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**THE KOREAN WAR, A DISTORTION OF THE
AMERICAN CONTAINMENT POLICY.**

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DEDICATION

FOR MY PARENTS WHO BROUGHT NOTHING,
BUT JOY TO MY LIFE.

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ABSTRACT

This work examines the American practice of the Containment policy in the Cold War's era, during the American interference in the Korean War 1950 -1953. Under the policy of the Containment, the main goal of the United States of America was to contain the spread of communism in the world. While practicing this theory in Europe, America used different economic and political means in holding the Russian expansion in Europe. However, the practice of the same policy in Asia was completely different. There the United States depended on the military force to rollback communism, mainly in Korea. Therefore, the Korean War represented the American misrepresentation of the real concept of the containment policy.

RÉSUMER

Ce travail examine la pratique américaine de la politique de confinement à l'époque de la Guerre froide, au cours de l'ingérence américaine dans la guerre de Corée de 1950-1953. En vertu de la politique d'endiguement, l'objectif principal des États-Unis a été de contenir la propagation du communisme dans le monde. Tout en pratique cette théorie en Europe, l'Amérique utilisait différents moyens économiques et politiques dans la tenue des expansions de la Russie. Cependant, la pratique de la même politique en Asie a été complètement différente, dans laquelle les États-Unis dépendaient de la force militaire pour le communisme en Corée. Par conséquent, la guerre de Corée représentait la présentation inexacte des faits en Amérique du concept réel de la politique de confinement.

تلخيص

يتناول هذا العمل التطبيق الأمريكي لسياسة الاحتواء الأمريكية خلال فترة الحرب الباردة و هذا إبان الحرب الكورية تهدف سياسة الاحتواء الأمريكية إلى منع انتشار الشيوعية في العالم لقد اعتمدت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية العديد من الوسائل الاقتصادية و السياسية من اجل احتواء التوسع الروسي في القارة الأوروبية إلا أن السياسة الأمريكية التي اتبعت ضد روسيا في أوروبا لم تكن نفسها التي اتبعتها أمريكا في آسيا أين اعتمدت الولايات المتحدة على القوة العسكرية في مواجهة التوسع الشيوعي لذلك فان الحرب الكورية تعتبر شرح مفصل للتحريف الامريكى لنظرية الاحتواء الأصلية

Table of contents

Acknowledgments.....	I
Dedication.....	II
Abstract.....	III
Introduction.....	1
Chapter one.....	3
Introduction.....	4
1.1. A War of Ideologies.....	4
1.2. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.....	8
1.3. The Berlin Blockade and the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization...	10
1.4. The Cold War in Asia.....	12
Conclusion.....	18
Work Cited.....	19
Chapter two.....	21
Introduction.....	22
2.1. The Economic Dimension of the American Containment policy.....	22
2.2. The Political Dimension of the American Containment Policy.....	29
2.3. Korean War, a Different concept of the Containment policy in Asia.....	31
Conclusion.....	39
Work Cited.....	41
Conclusion.....	42
Bibliography.....	44

Introduction:

We think that the new information and separate point of view that time afford produces better history. Yet the documentation of the past is not always complete, and a partial documentation even if fuller than that which existed previously can mislead as well as enlighten our knowledge, especially if the issue holds an important significance for future studies or future relationships. As it was and it is known, many works and events that dominated a given field for a long time sometimes get ignored. In history there were many events, despite their historical importance, were overshadowed by the historians. Even if these events help us understand our present, through a critical analysis of the past, they did not get the historical importance they deserve.

United States foreign policy during most of the Cold War was based on the policy of containment. The containment policy was developed by an American diplomat named George Kennan, in conjunction with Mark Holton and was first mentioned in their article x written in 1947. Kennan characterized the Soviets as an aggressive, anti-Western power that necessitated containment, a characterization which would shape the American foreign policy till the end of the Cold War era. The first practice of this strategy came during Harry S Truman's administration.

The policy of Containment contributed to a massive arms race between the United States of America and the Soviet Union that created greater tension and competition between them. The United States, and because of the impact of the containment policy, failed to recognize the differences between communist and capitalist countries, and involved itself in many external conflicts for the purpose of preserving its interests abroad, such as the case of American involvement in Korea and Vietnam wars. The question that appears in our minds here; is are the previous actions and the objective of defeating the Soviet Union were originally part of the policy of containment that had been first developed by George F Kennan?.If no, we will try to explain in these papers how the previous mentioned actions resulted in the transformation of the policy of

containment policy. Before explaining the American policy of containment, we have first to understand the strategy as it was first proposed and explained by its founder; George F Kennan and the way this policy had been practiced by Harry S Truman's administration in Europe. After that we shall move on to the new concept that was given to this policy, while applying it in Asia, particularly during the American involvement in the Korean War 1950-53.

The work is divided into two chapters. The first chapter includes four subtitles- a War was a war of ideologies, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Blockade and the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and Cold War in China- all are titles explain the main historical points of the Cold War era. The second chapter contains three issues; the economic dimension of the American containment policy, the political dimension of the American containment policy- the domino theory, the role of the NATO- through the application of the two previous subtitles; the economic and political dimension of the American containment policy, we will try to prove that during the Korean War, whether the American administration distorted the real meaning of the containment policy or not?. Instead of relying on economic and political means the United States depended a lot on the use of military forces. So, in my point of view, the Korean War represented a turning point in the American policy of containment. This will be the statement that we will try to prove in this paper.

CHAPTER ONE :

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE COLD WAR:

Introduction:

After the end of the Second World War, the world knew another sort of wars; the Cold War. Which lasted four decades, where the two super powers; the United States of America and the Soviet Union; were competing to gain the world's leadership. Even though the competition was very ferocious, it witnessed no armed conflict. During the Soviet-American conflict, the policies of the two nations marked many changes. From the early beginning of the Cold War to the end, the American foreign policy was built on the twin goals of national security and economic prosperity. In shaping their policies, in order to achieve the two previous goals; the American leaders created different economic and political changes during the cold war's period, that can be divided into two eras; the first era represents the developments that took place in Europe, and the second represents the developments took place in the Far East. The containment, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Cold War in Asia were from the main points that marked the American foreign policy during its ideological conflict with the Soviet Union in the twentieth century.

