Containment
Major Contributing Factors

• Long Telegram – 1946 (Published 1947)
• Truman Doctrine – “Containment” – March, 1947
• Marshall Plan – June, 1947
Ambrose’s Road to Containment

1. Rapid demobilization (8M → 1M Army); Lots of Republican opposition in House

2. Majority of Americans didn’t want to contain

3. UK gives up on Middle East (GRE/TUR) → Acheson’s “Domino Theory” → US motivated

4. Kennan (Econ) vs. Truman (Mil) → HST needs public support (Containment = good’s check on evil)

5. $400M in peacetime aid → unprecedented
Kissinger

• Generally, not terribly friendly toward Truman
• Truman defines fight against USSR as good vs. evil rather than balance of power
• Kennan raised Soviet challenge to phil. level
• Truman tries very hard to distinguish NATO from other alliances
Long Telegram

• Long Telegram ➔ Matthews Memorandum
  – Limit force to areas where US could counter USSR w/ Naval, Amphibious, or Air power
  – US can’t act unilaterally

• Subsequent anon. article “Bible of Containment”
  – Believed Communism would fail from inside

• Clark Clifford – Best deterrent is US military
  – Not worried about most Russians, just small minority
Truman Doctrine

• “Support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”
Marshall Plan

- Anybody who helps w/ recovery will get US support
  – US will oppose anyone who impedes recovery
- Should USSR be involved?
  – Yes: They’ll probably claim the Ruhr
  – No: Cold War is US’s fault (it should be USSR’s)…
- **Molotov Plan** – Don’t give in to US reliance (*cough* rely on USSR instead!) \(\rightarrow\) COMECON
- EUR asks for $28B \(\rightarrow\) HST asks Congress for $17B \(\rightarrow\) Revises for $6.8B (Congress afraid of Soc. in EUR) \(\rightarrow\) Congress finally gives $4B after CZE coup.
Ambrose on CIA

• Created by National Security Act (1947)
  – Along w/ Dept. of Defense, NSC
• Kennan and Truman disagree w/ CIA’s overextension of covert power
Critics

- Realists – Walter Lippman (journalist) – US overextended and drained resources
- Churchill – Didn’t want to postpone negotiations until after position of strength was achieved
- Henry Wallace (Commerce Secretary fired by HST) – US didn’t have moral right
- John Foster Dulles (Rep./ Future Sec. of State) – Why no urgency? Take too long/cost too much; need liberation too

“The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art...if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost.”
–John Foster Dulles, 1955
Containment Tested – Ambrose

- Containment meant building up military strength of US and her allies to stand up to USSR wherever & whenever necessary
- **Vandenberg Resolution** (1948) – Passes Senate calling for collective defense
- **Marshal Tito** (YUG) – Breaks away from Bloc
  - HST sends aid → Stalin fails to reel him in & kicks him out of Cominform
- West trying to set up W. German democratic state
  - Question on whether to add to Brussels Treaty & whether W. GER should rearm?

What time is it, Joe?
Time to leave the Soviet Bloc.
Berlin Airlift

• Stalin blockades Berlin in June, 1948
  – Tells other powers to retreat to their spheres & set up their own capitals if they want
  – US & UK set up a counter-blockade

• Omar Bradley’s Plan vs. Lucius Clay’s
  – Berlin Airlift supplies E. GER w/ 13K tons of goods/day
  – USA sends B-29s to UK
  – AMBROSE: Unbelievable success w/out starting WWIII
Israel

- Jews already lived in Palestine & had nowhere to go
  - UK wanted to get out after bombing of King David Hotel → UN’s problem now
  - US & USSR first two nations to recognize Israeli independence → ISR looked more to USSR
- Palestinians invade → Ralph Bunche gets armistice
- Truman vs. Ben-Gurion on boundary & refugees
- AMBROSE – “Israel was born, thanks in part to USSR military support & US negotiating skill”
NATO

- **Brussels Treaty** – Mutual defense for UK/FRA/Benelux → US supported

- **Truman on NATO**
  - No aggressive tendencies
  - “Not a military alliance, but against war itself”
  - Defending principle, not territory

- **AMBROSE**: US dominates EUR
West Germany!

- May 1949 – USSR lifts blockade b/c counter was much more effective
- Bonn Republic created →
  - Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD – West) vs. Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR – East)
Congress vs. NATO

• Republicans wondered why US needed NATO when
  – US had bomb
  – Red Army outnumbered them 10-1, but no buildup in ground troops
  – W. EUR not going to build up forces either & BRD not allowed in.

• Senate ratifies treaty under conditions they won’t build up army, nor extend econ aid for 20yrs (HA!)
The Red Bomb

- Sept. 1949 – HST tells us USSR has the bomb → Congress gives him $1.5B for NATO defense bill
- **AMBROSE**: USSR winning Cold War b/c they have bomb and Red Army
“Arrogance of Power”

• Chiang loses Chinese Civil War to Mao → did they lose because Congress was stingy?

• **AMBROSE**: Americans believed that with good policies and enough will, US could control events anywhere (107); US was different from and better than other countries (107).
McCarthyism

• We’re awesome, but we’re losing Cold War b/c of communists within US.

• And congressional elections were coming up...
NSC-68

• Comprehensive statement of national strategy
  – We’re not going to fight WWIII now
  – Immediate, large scale buildup of military/NATO
  – Unilateral defense of non-communist world
  – Justifies Truman Doctrine – US IS world policeman
  – Would cost $35B/yr to do it → ↑ taxes, 2-3x budget

• AMBROSE: US could no longer ask “How much security can we afford?” nor could it “distinguish between national and global security.”

"No people in history have ever survived who thought they could protect their freedom by making themselves inoffensive to their enemies."

Dean Acheson