

Wartime Diplomacy

Main Idea During World War II, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain worked out plans for the organization of the postwar world.

History and You Have you ever attended a meeting at which there was a lot of disagreement? How were the disagreements handled? Read to learn how the Allies tried to deal with their disagreements about the world's future.

In February 1945, the “Big Three” Allied leaders—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin—met at Yalta, a Soviet port on the Black Sea. They came to discuss issues affecting the postwar world. Out of this meeting came the Yalta agreement, in which the Soviet Union agreed to enter the war against Japan. In return, the Soviets received some territories in Asia.

Agreeing on other arrangements proved more difficult. Roosevelt and Churchill feared the spread of communism and Soviet control in Eastern Europe. Stalin, on the other hand, wanted this area as a shield to protect the Soviet Union from the West. Germany was a special problem. The Allies finally agreed to

divide Germany into four zones, with each zone run by an Allied power.

Stalin agreed to free elections in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe and to help in planning a new international organization. Roosevelt and Churchill felt encouraged about a peaceful postwar world. Their hopes went unfulfilled.

The United Nations

President Roosevelt died suddenly on April 12, 1945. Vice President **Harry S. Truman** succeeded him. Facing the enormous tasks of the presidency, Truman told reporters, “When they told me [of Roosevelt’s death], I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me.”

Truman decided to go ahead with the formation of the new international organization discussed at Yalta. On June 26, in San Francisco, California, 50 nations signed the charter creating the United Nations (UN). They hoped the UN could settle international disputes and prevent future wars.

Reading Check **Describing** How did the Allies agree to divide Germany?

Primary Source **Compromise at Yalta**

Agreement Among the Allies At Yalta, the Allies issued the Declaration of Liberated Europe, which contained the following commitments:



The Declaration of Liberated Europe

- ✓ The peoples of Europe can create their own democratic institutions but must rid their societies of Nazism and fascism.
- ✓ The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union will help the peoples of Europe:
 1. Establish peace in their countries.
 2. Provide aid to people who need it.
 3. Form temporary governments that represent the essentials of a democratic society and hold free elections.

◀ German refugee in Nuremberg, 1945

Critical Thinking

Speculating Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union grew after World War II. Why do you think this happened?

R Soviet Expansion In Europe

Main Idea Soviet efforts to spread communism in Europe led to tense relations with the United States, which wanted to contain communism.

History and You Have you ever wanted to stop someone from doing something without having a fight? Read to learn how the United States wanted to stop communism without going to war.

Distrust soon arose between the West and the Soviets. Stalin set up Communist governments and kept Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. Europe eventually split into two armed camps—Communist Eastern Europe and democratic Western Europe.

Winston Churchill believed that the division between East and West was permanent. In 1946 he stated in a speech in Fulton, Missouri, that an “iron curtain” had descended on Europe. Churchill meant that the Soviets had cut off Eastern Europe from the West. He

warned that the Soviets would eventually try to gain control of other parts of the world.

To halt Soviet expansion, Truman turned to George F. Kennan, an American diplomat. Kennan believed that the United States and the Soviet Union could not cooperate, or work together. Therefore, the United States had to be firm. Kennan’s policy, called **containment**, stated that the United States had to “contain,” or hold back, the Soviets, using military as well as nonmilitary ways.

The Truman Doctrine

The policy of containment soon went into effect. Civil war raged in Greece, as Communists attempted to overthrow the country’s pro-Western government. At the same time, the Soviets pressured Turkey to give them naval bases on the straits leading to the Mediterranean Sea.

In March 1947, Truman asked Congress for money to help Greece and Turkey. The Truman Doctrine, as it came to be called,

Europe After World War II



“An iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. . . . All these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I might call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

