keep more of profit from their oil exports
  - **1960 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) formed:**
    - Member nations: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela
  - Within two decades, OPEC's stranglehold on Western economies would tighten





# X. Round Two for Ike

- Election of 1956:
  - Eisenhower pitted against Adlai Stevenson
    - Voters still liked Ike
    - Results:
      - 35,590,472 for Eisenhower; 26,022,752 for Stevenson
      - Electoral College: 457 for Republicans, 73 for Democrats
      - Eisenhower made deep roads into Democratic South
      - Ike failed to win either house of Congress for GOP

# X. Round Two for Ike

- Soviets launched *Sputnik I* and *II* into space (1957)
  - Shock to American self-confidence and security
- “Rocket fever” swept nation:
  - Eisenhower created National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
  - Vanguard missile exploded on national television
  - By end of decade, several satellites had been launched and U.S.A. successfully tested its own ICBMs
  - **Sputnik** spurred changes in U.S. educational system
  - 1958: National Defense and Education Act (NDEA)
    - Promoted research and teaching in sciences, engineering, and foreign languages

# XI. The Continuing Cold War

- Nuclear arms race and tensions over Berlin continued
- Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to Washington 1959
  - Khrushchev met with Eisenhower at Camp David
  - Optimism evaporated prior to Paris “summit” of 1960
    - On eve of conference, American U-2 plane shot down over USSR
    - “Honest Ike” eventually took full personal responsibility
    - This ended Paris conference

# XI. The Continuing Cold War

- Uncle Sam and Latin America:
  - Latin Americans resented meager U.S. aid
  - Chafed at America's continuing habit of intervening in Latin American affairs (CIA in Guatemala, 1954)
  - Washington supported dictators who claimed to be combating communists
- Cuba: Dictator Fulgencio Batista encouraged huge investments of American capital
  - Washington gave him support
  - 1959 Fidel Castro engineered revolution to oust Batista
  - Castro denounced Yankee imperialists

# XI. The Continuing Cold War

- Castro began to expropriate American properties and pursue land-distribution program
- Washington then cut off U.S. imports of Cuban sugar
- Castro retaliated by confiscating Yankee property
  - Made his dictatorship an economic and military satellite of Moscow
- Anti-Castro Cubans headed for United States, especially FL
- Washington broke diplomatic relations with Cuba (1961)
- Imposed strict embargo on trade with Cuba