1.1 War of Ideologies:

Many historians present the Cold War as the political conflict, military tension, and economic competition that existed between the United States and the Soviet Union. There is disagreement among the historians about the starting point of the Cold War. Some of them trace its origins to the period immediately following the Second World War; others argued that the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union emerged during the 19th century. The American presidents Franklin D Roosevelt ,1933 -1945, and Harry S Truman ,1945 -1953, and the Soviet political leader Joseph Stalin ,1920-1953, never trusted each other, even when working together to defeat the Nazis. This mutual mistrust began in 1917, when the United States refused to recognize the new Bolshevik government after the Russian

Revolution. The fact that America and Great Britain refused to share with the Soviet Union the secret of the nuclear weapons, complicated the relation between the two. The Cold War that ended by the collapse of Russia witnessed a great development after the end of the Second World War. In the United States, and on the social level, the hysteria of communism; the red scare controlled the minds of Americans. As a way of defying the spread of socialism, the committee of Un-American Activities (HUAC) was created in 1945, through which hundreds of the American citizens were accused of being socialists.

In the early beginning of the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the American represented communism as a devil that should not be spread to other countries. In fact, communism is not an evil; it is just another way of organizing a country. Both Capitalism and Communism have their own ideas on how a government should be run, and the way the governors should govern their people.

Both Capitalism and Communism have their own ideas on how a government should be run, and the way it should govern its people. Capitalism is not just a market economy, but it is also a financial economy, it is an economic system characterized by freedom of the market .It is true that Capitalism is different from many other economic systems since it gives the freedom to the individuals, and minimized the government interference. In this system, capital and land are private properties, and the individual can increase his own capital by using the government's loans. The United States is known as a post-industrial economy, this means that the United States is a service economy; the best example is the Marshall Plan which really had an influence on the world. We have two types of capitalism; the first one was Adam Smith's idea about capitalism, which was proprietary capitalism. During this era of capitalism there were few companies and probably were different from those that we know them in our times. The second figure of capitalism is the progressive capitalist economy. In this form of capitalism, investment outputs are part of the current output.

Communism is a social and economic theory in which means of production are held in common by all members of society not by individuals. Like capitalism communism also has many advantages for its people. Every one has a job and all people are treated equally. In a perfect society, communism would be a desirable system to be adapted. This can be said because no one would try to be better than anyone else. In communism everyone has a job and the payment is the same. Unlike capitalism, in a communistic society, the government makes all the decisions for the people, and no one has the right to violate those decisions. According to many people, the advantage in the communist societies if we compared it to the capitalist ones is job security, no one faces unemployment. Communism and capitalism may be completely opposites, but both of them bring help to their citizens. When communism stresses on equality, Capitalism emphasizes individual freedom and creativity. There are so many more advantages for being a capitalist than being a communist including better working conditions and more freedom. Capitalism exploits the workers and shows that some workers are better than the others because of the quality of their production and the effort they spend. In capital markets supply and demand are merciless and the poor people have no chance to survive, but in communist markets supply and demand controlled by the government and all the citizens can benefit.

Abroad, fighting the spread of communism was also a leading issue in shaping the American policy. The Soviet Union had controlled and dominated Eastern Europe. Stalin recognized the American plan of spreading capitalism and controlling the world economically. As a reaction, and because he knew that the two countries followed two opposing systems; he created an iron curtain- Jun24, 1948 to May12, 1949- that divided Between the East and the West of Berlin to prevent the spread of capitalism in the communist countries.

Early, Winston Churchill declared, in March 15, 1946 that: " from setting in the Baltic to Trieste in the Atlantic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent" Churchill understood the Soviet's plan; he knew that Stalin wanted to divide the east and the west of Europe in order to save the East from the spread of the democratic ideas. Even though the United States represented the Soviet's interventions as actions of war, we can notice that these interventions took place along the route that was used to attack and destroy Russia; like East Berlin , Budapest and Prague. Afghanistan can be an intervention out side the route, but still it is in the borders of the Soviet Union.

Since the Cold War had an impact on every thing, so we cannot exclude the military side. The American government discovered the atomic bomb before the end of the Second World War, so it was part of the Russian government as a competing country to hold the nuclear weapon as well. Therefore, and as a result of the secret, stolen information from the United States the Russian detonated the atomic bomb in September 1949. The world had suddenly become very dangerous, especially if the two supper powers would use the nuclear weapons in confronting each other. In response, America developed a more terrible bomb; the hydrogen bomb.

The Cold War was not only a war of two value systems; capitalism versus communism; but also a war of two confronting ideologies of two great leaders. The American President Franklin D .Roosevelt as an idealistic leader dealt with the problem of socialism peacefully, by trying to convince Joseph Stalin of the necessity of the United Nation's membership and was not able to see that Joseph Stalin was a totalitarian. Harry S Truman's followed a harsh policy with Russia he tried to contain the Soviets and restrict the communist zone using whatever means possible. Joseph Stalin's policy was quite different. While American isolationism was dead during the Cold War era; the Russian isolationism was to cut off any European or American influence and this through the creation of the iron curtain.

The Russian and the American goals after the end of the Second World War were different. During the Yalta conference in February, 1945, the great powers failed to reach a solution concerning the way the European map should look, and how the borders would be drawn. The United States and Great Britain were interested in world politics; Franklin D. Roosevelt and the British Prime minister; Winston Churchill desired to create a security system through establishing democratic governments all over the world. Franklin D. Roosevelt supported the United Nation and wanted an open international economic system. Joseph Stalin had a different view; he thought that the only way to increase security in the world is by controlling the internal affairs of the countries that bordered his country. The USA and Great Britain violently opposed the idea of acquiring territories. This disagreement over the division of the world after the end of the Second World War, complicated the relation between Russia and America and brought about other problems.

1.2.The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan:

Containment was the American policy to thwart the spread of communism, increase the American security and influence abroad, and prevent the domino effect that if one country fell in the hands of the communists the other countries would automatically follow the adaptation of the communist system. The basis of the doctrine was an analysis made by USA diplomat George F. Kennan, father and critical of the containment policy. This analysis was based on a study made by the French aristocrat and political commentator Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830; in which he wrote about coming of two giant countries, one in Europe and the second one in the west across the Atlantic Ocean:

There are on earth today two great people, who, from different point of departure, seem to be **advancing** toward the same end. They are the Russians and the Anglo-Americans. Both have

grown great in obscurity; and while the attention of mankind was occupied elsewhere they have suddenly taken their places in the first rank among the nations (...). Their (America and Russia) points of departure are different, their paths are divergent; nevertheless, each seems summoned by a secret design of providence to hold in his hands, some day, the destinies of half the world.(QTD in)²

In his "long telegram", on February 22, 1946, George F. Kennan argued that the Stalinist regime would always remain aggressive because it depended on the survival of foreign intimidation to keep its domestic authority. For Kennan, this hostility would continue until the destruction of the free world, so the United States of America should act seriously with the aggressive behaviors of the Soviet Union. The policy of the containment is a concept usually associated with the different policies of the American president Harry S Truman.