—Winston Churchill, March 5, 1946

Critical Thinking

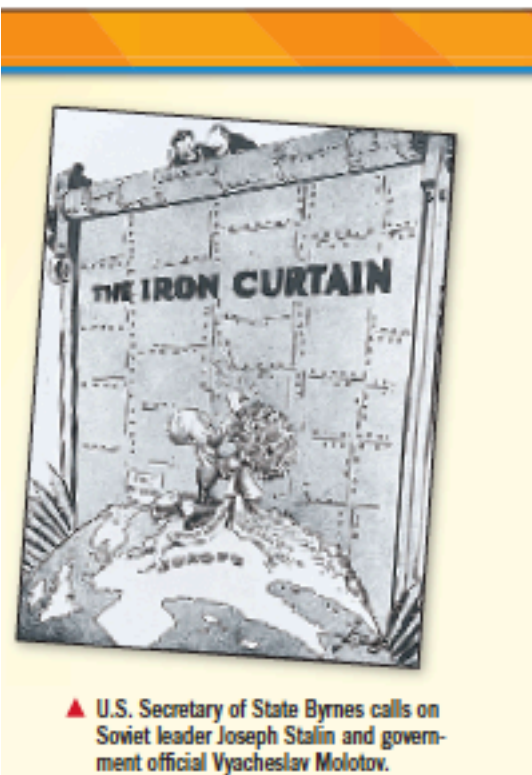
- Analyzing Primary Sources** Why do you think Churchill described Soviet domination as an “iron curtain”?
- Interpreting** What does the cartoon say about the attitude of Secretary of State Byrnes toward the Soviet leaders?

provided immediate aid to the Greeks and the Turks. In the long run, the doctrine pledged that the United States would fight the spread of communism worldwide.

The Marshall Plan

In June 1947, George Marshall, the U.S. secretary of state, proposed that the United States give massive economic aid to Western European countries. Their economies were in ruins, and people were starving. After Communists took over the Eastern European country of Czechoslovakia in 1948, Congress approved the plan. From 1948 to 1951, the Marshall Plan pumped \$13 billion worth of supplies, machinery, and food into Western Europe. The economic recovery that followed weakened the appeal of communism.

✓ Reading Check **Summarizing** What were the goals of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan?



▲ U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes calls on Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and government official Vyacheslav Molotov.

Crisis in Berlin

Main Idea The Western Allies successfully resisted Soviet attempts to halt the Allies' plans for uniting West Germany.

History and You Suppose you are trapped on an island without food or water. How might help reach you? Read to learn how the people of West Berlin were helped by the Western Allies when their city was cut off by the Soviets.

The Allied leaders at Yalta divided Germany into four occupation zones. The Soviet Union controlled the eastern part of the country, while the United States, Britain, and France held zones in the western part. The German capital of Berlin, located deep within Soviet-controlled East Germany, also was divided among the four nations.

President Truman believed that a reunited Germany was essential to the future of Europe. Stalin, on the other hand, feared that a reunited Germany would once again pose, or present, a threat to the Soviet Union. He sought to maintain Soviet influence in a divided Germany. Tensions over the German issue led to a serious crisis in 1948.

The Berlin Blockade

On June 7, 1948, the United States, Britain, and France stated their plan to unite their zones to form a new West German republic. Each nation's section of Berlin would be included in this republic as well, even though the city of Berlin lay within Soviet-held East Germany.

The Berlin blockade was Stalin's answer to the West's plans. On June 24, 1948, Soviet troops rushed into position around the edge of West Berlin. Almost overnight they created a blockade, stopping traffic on all highway, rail, and water routes through East Germany to West Berlin. As a result, West Berlin's 2.2 million citizens were cut off from needed supplies. The Soviets hoped this blockade would force the Americans, British, and French to reconsider their plan.

The Berlin Airlift

Believing that the Soviets wanted the West out of the city, President Truman made U.S. intentions clear: "We stay in Berlin, period." The president, however, did not want to risk war by using military force to end the blockade. Instead he organized a large **airlift** to save the city. American and British planes began flying food, fuel, and other supplies into West Berlin.

W The airlift continued day and night for more than 10 months, delivering supplies to West Berlin. In May 1949, Stalin finally ended the blockade, realizing that the West was still intent on uniting their zones. Despite the airlift's success, Berlin and Germany remained divided. By the end of 1949, there were two German states—the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), allied with the United States, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), a Communist state tied to the Soviet Union.

✓ Reading Check **Analyzing** How did the West respond to the blockade of Berlin?

R₁ Two Armed Camps

Main Idea The United States and the Soviet Union formed rival alliances, and their competition for influence spread to other parts of the world.

