

The origins of the Cold War are still debated. Some claim it was Soviet duplicity and expansionism, while others blame American provocations and imperial ambitions, though it is agreed that the atmosphere of hostility and suspicion quickly clouded the peace. The heart of the rivalry was in their different visions of the postwar world. One vision, in the Atlantic Charter in 1941, abandoned military and spheres of influence to govern relations democratically, with an international organization and self determination, which was inspired by Woodrow Wilson and appealed to Roosevelt and other Americans. The other vision was from the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, Britain. Britain was uneasy about self determination in their enormous empire, and the Soviet Union was determined to create a sphere to protect from future aggression from the West, so they both prefer spheres of influence. Strains already developed when Roosevelt and Churchill could not accept Stalin, in 1943, wanting a second front in west Europe. They try to reassure Stalin to only an unconditional surrender so that there won't be separate peaces with Hitler. In november of 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin, but Stalin's need for assistance has been removed. Still, the Tehran Conference was moderately successful, as Roosevelt and Stalin established a cordial relationship, and the Soviet Union would enter the Pacific war once Europe ends, and Roosevelt would establish the second anglo american front in six months. Poland was disputed, though, as they can agree that Soviet Union got some of it, but Roosevelt and Churchill supported the government in exile, while Stalin wants the pro communist exiled government, and this is unresolved. In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin meet at Yalta to reach agreements, where Roosevelt agrees that in entering the Pacific war Russia should get back some territory lost in the Russo Japanese War. They also develop a plan for the United Nations, where there is a General Assembly where every member is represented, and a security council, where permanent representatives of the five major powers, being the States, Britain, France, Russia, and China, have veto power and temporary delegates from other nations. The charter drafted on 25 April 1945, and was ratified by the senate. The Yalta conference, however, didn't solve other problems. They still disagreed about Polish gov, though Stalin already established the pro communist Lublin poles, while Roosevelt and Churchill insist the pro Western London poles have a place in the regime. Stalin agreed to a vague compromise where pro western poles would by granted place in the government, with free and unfettered elections on an unspecified future date, eventually taking place after almost fifty years. Germany's future is disagreed on, as Roosevelt wants to reconstruct and reunite Germany, while Stalin wants heavy reparations and permanent dismemberment. They decide that reparations would be referred to a future commission, and that the States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union would have their own zones of occupation, determined by position of troops, and Berlin would be split up despite being in the Soviet region. Germany would be reunited at an unspecified date. The conference agreed that other european governments will have a broad representative of democratic elements and are responsible to the will of the people, so they're really just loose principles sidestepping difficult questions. They all think they had signed an important agreement, but the Soviet interpretation was sharply different from the Anglo American interpretation, as pro communist governments continue to establish themselves throughout Europe. Roosevelt did not abandon hope, but died on 12 April 1945 and could not see more through.

Truman had little familiarity with international issues, and did not think that the Soviets were as flexible as Roosevelt believed, for he thinks the Soviets are fundamentally untrustworthy, so he decides to get tough with the Soviet Union, and quickly met with the Soviet foreign minister to chastise them for violations of the Yalta accords. He had limited leverage, and insisted on getting 85 percent of what he wanted, but had to settle for less. He first conceded on Poland, hoping that noncommunist forces will gradually expand influence there. Truman met in July at Potsdam with Britain and Stalin, agreeing to adjustments of the Polish German border, but does not permit Russians to claim reparations from the other zones of Germany, essentially confirming that divisions will continue. For the States postwar vision, they need a strong, independent China, but the government under Chiang Kai shek seems corrupt and