Harry S Truman refused to follow the policy of coexistence with the Soviet Union, but he accepted the policy of containing the Russian expansion. Under the policy of containment, the Truman administration committed itself to resist any of the Soviet interventions. The application of this policy came in the eastern Mediterranean. In February, 1947, Great Britain convinced the United States to help Greece, which was disturbed by the communist guerrillas during the civil war, under what was called the Marshall Plan, which was the primary program of the USA, from 1947 to 1951, for rebuilding and strengthening the economy of the countries of West of Europe. The idea was that, if Greece fell Turkey would soon become communist country, and the Mediterranean could become a Russian lake . Therefore, on March 12, 1947 Harry Truman asked Congress for \$ 400 million, for economic and military help to Greece and Turkey. Congress accepted the president's request, and Truman named it the Truman Doctrine. The situation in the eastern Mediterranean was a simple example; the whole of Europe needed an assistance to reconstruct after the Second World War. General George C. Marshall, who became Secretary of State early in 1946, proposed, in June 5, 1947,

a program for the rehabilitation of Europe. Although the Soviet and its satellites refused to join the plan, many other European nations accepted it. The program was an economic one, so America benefited from helping Europe.

The plan was very successful; it helped in rebuilding the European economy, achieving political stability and diminishing communism's appeal. The plan also saved France and Italy from socialism and weakened the movement in other countries. In February, 1946, the communist took over the democratic state of Czechoslovakia, it was feared that the Soviet's sphere of influence would spread. In December, the British and American occupation zones in Germany unified. Therefore the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan drew the United States closer to Europe than at any time since the colonial period. The fact that Marshall-aid funds had to be spent in America helped in strengthening the American national economy.

1.3. The Berlin Blockade and the formation of North Atlantic Treaty

Organization:

Stalin was not satisfied when the combined American and British zones (France merged its zone with the American and British zones in March 1948) were planning to create an administration in which the German non communist parties would have a major role, with the aim of formulating a federal constitution for the region. During November and December 1947, Western and Soviet foreign ministers held meetings on the problem of Germany, but the negotiations produced no agreement. On July 24, 1948 Moscow decided to cut off all road and rail traffic between West Berlin and the Western zones. The Soviet action was precipitated by the West's decision to introduce a new West German currency, as a first step to rebuild the economy of the West Germany, and a disagreement with the Soviet Union of whether this coin should be used in Berlin. Stalin's pressure on the west of Berlin was to force the west to desert its plans for the West of Germany or, to oblige the west to relinquish Berlin

while the Soviet Union build up a separate East German state united to Moscow politically and military.

The Berlin's division was achieved through the creation of an iron curtain that divided Berlin into two. The so called Berlin blockade lasted from Jun12, 1948 to May12, 1949. At that time there were negotiations, in which most of the great nations discussed the way to end the Berlin Crisis. On April 4, 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was signed. In the latter, all of “the United States, France, Britain, Canada, Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland”³ promised to support each other in case of an external attack, in the treaty they agreed that any attack against one of the signing nations, would be an attack against all. Few years later, the number of the members of the treaty increased from 12 to15 including the west of Berlin. Greece and Turkey joined the treaty in 1952.

After the end of the Second World War the USSR was the competing power of the USA, many historians considered the treaty of the NATO as a military agreement against Russia. Since the increasing number of the sharing countries were capitalist nations, thus the NATO was America's first military step against the USSR and all the countries supporting communism; KORT supported this idea when he said:" Moscow furiously denounced it as anti-Soviet and aggressive and an attempt 'to intimidate the states which do not agree to obey the dictates of the Anglo-American grouping of the Power that lay claim to world domination’⁴

The NATO was an agreement to draw up plans for the defense of the member nation; this aspect strengthened a lot the European integration especially in the western part of the continent. The treaty also cleared the division between the capital west under the leadership of America, and the communist East under the control of Russia. The increase in the number of nations signing the NATO's treaty proved that the soviet's policy failed in Europe, particularly

after the fall of Berlin Blockade. The NATO could be considered as an explanation of the American policy in the post world war era. The goal of this agreement was to build a military, aid and naval forces strength to deter and prevent the USSR from spreading communism in the signatory nations, in Europe and in the world, as Robert V. Remini described it :"(...) a historical agreement for the United States"⁵. More than that, it was a key stone of the western policies of coexistence and the containment. The role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization became very important after the soviet exploded the atomic bomb, “when the Congress appropriated \$1billion for the arming of Western Europe and \$314 million to assist the arming of friendly nations elsewhere”⁶. In 1950, the NATO announced its program to establish an integrated military force. Later, more barriers between the countries of Western Europe lowered, and it seemed as if the dream of a unified Europe began to take shape as a result of self-defense against the Soviet Union.

1. 4. The Cold War in Asia

During the Second World War, the American goal in the Pacific was to defeat Japan and to create a powerful and friendly China that would play a leading role in keeping peace in the Far East. Both, the United States of America and Great Britain promised, in Cairo 1943, to return the Chinese territories which were stolen by Japan like Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores to China. They also gave China one of the permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council. The U.S President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisers wanted to establish a powerful China. They thought that if they succeeded in creating a great power, they would achieve stability in East Asia but this purpose could not be achieved in the splitting China. There were two Chinas: a communist China and a nationalist China. The communists were controlling the northwest of China, and they extended their sphere of influence by moving to the north-central China during the Second World War.

In the struggle between the two powers, Communists and Nationalists, the pro-American Nationalists were losing popular support and disintegrating. The Nationalist's leader Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) had neither the time nor the money to create the political, social, and economic reforms that China needed. His main concern was strengthening the military side, in order to control Japan and maintain himself in power. The modernization of China was his second concern. Chiang's failure to appease the peasants, the majority of the population, unchecked inflation, and the spread of corruption among the officials of the government, all were outcomes that prevented Chiang Kai-shek from taking control over the whole country. Whereas the rich paid bribes to the corrupted officials of the government in order to avoid paying taxes and the eligible sons of the rich avoided military service by also bribing the degraded officials, the peasants, who represented the majority of the population, formed most of the Nationalist's army. Therefore, instead of attracting the peasant's support the government alienated them, lost the people's support, and lost the civil war to the part of the communists. In the fall of 1949, the Communists established the People's Republic of China (PRC) which took control over the rejoin of Taiwan.

Many historians wondered, whether the American interference would protect the Nationalists from losing the civil war. The answer was that the American rapid demobilization left it with too few forces; either to supply the officials for the direction of the nationalist forces or to intervene in China. The United States of America had a small standing army at home and the Americans were not in any mood to rearm and remobilize the country in 1947-1948. The American administration favored to fight communism in Eastern Europe rather than interfering in the Chinese war.