History and You Does your school compete with a nearby school in sports or another activity? Read to learn how the United States and the Soviet Union sought support from other nations in their rivalry with each other.

The Berlin crisis showed that the United States and the Soviet Union were locked in a **cold war**—a war in which the two enemies did not actually fight each other. Instead each side began building up its military forces and arms to intimidate the other.

The United States and other Western democracies agreed that military cooperation was the best way to contain the Soviets. In 1949 the United States, Canada, and 10 Western European nations formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Member states agreed to aid any member that was attacked.

R₂

Primary Source Berlin Airlift

Allied Assistance In June 1948, the Soviet Union stopped all land and water traffic from entering or exiting Western-controlled Berlin. The Soviets wanted the Allies to pull out of Berlin, leaving the entire city under their control. Instead, the Allies took to the air. For more than 10 months, British and U.S. cargo planes flew medicine, food, clothing, and even coal to the city's more than 2 million residents. The Berlin airlift involved some 278,000 flights delivering 2 million tons of supplies. Finally in May 1949, the Soviet Union lifted its blockade. Not only did the airlift succeed in stopping the Soviets' European expansion, it created a new bond between the Americans and Germans.

German children wave to a U.S. cargo plane as it flies over Berlin. ▼



▲ Berliners watch as sacks of flour are unloaded.

A 15-year-old girl living near one of the airports where a plane landed every three minutes, said, "The noise of the planes didn't bother us at all. As a matter of fact, we felt secure. As long as we heard those planes flying, we felt like everything was all right."

—from *Berlin in the Balance*

The Election of 1948

As the 1948 presidential race neared, Truman seemed to have little chance of winning. Continuing economic problems made the president unpopular with many voters. Truman's failure to get U.S. domestic reforms passed made him look weak and ineffective.

Divisions within the Democratic Party also increased the chances of a Republican victory. At the Democratic national convention, two groups left the party altogether. Reacting angrily to Truman's support of civil rights, a group of Southern Democrats formed the States' Rights Democratic Party, or Dixiecrats. They nominated South Carolina's governor Strom Thurmond for president. At the same time, some Democrats left to form the Progressive Party, with Henry Wallace as their nominee for president. Wallace opposed Truman's foreign policy and called for closer American-Soviet ties.

The Election of 1948



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Political Party
Truman	303	24,105,812	Democrat
Dewey	189	21,970,065	Republican
Thurmond	39	1,169,021	States' Rights

"We were getting good crowds despite the newspaper reports that Mr. Dewey was a 10-to-1 bet to win the election."

—William J. Bray, assistant on the 1948 presidential campaign train

Map Skills

1. **Comparing** From which region did Thurmond receive the most support?
2. **Calculating** By how many electoral votes did Truman win over Dewey?

Maps in Motion See StudentWorks™ Plus or glencoe.com.

Dewey Leads Polls

With the Democrats badly divided, it looked as though Governor Thomas Dewey of New York, the Republican nominee, would surely win the election. A dignified and popular candidate, Dewey seemed unbeatable. Opinion polls showed him with a huge lead. One pollster remarked: "Mr. Dewey is still so clearly ahead that we might just as well get ready to listen to his inaugural."

Perhaps the only one who gave Truman a chance to win was Truman himself. Ignoring the polls, the determined president poured his efforts into an energetic campaign. Traveling more than 21,000 miles (33,800 km) by train on a "whistle-stop" tour of the country, he gave some 300 speeches along the way. In town after town, he sharply attacked what he called "that do-nothing, good-for-nothing, worst Congress" for rejecting his Fair Deal legislation.

Truman Stages an Upset

On Election Day experts still expected Dewey to win. Expectations for a Republican victory were so great that on the evening of the election—before many votes were counted—the *Chicago Daily Tribune* newspaper issued a special edition announcing "Dewey Defeats Truman."

The nation was in for a great surprise. When all the ballots were counted, Truman had edged out Dewey by more than 2 million votes. The president's narrow victory was based largely on support from workers, African Americans, and farmers. Almost as remarkable as Truman's victory was the new popularity of the Democratic Party. In the election, Democrats regained control of both houses of Congress.

Reading Check **Analyzing** Why was the outcome of the 1948 presidential election a surprise?