incompetent, and Chiang is unable or unwilling to face problems, as they had been dealing with Communists since 1927, and Mao controlled a quarter of the population by 1945. Some Americans want to find an alternative to Chiang or Mao, but Truman continues to support Chiang. As the struggle erupted into a civil war, the States still sent supplies to Chiang, and Truman sent General George Marshall to study the Chinese problem and recommend a policy. American friends in China, known as the China Lobby, pressure Marshall to expand the American military presence to combat communist expansion, and Marshall thinks war is necessary to drive out the communists, but he was unwilling to recommend that. Instead, they want to revive Japan. They abandon strict occupation policies, lift restrictions on industrial development, and encourage rapid economic growth in Japan, so the open united world has given away to a pro American sphere of influence. By 1945, the Atlantic Charter ideals were in shambles, and the containment policy of containing Soviet expansion was in place. This emerged because in 1946, Stalin was trying to win control over sea lanes in the Mediterranean, and communist forces threatened the Greek gov. Britain could not provide assistance. Truman draws from American diplomat George F Kennan who warned of containment, and creates the Truman Doctrine in 1947, which said that the States must support free people who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures, and requests money to bolster armed forces of Greece and Turkey, which congress approved. This eased soviet pressure on Turkey and helped the Greek gov defeat communists, and more importantly established a basis for American foreign policy that would survive for over forty years. Part of containment needed economic reconstruction of Western Europe. There were some more humanitarian concerns, but they mainly were concerned about the shaky pro American governments falling under communist control. In June 1947 sec State George Marshall announced a plan offering all European nations, including Russia, to draft a program for recovery. Russia and the East rejected the plan, but Western nations eagerly participated. Domestic opposition vanished when a coup in Czechoslovakia established a communist gov in 1948, so Congress approved the Economic Cooperation Administration, which would administer the Marshall plan. By the end of 1950, European industrial production had risen, communist strength declined, and opportunities for American trade revived. In 1948, Congress approved a new draft and revived the Selective Service System, and redoubled efforts in atomic research, especially with the Atomic Energy Commission established in 1946 to oversee civilian and military nuclear research. In 1950, they approved development of the hydrogen bomb, which was far more powerful. The National Security Act of 1947 reshaped military and diplomatic institutions by creating a Department of Defense to oversee branches of armed services, and a National Security Council to oversee foreign and military policy, with the C I A replacing the wartime Office of Strategic Services, so overall, the Act expanded the president's powers to pursue international goals. The states have also been strengthening military capabilities of Western Europe. Convinced Germany need to be reconstructed, England, France, and the States merge into the West German republic, and Stalin quickly responded by establishing a tight blockade around western Berlin in 1948, and Truman airlifted supplies to the city, so the blockade was lifted in 1949, and in October the division of the Federal Republic in the west and Democratic Republic in the east is official. This crisis accelerated consolidation of an alliance, so twelve nations signed a treaty establishing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, declaring an armed attack against one member is an attack against all. These countries would maintain a military force to defend from the Soviet invasion, which spurred the Soviet Union to create their own alliance, formalized in 1955 with the Warsaw Pact. In 1949, the Soviet Union successfully exploded their first atomic weapon, and Chiang Kai shek's government collapsed to a communist gov. The States do not recognize the communist regime, and instead devote to revitalize Japan as a buffer against Asian communism. Truman called for a review of American foreign policy, which resulted in a National Security Report in 1950, commonly known as N S C 68, which outlined the containment doctrine, and that the States needed to establish a firm leadership of the noncommunist world, stop communist expansion, and expand military power. The containment doctrine had wide bipartisan, but not all believe this was the right approach. Some on the left see this as unnecessarily

belligerent, but the greater opposition was from the right, where conservatives saw containment as too weak. The John Birch Society was an anticommunist organization led by Robert Welch, who thought some American leaders were trying to undermine the States by collaborating with the Soviets, and he wrote *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, which argued that the American gov was filled with treason, and that it was communist Americans undermining the nation, claiming that the United Nations and other international organizations were sources of treason. Many considered the John Birch Society extremist, but most do believe communism was the greatest danger facing the states. John Foster Dulles, sec state under Eisenhower, wrote the foreign policy of the Republican platform, arguing that Containment was a weakness that allowed communists to take over. Some argued for rollback, or actively pushing against communism, though Eisenhower did not support this belief, and containment continued.