Even the economic aid could not save Chiang. His corrupted and lavish government did not provide an effective political instrument to accomplish the social, political, and economic reforms to develop the situation of the country. In contrast, the United States assistance to

Europe helped in the recovery of the area. So, it would be unwise, for the USA, to prefer to help a government that lost the confidence of its own people. America had to apply its wealth selectively; areas of crucial interest were to be the prime focus. Thus in Europe the aids helped in building a wall of containment, but the money for Nationalist China was a strainer. However, America had to find a way to fight communism in china .The solution was to extricate itself from Chiang Kai-shek, if not the United States of America would permit to the Russian to take control over the whole area. As John Spanier and Steven W. Hook stated: "Without this disassociation, the Chinese government would link the United States with the government they had rejected. Moreover, a continued connection would foster the growth of anti-American sentiment in China, which was just what the administration hoped to prevent."⁷ Only by disengaging itself from Chiang Kai-shek, the United States of America could benefit from the clash between the Soviet Union and China. Before the communist victory in China, the United States of America thought that they were only in need of containing the Soviet Union in Europe and the Middle East. The Russian fulfillments of gaining China, and testing the atomic bomb were two alarming events that the USSR started occupying large space.

To apply the containment in Asia , was very complex task if we compare it with Europe. Most of the Asian societies and governments were unstable politically and suffered from the problem of civil wars which could not insure the success of the USA's policy. For America, the discovery of the nuclear weapons by the USSR was a kind of military insult that should be covered through the development of another weapon.

After the emergence of the People's Republic of China (PRC) under the leader ship of the communist Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976) the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans were no longer secure ways, for the USA to use them as defensive ways against communism. Even the west of Europe, and because of the Russian expansions, could not reject the idea of any Russian invasion. The Communist China had negative as well as positive results; it increased the

capitalist support in Asia, as Michael Dockrill viewed:" The rise of communism in China (...) led to the formation of a powerful 'China lobby' in the Republican Party"⁸.This party supported the American presence in China and this through the idea of benefiting from the USA's financial help, Marshall Plan.

The American leaders doubted the fact that the Soviet Union's atomic bomb was the result of its own scientific expertise, and this after the foundation of number of Russian spies in Canada and Britain. The Americans also discovered that the fall of the nationalist Chinese was due to the activities of the pro-communist traitors in the department of the state and the diplomatic service. As a reaction the American president Harry S Truman ordered the researchers to found more destructive weapon than the atomic bomb, which later became known as the Hydrogen bomb. He set up committee to investigate in the aftermath of the explosion of the soviet atomic device. The results of the investigations were carried out under the sponsorship of the National Security Council (NSC), setup in 1947 to coordinate American defense and foreign policies.

The report, NCS 68, expressed the great threat posed by communism, and suggested the use of the American military capabilities to deal with the communism challenges. This rearmament program should be completed by 1954, when the committee prophesied that the Soviet Union would be capable of deploying nuclear weapons in a war with the west. Harry Truman rejected the report, because he wanted to keep the expenditure of arms low, and he believed that the air power together with the H bomb would be sufficient to defeat Russia. Harry Truman also increased expenditure on nuclear and bomber development.

Joseph Stalin's response to the success of communists in China was ambiguous. Publicly the Soviet Union welcomed the communist victory, but in reality Stalin did too little to help Mao Tse-tung. There was a disagreement between Joseph Stalin and Josip Broz Tito, the Yugoslavian president (1953-1980) over the issue of Yugoslavia in 1947; to set up a south

Slav federation with Bulgaria, this misunderstanding led to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union block, and Joseph Stalin was unwilling to lose the Red army against Yugoslavia. Joseph Stalin had a reasonable cause to feel frightened from the rise of more independent communist state in China, which could compete with Russia .So a weak Nationalist government in China was preferable , according to the soviets, than a strong communist regime . However, Stalin, in the future, could rely on Mao Tse-tung's loyalty, because China was depending on the Soviet military, material and moral support. In 1950, Mao Tse-tung visited Moscow and signed a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union directed against Japan and protected Soviet investments.

Korea had been occupied by the Japanese in 1910, the red army liberated Korea in 1945, and the two super powers of that time, America and Russia, divided the country between them for military purposes. The division was on the 38TH parallel; Russia occupied the north and America the south of the district. As a result two distinct regimes developed in the country. After 1946, the Soviet Union sent military aid and advisers to built up the army of Kim II Sung , the United States which had withdrawn its troops from the south in 1948-1949 ,provided military and economic aids to the ruler of south Korea Syngman Rhee, first president of South Korea 1948-1960,. In January 1950 North Korea invaded South Korea; Stalin knew that the United States of America could not intervene to save the corrupted and dictatorial regime of Syngman Rhee, and that the USA did not have a formal treaty of alliance with South Korea.

Mao Tse-tung was preparing himself for the invasion of Formosa, Taiwan, and he was in no position to appose the invasion. Truman ordered the naval forces to help Rhee's army .In the absence of the Russian leaders from the United Nations Security Council since 1950, in protest of non access of communist China to the association, "Truman secured the passage of two United Nations resolutions at the end of June and early July condemning North Korea for

its aggression and calling on United Nations members to assist South Korea."⁹ .Not only the United States participated in the war, even British and French shared in the fighting. The war was predatory between the north and the south, but when the South Korean forces move forward the borders of the Chinese Manchuria, the Yalu River, Mao Tse-tung sent his troops to help the North Koreans. The communist's help forced the South Koreans to withdraw, Harry Truman refused to bomb the southerners because he feared that this would bring the Soviet Union in the Chinese side and this might result a third world war. The Korean War, and particularly the United Nations invasion of North Korea, intensified the Cold War. Harry Truman adopted the provisions of NSC 68 and ordered a major rearmament programme. Britain and France followed the same attitude, even if their programmes produced improved weapons for their troops, but it had marginal effect on the defence of the Western Europe.

Many western analysts doubted the fact that the "Soviet-backed North Korean invasion of the South Korean was a feint designed to divert American attention ,and resources, from Europe"¹⁰ , therefore allowing the USSR of preparing the west Europeans to the soviet bloc. Though this seemed an exaggeration, but Stalin predictable that events in the Far East would lead to relaxation in the United States vigilance in Europe.

The Korean crisis strengthened the pressure of the China Lobby on Harry Truman to switch on an Asia First strategy. Truman believed that the adaptation of this strategy would result two enemies to the United States of America; China in Asia and Russia in Europe. The American economic and military aid to Chiang Kai-shek had two goals; to prevent the communists from invading Formosa, Taiwan, and to deter the Nationalists from occupying the Mainland. In 1951a peace treaty was signed between Japan and America and allowed the American troops to remain in Okinawa. In 1950 the Americans accepted to give military help to the French in Indochina. When the French restored their colonial possession, they engaged in a new struggle with Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnam leader, concerning the control of the country.