The Korean War

on  Spotlight Video

Question

Why did America
step in to help
South Korea in the
1950s?

Reading Guide

Vocabulary

demilitarized zone (p. 859)

Vocabulary

1) **conclude** (p. 859)

Timeline and Events

Arthur (p. 857)

Strategy

On a sequencing chart below, list a major event in the Korean conflict in each year.

- June 1950
- ↓
- Sept. 1950
- ↓
- Nov. 1950

American Diary

Twelve U.S. Marines had just led their troops out of a trap. They listened to the words of their commander:

"We will come out as Marines, and not as stragglers. We're going to take our dead, wounded, and equipment when we leave. We're coming out... as Marines, or not at all." Two days of fighting followed. With the arrival of air cover, the Marines pushed back the Chinese and made their escape.

—from Chosin: Heroic Ordeal of the Korean War



A U.S. machine gun crew prepares for combat, November 1950.

Conflict In Korea

Main Idea Americans under the United Nations' flag fought a war in Korea during the early 1950s.

History and You How do you deal with people who use force to get what they want? Read to find out how the United States responded to Communist expansion in the Korean Peninsula.

At the end of World War II, the Americans and the Soviets divided the east Asian country of Korea at the 38th parallel of latitude. The Communists set up a government in North Korea, and an American-backed government took over South Korea.

On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded South Korea in an attempt to take over that country. Poorly armed, the South Koreans were no match for the North. By September, the Communist forces gained control over much of South Korea, including Seoul, the capital city. Only a small area in the southeast around the port city of Pusan was still held by the South Korean army.

Early Phase of the War

President Truman reacted quickly to the Korean invasion, which he believed was supported by the Soviet Union. Without asking Congress to declare war, Truman ordered the use of limited American air and armed forces in Korea. Truman said:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Korea is the Greece of the Far East. If we are tough enough now, if we stand up to them like we did in Greece three years ago, they won't take any next steps."

—from *Presidential Decisions for War*

Truman persuaded the United Nations to send troops. Most of these UN troops were American and under the command of U.S. general **Douglas MacArthur**, a hero of World War II. General MacArthur and the UN forces made a daring landing in the middle of the Korean Peninsula near the port of Inch'on. They took that strategic city and then moved north to push the North Koreans back across the 38th parallel. South Korea now came under the control of UN forces.



Primary Source The Korean War 1950–1953



Critical Thinking

Analyzing When did UN forces make their farthest advance?

Truman and MacArthur Disagree

As the stalemate continued, Truman thought about negotiating an end to the fighting. MacArthur, however, argued that dropping atomic bombs on Chinese bases and supply lines would bring a quick victory. Truman opposed MacArthur's plan, fearing that it would lead to a larger war with China or develop into another world war.

MacArthur publically criticized the president. In a letter to a member of Congress, MacArthur complained that he was being kept from doing his job. "We must win," he wrote. "There is no substitute for victory."

On April 11, 1951, President Truman relieved General MacArthur of his command in Korea. He **concluded**, or decided, that it was the only action he could take and "still be president of the United States." Truman wrote: "If I allowed him to defy the civil authorities in this manner, I myself would be violating my oath to uphold and defend the Constitution."

MacArthur's firing created a storm of protest in the United States. The general was popular, and polls showed that most Americans supported him against the president. Moreover, MacArthur did not go quietly. He

returned home to a hero's welcome. MacArthur also delivered a farewell speech before Congress. "Old soldiers never die," he said, "they just fade away."

Ending the Conflict

The two sides in the Korean War began talks in July 1951. A cease-fire agreement ending the fighting was finally signed in July 1953 during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower. It set up a **demilitarized zone**—a region barring military forces—between the two Koreas. The zone stretched along the border near the 38th parallel.

The Korean War ended with no victory for either side and almost no change in territory. More than 36,000 Americans died, and another 103,000 were wounded. Nearly two million Koreans and Chinese were killed.

By fighting in Korea, the United States showed the Soviets that it was willing to use force, if necessary, to block the spread of communism. At the same time, the lack of a clear victory led to uncertainty at home about America's foreign policy.

 **Reading Check** **Comparing** How did Truman's view on Korea differ from General MacArthur's view?