There were also economic difficulties in adapting to peacetime that led to a heated political climate. The bombs had thrown America into reconversion, and there were fears of Depression unemployment returning. However, the economy did not collapse in 1946, because while gov spending dropped, consumer demand increased, tax cut, and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, better known as the G I Bill of Rights, provided economic and educational assistance to veterans. So there's inflation, and then in 1946 Truman vetoed the O P A due to congressional amendments weakening them, and inflation continued to soar. There was a rise in labor unrest, partially due to inflation. By the end of 1945, there were major strikes in the automobile, electrical, steel, and mining industries. In the united mine workers strike, Truman ordered gov seizure of the mines, and granted most of the union demands. A railroad shutdown ended in Truman using the army to pressure workers back to work. Reconversion was also difficult for the women and minorities who had entered the workforce, as employers want to replace them with white males. Postwar inflation, consumer society, and the divorce rate created women demanding paid employment, and increasingly ended up in the service sector. Truman's 21 point domestic program, called the Fair Deal, asked to expand social security benefits, raise the legal minimum wage, ensure full employment, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act, public housing and slum clearance, long range environmental and public works planning, government promotion of scientific research, and added funding the Saint Lawrence Seaway, nationalization of atomic energy, ending the wartime moratorium on liberal reform, and, most importantly, national health insurance. But Fair Deal programs are crippled by conservatives, so much so that in 1946, Republicans won control of Congress, so they quickly chip away at New Deal reforms, removing wage and price controls and regulation of the economy, so inflation soars. Senator Robert Taft literally advised consumers to eat less, and Republican Congress refused to appropriate funds for education, more social security, raise minimum wage, or power projects in the west. They cut taxes dramatically for high income and moderately for low income. The most notable action was their assault on the Wagner Act of 1935, as conservatives resented unions, resulting in the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, better known as the Taft Hartley Act. This made closed shops, or shops where people had to be members of unions to be hired, illegal, and permitted union shops, where people had to join a union, but let states pass right to work laws that would repeal union shops. The goal of workers for decades would be to repeal Section 14 b. This was denounced as the slave labor bill, and Truman vetoed it, but Congress overruled him. While it did not destroy the labor movement, it damaged weaker unions, especially those with women, minorities, and the South. Truman placed reelection on hopes of appealing to Democratic loyalties, so proposed many reform measures that fail, but build campaign issues. However, Truman was relatively unpopular, and the Democratic Party was divided so much so that at the National Convention, two factions walked out. Conservatives who reacted angrily to the civil rights bill formed the States Rights, or Dixiecrat, Party, with Governor Strom Thurmond as nominee, and then there was a new Progressive Party, with Henry Wallace as candidate, who object to the slow domestic policies of Truman. And many Democratic liberals attempt to dump the president, leading to the Americans for Democratic Action tryin to get Eisenhower to run, who denies. The Republicans

nominate Governor Thomas Dewey, who seemed to be the unbeatable alternative, but Truman still believed he could win, and was aggressive towards Congress, blaming problems on them. Truman called to repeal Taft Hartley, increase price supports, and civil rights for blacks, essentially to recreate the New Deal coalition, and he was reelected with Democrats regaining Congress. Congress was still fairly hostile to the Fair Deal, though they did raise legal minimum wage, approve social security expansion, and pass the National Housing Act of 1949, which provided for low income housing. Truman made no progress on national health insurance, education, civil rights, which would have made lynching a federal crime, provided protection of black voting rights, abolish the poll tax, and establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission. But it's killed. Truman still ordered an end to discrimination in hiring gov employees, dismantles segregation in the armed forces, and then the Court ruled in *Shelley v Kraemer*, 1948, that courts cannot enforce covenants meant to bar blacks from neighborhoods. Some think nuclear power is dark and will result in rivalries with the Soviet Union, but others have a bright image of a technological future produced by nuclear power. Fear of nuclear weapons was present in pop culture, with film noir, which portrayed loneliness of individuals and suggested the looming possibility of vast destruction. Some programs addressed nuclear fear explicitly, like in *The Twilight Zone*, which portrayed the aftermath of a nuclear war, or with comic books showing heroes saving the world from destruction. Schools and buildings have air raid drills, radio stations test emergency broadcast systems, fallout shelters spring up, showing the anxiety. Still, people are excited with nuclear power, which seemed to be a source of cheap and unlimited electricity with dangers scarcely discussed by those who celebrated atomic power.