He was nationalist as well as communist but the decisions of both Moscow and Peking to concenter his movement as the legitimate government of Indochina and to provide him with the aids in 1950, convinced the USA that he was an agent of communism.

Conclusion:

After the end of the Second World War, both the United States of Americans the Soviet Union had no desire to wage a war. Joseph Stalin thought that the soviet's interests could be achieved through the collaboration with America. However, Joseph Stalin's actions in Eastern and central Europe, Germany, and the Eastern Mediterranean raised the suspicions of Harry Truman. The latter followed his famous policy of the containment; in which America attempted to prevent any of the soviet's encroachments beyond the areas they had occupied in 1945. Harry Truman was not the only one that feared the soviet's expansions; even Joseph Stalin was convinced that through the Marshall plan America was seeking to use its financial strength to influence Western Europe. The creation of the NATO was the result of the Berlin Blockade, and a move that convinced Joseph Stalin that the security in Europe could not be conciliated; as a consequence of the creation of this organization, till the late of 1950s the Soviet Union made no moves in Europe. After the developments in Asia and the militarization of the United States of America the, Cold War reached a climax and complicated more the soviet-American relations. The increase in the communist-national hostility proved that the American economic prosperity was the motivating feature of the American foreign policy in the Far East.

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CHAPTER TWO:

*THE KOREAN WAR, A TURNING POINT IN
THE AMERICAN CONTAINMENT POLICY.*

Introduction:

American objectives during the Cold War were to prevent Soviet Union's attacks on the United States and its allies and to prevent the spread of communism as a political and economic system to other countries, whether by force or by threat, subversions, persuasions, or by bribery. The principal instrument to face the Soviet Union attacks was to built-up defensive and castigatory military forces, combined with military and political alliances that extended American protection to other countries in exchange for their loyalty and support. Another way to prevent the communist spread, by non-military means, is by building an international economic system to achieve the economic prosperity. This strong international economy could serve as refreshment to the other economies and as a motive to the benefits of the free market. The Korean War, which represented one of the American –soviet conflicts, was a turning point in the American administration in which the policy of Harry Truman changed from the economic containment of the Russian expansions to the military containment of the Soviet Union.

2.1. The Economic Dimension of the American Containment Policy:

The economic dimension of the American Cold War can be clearly explained through the policy of containment. Under this policy the USA used economic, military, and diplomatic strategies to react against the Soviet Union actions of expanding the communist influence in Eastern Europe, China, and Korea. Concerning the economic means used in defying communism expansion the Marshall Plan and the financial aids were significant stones in the American policy during the post war era. The Marshall plan, or the European Recovery Program (ERP) was the proposal of the secretary of state George Marshall; he spoke of the administration's desire to help in the recovery of the European Countries in his address at Harvard University in June 1947. The financially aids were for the European nations as well

as for the USSR and its allies, but they refused it. The plan was in operation for four years starting from the year of 1948.

In his speech, George Marshall did not give any details or real numbers, but only flying ideas calling for the European nations to meet and create their own plan of reconstructing Europe and that the United States would fund this plan. The American administration felt that the plan could not be popular among the Americans because it was directed for the European people, to avoid the failure of this plan, Harry Truman prevented the American press from dealing with the issue of the plan, whether support or criticize it, but he supported the European, especially the British and France, media's encouragement and publicity for the plan to gain the support of the European population.

Turning the plan into reality required negotiations among the participant nations, and the acceptance of the United States Congress. Sixteenth nations met in Paris to discuss the American aids and the way it would be divided. The negotiations were long and complex, with each nation having different interests; France insisted on the rejection of the idea of rebuilding Germany to prevent its threat. The Benelux countries supported the revival of the economy of Germany because their economies depended on the German's prosperity, Sweden insisted on the continuity of their trading relation with the Eastern bloc nations and on their neutrality the United States stressed the importance of free trade and the formation of a European fortification to confront the spread of communist ideas in the European continent.

The American administration promised to the European countries to be free to structure the plan, but after the execution of the Congress. The first obstacle met in the American way while bringing this plan into the reality was that; if the American leaders proposed the plan for only the nations of Western Europe, the USA would have been blamed for dividing Europe economically and opening the doors of another world war. The second obstacle was that the majority of the congress accepted the idea of free trade and the European integration,

but hesitated to spend more money on reconstructing Germany, even the idea of increasing the anti-soviet feeling frightened the congress. The risk had to be taken, and only the Soviet Union would take all the blame of dividing Europe, if they rejected the Marshall plan. Agreement reached, the congress accepted the plan, and Harry Truman signed the plan into law on April 3, 1948, and the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) created to manage the program and control the use of money. The International Monetary Funds and the World Bank, founded in 1946, were from the features that helped in strengthening the American international economy.

The objectives of the ECA were to improve the European economy: to promote the European production, to encourage the European currency, and to facilitate international trade between the United States and the European nations, because the American economy required a strong, wealthy European economy to be able to import the American production. Another goal of the ECA was to contain the growing influence of communism ideas in Europe and the world, especially after the growing strength of the communist parties in France and Italy.

The Marshall funds were observed administered by the local governments and the ECA, which generally represented by an American businessman. The American aids to the European countries were usually used to purchase the American production. This aspect allowed the American investors to keep producing on the same level of production which was during the period of the Second World War, especially after insuring the exportation of their productions to the European countries, and to prevent the rise in the level of unemployment. The exportation of goods abroad opened the door for more investment and created more job opportunities. The cooperation permitted to the representatives of the United States to interfere in the domestic affaires of the country and to design the local economy in a way that relate it to the American economy, and insure the latter superiority.

The plan was a helping feature in strengthening the economy of the United States; in the beginning of the plan the imports of the European nations from the United States of America were mainly much-needed staples like food and fuel, but later purchases turned toward reconstruction needs. Under the pressure of the United States Congress, and due to the outbreak of the Korean War, the American exports to the European countries changed; and an increasing amount of aids spent on rebuilding the militaries of Western Europe. As an example in 1951, "(...) some of \$13billion; \$3.4 billion spent on raw materials and semi-manufactured products; \$ 3.2 billion spent on food, feed and fertilizer; \$ 1.9 billion spent on machines and equipment; \$1.6 billion spent on fuel"¹. Therefore, the American administration used more than 70% of the debt in exporting the American products.

Under the counterpart funds, the Marshall aid used to establish funds in the local currency. According to ECA rules 60% of these funds had to be invested in industry. This policy succeeded in Germany where the government administered funds played vital role in lending the money to the private enterprises which would spend the funds in rebuilding the capital industry of the country. During 1949-1950, 40% of the investment in the German coal industry was by these funds. The fact that German industry changed to a capital industry, and the government benefited from the Marshall aids, was a positive point in the side of the Americans who were seeking to contain the influence of communism and to spread capitalism in Europe

















Country	1948/49 (\$ millions)☒	1949/50 (\$ millions)☒	1950/51 (\$ millions)☒	Cumulative (\$ millions)☒
 Austria	232	166	70	468
 Belgium and Luxembourg	195	222	360	777
 Denmark	103	87	195	385
 France	1085	691	520	2296
 Germany	510	438	500	1448
 Greece	175	156	45	376
 Iceland	6	22	15	43
 Ireland	88	45	0	133
 Italy and Trieste	594	405	205	1204
 Netherlands	471	302	355	1128
 Norway	82	90	200	372
 Portugal	0	0	70	70
 Sweden	39	48	260	347
 Switzerland	0	0	250	250
 Turkey	28	59	50	137
 United Kingdom	1316	921	1060	3297
Totals	4,924	3,652	4,155	12,731

Table of Cold-War era in Europe presented the amount of Marshall Plan aid received by some countries.²

In France and other countries, the counter part funds were used in general government revenues, and not recycled as in Germany. France used the money to reduce the budget deficit not to rebuilt or invest in the industry. Concerning the issue of supplying the European nations, the American suppliers were paid in dollars and this increased the value of the American coin, the same money was lent to the European nations to invest and strength the economy of the country. Through this strategy the United States insure markets to vend the American product, and created projects to invest this money.

Building commercial relation with the United States of America required the adaptation of the free trade system, and this meant that the more countries borrowed money from America, the more the communist's zone contained. The Marshall plan was an economic strategy that related the European economy to the American economy; the economic recovery would be achieved by reducing central planning and re-establish a market economy in Europe and not in the USA. The economic recovery comes through savings, capital accumulation and private enterprise and not through large debts and using more than 50% of this money owing in importing external products, the United States policy depended on giving too much aids to Europe which made from the economic improvement some thing difficult; in the early years of the Second World War the USA gave \$9 billion and \$13 billion under the Marshall aids, this amount of money would be increased in the day of repayment which meant complicating and postponing the economic development of the European nations. The plan was also a new form of American imperialism, Walter Lafeber argued that as the USSR controlled west of Europe, the USA planed to control the East of Europe and the Marshall Plan was an economic tool to achieve this target.

The Soviet Union knew the economic dimension of the Marshall plan; Joseph Stalin believed that economic integration with the western nations would allow the eastern bloc countries to escape Soviet control, and that the United States was trying to gain supporters for its policy in Europe. Therefore Stalin prevented Eastern bloc from accepting the aids. In early 1948, soviet operatives executed a coup d'état of 1948 in Czechoslovakia, the only Eastern bloc state that the soviets had permitted to retain democratic structures. The coup shocked the western nation and a new panic spread in the world.

"Was the Marshall plan a success?"³ Was a question asked by the historian Steven W. Hook; in his personal view he argued that the answer can be found in the changes appeared in European society during the 1950s. By the break out of the Korean War in 1950, the European productive ability increased by 25 percent; the British export did well, the French inflation was decreasing, and the German production developed and was able to be exported out side Europe. As a consequence of all the previous developments the dollar gap diminished from \$12 billion dollar to \$2billion. The European cities were much better, factories were busy and the level of inflation was less. Steven W. Hook dealt only with the positive side of the issue when he said:

Theses were the state Department's best years as it took the lead in organizing U.S. foreign policy, which reflected some of the best characteristics of the country: itself-confident and generosity, energy and imagination (...). Winston Churchill called it ' the most unsorted act in history'.⁴

Steven W. Hook dealt only with the positive side of the Marshall plan; the American aids were to penalize countries that had relation or too close to the Soviet Union. Steven W. Hook did not mention that all the previous achievements were the results of the American investments and thanks to the United States loans; America is enjoying the fact of leading the world's economy.

2.2. The Political Dimension of the American Containment Policy:

The political dimension of the American policy could be understood through the military and diplomatic strategies followed by the United States of America, while dealing with the Russian expansions. One of these diplomatic strategies was the domino theory. This theory built on the belief that if the United States allowed one country to adopt the Communist system, so many other countries would follow falling in the hands of the communists, like a line of dominoes. Many foreign policy thinkers subscribed to this theory at the height of the Cold War period, and this forced the United States of America to support anti-Communist regimes throughout the world, whether they encouraged democratic ideals or they did not.

The influence of the domino theory was obvious in the Far East. The American officers believed that the fall of China would result other negative consequences. If the American leaders let Korea follow the same path of China, Russia would gain another ally in Asia. Japan and the rest of the Asian nations, disappointing with the fact that America as great power could not keep its promise of saving its friends and supporters from any external threat, would continue adopting communism as the country's official system. In this case, in short time and in accordance to the domino theory, the Asian countries would fall one after the other in the hands of the Communists, and Asia would soon become a communist continent and communism would be the official system of many Asian countries.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was one more political and military organization that formed in 1949. The association bound the United States, Canada, most of Western Europe, and later Greece and Turkey together in a mutual pact of defense against the USSR and Eastern bloc countries. The Russian proposed to be a member in the organization, but the members of the NATO refused because they feared that the Russian membership would weaken the association and allow more communism expansion.

The treaty was a kind of a capitalistic army that founded to preserve the American interests all over the world, by confronting any of the Russian military expansions in the world. The treaty also aimed to insure political and economic stability in Europe. Perhaps the greatest importance of NATO was the fact that it committed the United States to Western Europe and prevented the United States of America's conservatives in the future from isolating the United States from the world. America and the rest of Western European nations were allowed to use the military force of the NATO in order to achieve any political or military purpose against the Eastern bloc. For its first few years, NATO was not much more than a political association. The first goal of the NATO was as the first NATO Secretary General, Lord Ismay, famously stated: "to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down"⁵. There were doubts about the strength of the relationship between the United States of America and the European nations, and whether this organization would continue doing its duties in the future, and if the disagreement between the United States of America and any other European country would weaken the defensive power of the organization. The doubt about the defense ability of the NATO led to the development of the independent French nuclear deterrent and the withdrawal of the French from the military structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1966.

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 was a crucial event in the history of the NATO because it raised the level of the communist threat and forced the alliance to develop concrete military plans. The 1952 Lisbon conference aimed to provide the necessary forces for Long-Term Defence Plan of the NATO; called for an expansion to 96 divisions. However this requirement was diminished the following year to about 35 divisions with heavier use of nuclear weapons. At this time, NATO could call on about 15 ready divisions in Central Europe, and another ten in Italy and Scandinavia. Later, in September 1952, the first major

NATO maritime exercises began; brought together 200 ships and over 50,000 personnel to practice the defence of Denmark and Norway.