On 24 June 1950, communist North Korea invaded the pro Western South, and quickly invaded Seoul, so the States quickly committed themselves to destroying the North Korean offensive, making this the first military engagement of the cold war. Before the end of World War 2, the States and Soviets sent troops to Korea to weaken Japanese occupation, and after the war, they set up two different governments, with communists in the North, and a pro Western gov led by Syngman Rhee, who was anticommunist but nominally democratic, in the South, which was fairly weak, and even weaker when the American gov implied South Korea was not in their defense perimeter. Soviets supported the North Korean offensive. Truman asked the U N to intervene, and since Soviets were boycotting this, they could not veto, so the U N agreed to assist the Rhee gov. The intervention in Korea was expressed in NSC 68, but the gov went beyond this to aim at liberation, and send North Korean forces back. Led by MacArthur, Truman gave permission to pursue communists into their own territory, as he wants to create a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. MacArthur's invasion progressed smoothly. Pyongyang fell on October 19, and victory seemed near, but China was alarmed with American forces and intervened, which stalls and collapsed the U N offensive. Communist forces push back and recapture Seoul. By March of 1951, U N armies were able to take back territory and pushed the communists North once more, but the war seems to have dissolved into a stalemate. Truman wanted to avoid conflict with China, and insists there will be no further war, but MacArthur resented these limits, and wrote a public letter to House Republican leader Joseph Martin that concludes with there being no substitute for victory, and Truman relieved MacArthur from command due to insubordination. There was public outrage. Negotiations began in July 1951, but the talks and war dragged on until 1953. The states had little commitment, and limited economic mobilization. Still, the gov did try to control the wartime economy with the Office of Defense Mobilization to fight inflation by holding down prices and discouraging high union demands, but that failed. Gov seizure of railroads during the strike helped, though workers got most of their demands. In 1952, during a nationwide steel strike, Truman seized steel mills, but the Supreme Court ruled this exceeded his authority. The Korean War boosted economic growth when people were in fear of recession, but as the stalemate continued, people began thinking something was wrong in Korea and the States, which contributed to the second major campaign against communism.

There are many reasons, though none definitive, for why American fear of communists reached nationwide hysteria. One of them was that communism had taken a tangible shape as Stalin and the Soviets, and America has had setbacks in the battle against communism, so people look for something to blame, causing the conspiracy. And then there was politics. Anticommunist rage emerged from the Republicans looking to attack the Democrats. In 1947, with Republicans in control of congress, the House Un American Activities Committee publicized an investigation to prove that, under Democrats, the gov had tolerated and encouraged communism. They first turned to the movie industry, and when the Hollywood Ten refused to answer questions on political beliefs, they were jailed, some barred from employment when Hollywood blacklisted those with suspicious loyalty. More alarming were the charges against Alger Hiss, a former higher up in the State Department. In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a communist who turned against communism, told the committee Hiss had passed State Department documents through him to soviets in 1937 and 1938. Hiss sued him for slander, and Chambers produced microfilms of documents, called pumpkin papers. Hiss could not be tried because of the statute of limitations, which disallows persecution of most crimes after seven years. But because Richard Nixon, a congressman and member of H U A C, Hiss was convicted, which shows that communists may have infiltrated the government. So the Truman administration in 1947 initiated a publicized program to review loyalty of federal employees, and many resigned just due to pressure, though only a few were dismissed. This established a list of supposed subversive organizations. J Hoover, director of the F B I, investigated and harassed alleged radicals. In 1950, the McCarran Internal Security Act required communist organizations to register with the gov, and while Truman vetoed it, Congress overrode the veto. Soviet detonation of a nuclear weapon convinced many of a conspiracy of Americans passing secrets to Russia, and in 1950, Klaus Fuchs seemed to confirm this when testifying he delivered russians details of the manufacture of the bomb. The case settled on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were communists, and put as the masterminds of the conspiracy, though this rested on Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, who admitted to channeling information to the soviet union. The Rosenbergs were convicted and sentenced to death. This all intensified fear of communist subversion, and many work to purge themselves of real or imagined subversives, which led to Joseph McCarthy's rise. In 1950, he claimed to hold a list of known communists in the State Department, and emerged as a prominent leader of the crusade against subversion, and quickly leveled accusations against other agencies. In 1952, with Republicans in control of the senate, he chaired a special sub-committee with Roy Cohn and David Schine who looked for evidence of communist influence. While he never produced soliv evidence of communist subversion, he had a growing constituency and fearless assaults on the government. Republicans rally claims of Democrats being responsible for twenty years of treason. McCarthy essentially provided followers with an issue they can channel fear of communism and rage of the eastern establishment, or the government. He intimidated most people, including Eisenhower, from speaking out against him. 1952 was a bad year for the democratic party, who united behind Adlai Stevenson, though Republicans denounce him as soft and McCarthy delights in confusing him with Hiss. Republicans nominate General Dwight Eisenhower, with Richard Nixon as V P. Eisenhower attracted support with pledges to end the Korean conflict, but Nixon exploits communist subversion, and launched attacks on democratic cowardice, appeasement, and treason. Eisenhower won with a popular and electoral landslide, and Republicans gained control of congress for the second time in two decades, ending twenty years of a Democratic government, and signaling the end of the worst turbulence of the postwar era.