The United Nations was a different political association. At that time the Soviet Union shared in this association. Joseph Stalin's representatives were, however, involved in the formation of the United Nations, which was planned to sponsor international security and prevent future international conflicts. Meeting in April 1945, just few days after the death of the American president Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman's succession to the presidency, delegates drafted the charter of the organization, which closely looked like the charter of the failed League of Nations after World War I. Because World War II had proved that the United States could no longer remain isolated from world affairs, the new charter passed easily through the Senate ratification process that summer. According to the charter, the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the USSR each would have a permanent seat and veto power on the governing Security Council.

This association permitted to the United States of America to interfere in foreign local conflicts under the cover, and through the sponsorship of the United Nations. The Korean War can be a good example in this case. The American troops which were sponsored by the United Nations joined the South Koreans and changed the results of the Korean civil war. So thanks to the United Nations, the United States of America contained the spread of communism in Korean and opened other doors for spreading capitalism and gaining more allies in the Far East.

2.3. Korean War, a Different Concept of the Containment Policy in

Asia:

The Korean War represented one of the American soviet confrontations. To understand the developments which took place in Korea; we should have information about the collapse

of Chiang Kai-shek's government in China and the impact of McCarthyism in the American foreign policy. The causes of the fall of the nationalists in China have been already discussed in the previous chapter. Joseph McCarthy, a senator who gained his seat by accusing his opponents of corruption, in 1950 he thought that he needed a new issue to be reelected. He said that the failure of the American policy of containment in China was due to the communists who hold jobs in the American military offices. This argument was widely accepted among the American people. Many people lost their jobs, or jailed, if they refused to testify against themselves. A panic run through the people and many were blacklisted for the reason of supporting communism. As a consequence the Harry S Truman's administration had to change its policy toward the communists and follow serious defending plans to deal with the developments that took place in Asia.

The loss of China had a great impact on the American policy and resulted in a division among the American elite, this division helped McCarthy to rise to power and led to the false assumption that communism succeeded in China because of the Soviet's expansions and not because of the internal revolution. The latter hypothesis contributed in the failure of the American policy in Korea.

The American leaders considered the fall of Korea in the Soviet communist's hands a black event in the American history that they should prevent using any tool. H. R. Hoge explained how this attitude affected the United States response to the attack on North Korea on Jun 25, 1950:

It was assumed, whether correctly or not may never be known [,] that the North Koreans would never have dared to act without the express authorization, indeed orders, of Stalin. The Chinese communists were discounted: they too were supposed to be mere tools of the Kremlin. This was a moment long awaited, long feared. If Stalin were allowed to succeed, the United States would be shamed for ever. 6

Harry S Truman's response to the attack was the expansion of the containment policy to Asia and the guarantee of the American military involvement against the expansion of the communists in South Korea. The American president Harry S Truman did not confront communism in just Korea, but also gave military aid to the French in Vietnam and in Taiwan.

Korea was a country that was divided between the Russians and the Americans in the 38th parallel. All Americans tried to negotiate the reunification of Korea. After the American Request the United Nations interfered by sponsoring free elections in South Korea, these elections were limited to only South Korea, because the Russian refused to allow elections in North Korea. After the elections the USA recognized South Korea as the official republic and the government of Syngman Rhee as its legitimate representative. The young republic of the south enjoyed the economic, technology and military support of the United States of America. Even though the region was not an ally of the United States but many historians doubted that the district would be an American protégé.

Both South and North Korean governments considered themselves the legitimate representatives of Korea, and each one worked to get the country under its control. So the war that brook out between the South and North Korea was a civil war. However, the interference of the communist forces and the forces of the United Nations made from it an international war.

The importance of South Korea lies in the words of Harry S Truman, after the attack he went before the security council of the United Nation to ask for military protection to the region, the American president said:

If we let Korea down, the Soviets will keep right on going and swallow up one piece of Asia after another (...) If we were to let Asia go, the Near East would collapse and no telling what would happen in Europe (...) Korea is

like 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 more steps. 7

The American reaction was the American military involvement against the expansion of communism in Asia. Truman started using the USA Air Force to attack the North Korean spread in South Korea. However, the use of American airpower was insufficient to prevent the South Korea's collapse, Harry S Truman had to send American ground troops on June 30, 1950 or face communist control of the entire peninsula.

Additional factors also pushed Harry S Truman to increase the United States role in the conflict. Harry S Truman and the Democrats had to deal with constant Republican attacks that they had lost China and accusations by McCarthy and his supporters that they were soft toward communism. The loss of South Korea could have become another rallying point for those opposing the administration of Harry S Truman. The Korean War had many negative consequences; it was the fruit of bad policy, implementation, unexpected developments, and taking quickly, not well revised decisions in the middle of a vigorous war.

Before the outbreak of conflict, the Truman administration had been attempting to get funds from Congress for massive nuclear arms and oversea military increase. Before the outbreak of the Korean War, Truman had committed himself to only \$13.5 billion for defense spending in 1951; however, the final Congressional authorization for defense spending in 1951 was \$48.2 billion, an increase of 257 percent above the original figure of \$13.5 billion. Because the American strategy changed from saving South Korea to reunifying Korea in the middle of the war, the American attack on North Koreans indicated another modification in the United States foreign policy. Now instead of trying to contain communism the policy became the roll back of communism.

The containment policy in Korea was no more an economic strategy to fight communism, the Cold War focused attention on the military and political suggestions of the

containment. If the United States did not react in the face of the Soviet aggressions this would encourage the soviet leaders for more expansions. If the United States did not respond to South Korea's attack, it would appear to the World as if America was afraid of Russia, or that America unconcerned with the safety of its allies. In this case the American promises to help to preserve other nation's political independence would appear valueless, letting them with only one solution that of seeking the military and economic help and support from the Soviet Union.

In Asia this reasoning applied in South Korea. After the Fall of China Japan considered the issue of South Korea a case that determined the future of its security; if the United States failed in defending South Korea this would mean to the members of the NATO, that America is not able to save its world. The fall of South Korea would result in two things; Japan would remain unaligned in the NATO, and Western Europe would be neutralized. In this case the power would shift from the USA to the USSR. Because this shift of power would isolate the United States strategically, so the Americans had no choice but to oppose force with force.

In the beginning the United States tried to stop the North Korean precede using air and sea forces alone. After few days the general Douglas MacArthur, the commander in chief in the Far East, reported that Korea would be lost except if America used land forces in confronting Russia. As a result, the United States sent its troops from Japan to Korea under the sponsorship of the United Nations. This was done for two reasons. First, because the United Nations sponsored the free elections in South Korea, so it was in a way responsible for the creation of the young nation. Second, one of the aims of American foreign policy during the Cold War was to associate the American Cold War with the symbol of humanitarian values of the United Nations. Even though the military forces presented to be interfered under the control of the United Nations, but in reality the war was under the control of the American administration and managed by the American generals.

In September 30, the United Nation forces crossed the thirty-eighth parallel. The problem that faced the Americans was whether to across it or not, the American aim from the involvement in the Korean War achieved, but the military generals preferred to fulfill the American early goal of reunifying Korea. Hence the United States purpose changed from containing the expansion of soviet power to a powerful removal of the Soviet satellite. The American leaders believed that it was politically safe to cross the thirty-eighth parallel and reunify Korea.

The Americans did not think that the Chinese would interfere. Because they were Chinese and communists, Mao and his supporters considered the United Nation forces threat to their internal security. When the American walked on the Korean-Chinese borders, Mao threatened and the Communist soldiers interfered and fought in the side of the North Korean. The United Nation forces withdrew back to the thirty-eighth parallel. The aim of the war changed again when Seoul fell in the hands of the North Koreans. Negotiations started, the idea was to unify Korea or to leave it divided, MacArthur supported the reunification of Korea and asked Harry S Truman to bomb the South Koreans but the president refused, because he wanted to keep the war limited. After his criticism of the policy of Harry Truman's administration, Harry S Truman fired MacArthur.

In May 1950 the United Nations forces regrouped and, crossed the 38th parallel and retook Seoul. That victory led to a conference in Jun, the conference dealt with the problems; of fixing boundary line between the two armies and how they should deal with the prisoners of the war, the United Nations wanted voluntary repatriation of prisoners and the North Korean favored force repatriation. The political impasse led to a military impasse. The coming of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952, and the death of Joseph Stalin broke the impasse. By

the time Eisenhower took the oath of office in 1953, American soldiers had been well-established in Korea for nearly three years. Eisenhower, unlike Truman, threaten to use the nuclear weapons to stop the Korean struggle.

The negotiations started again in April 1953 and the peace agreement was signed on July 27. The peace agreement stopped only the shooting; it did not include any political solution and no peace treaty was signed. Till today, Korea remains divided and North Korea, in particular, has become a bad character nation because of its unwillingness to stand for the international conventions relating to the testing and inspection of nuclear weapons.

Despite the ambiguity of its outcome, the Korean War had important implications for American foreign policy. The conflict globalized the policy of containment and was the movement for large USA defense financial plan and extensive overseas promise. At the same time the war deepened the American adversarial relationship with the Soviet Union and effectively postponed opening diplomatic relations with Communist China for twenty years.

The Korean War had an impact abroad. In China, the war brought several benefits; the Soviet assistances improved the Chinese army and air forces, and thus the creation of a powerful army. For the United States of America, the war brought a major change in its containment strategy against the Soviet Union. Instead of relying principally on economic and political tools like Marshall Plan, International Monetary Funds, the World's Bank, and the NATO, supported by a small nuclear deterrent force, containment's emphasis shifted during the war to military means.

While Eisenhower did reduce military spending after the war, the United States armed forces remained larger than they had been in 1950, possessing more and increasingly powerful nuclear weapons. The American military, after the shameful and bloody defeats of the first six months of the war, shifted its focus from preparing for a World War II-type

mobilization to maintaining forces ready for immediate use, which were mainly under the control of the United States of America.

The Korean War was a characteristic 20th-century tragedy. It was started for ideological reasons, without any evidence of popular support. It killed 34,000 Americans, a million Koreans, and a quarter of a million Chinese. It achieved no purpose, but just destruction and division of Korea. All its consequences were accidental.

In applying the containment policy in Korea, Harry S Truman's administration changed the real essence of the containment policy. In explaining the theory of containment, George F Kennan agreed that the threat posed by the Soviet Union to the security of the United States of America was an economic and ideological one.

George Kennan did not believe that the threat posed by the Soviet Union was a military one or the threat should be defeated by military means. After the fall of China the American leaders were convinced that depending on economic means to contain the communist spread was not effective in Asia. The only way to save Korea from the communist's influence was by using military forces. Even though the Korean War known as the forgotten war, because it was followed by the Vietnam War, but it represented the turning point of the American policy during the Cold War period. So the American policy became a policy of an American military build-up.

Perhaps the most significant failures of the United States policy of communist containment during the Cold War period Took place in Asia when the American leaders used military aggression and spying to control the developments took place in South Korea. The war over South Korea that began with a successful victory over communist forces in North Korea ended in a strategic deadlock and created an adversarial relationship between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America. The Korean War was a harsh pill for the Americans who consumed about 164 billion dollars, lost 140,000 American

casualties, and no true victory neither for the communist troops nor for the forces of the United Nations.

After examining the lasting effects of the Cold War, and evaluating the end results of the United States policy of communist containment in Korea, it is difficult to find any positive, lasting effects. When looking back on this forty year period in American history it leaves the impression that the Cold War in Korea was a time when the United States wasted a vast amount of energy, money, soldiers and many other sources. In the end, the Korean War was the point when Harry S Truman's administration distorted the exact meaning of George Kennan's theory of containing the Russian aggressions using economic and diplomatic means, for only achieving the strategicall American goals of the age. Failures of American containment policy in the Korea War pushed many historians to question whether communism was truly defeated by capitalism or if it simply defeated itself. One thing is certain; the collapse of communism has left the world with a stockpile of nuclear weapons and in a state of unstable but peaceful coexistence. We can only hope that the lessons learned from the years of suspicion, secrecy, and paranoia is not lost on future generations.

Conclusion:

To conclude, and after examining the economic and politic dimension of the American Cold War, we fined that the American policy of containing communism in Europe was different from the one used against the communists in the Far East. By examining the developments caused the alteration of the American containment in Korea, we find that the policy was altered in response to new events appeared in the world, and in order to achieve the main goal of the Truman administration. So this transformation was necessary for the policy to be put into practice in Korea. The American policy in Korea depended much more on military forces rather than economic strategy. Therefore, the policy that was developed by

George Kennan was not the same policy that was implemented by the Truman administration during the Korean War. The policy became a policy of military build-up and intervention within areas of little strategic importance for United States security. Korean War in this case represented the turning point in the United States policy in the Cold War epoch. The immediate result of containment was a dangerous world with the power of mutual destruction, and the accidental result of the adaptation of the containment policy was the creation of a far more dangerous world than the one founded in 1947.

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Conclusion:

From about the mid of 1940s until 1991, American foreign policy was dominated by the Cold War. This period was characterized by its significant international military presence and greater diplomatic involvement of the United States of America in the world. The latter era was characterized by the lack of global wars, and the persistence of regional wars, often fought between the United States and Soviet Union, each one of them seeking the country's security and stability.

Seeking an alternative to the isolationist policies pursued after World War II, the United States defined a new policy called containment to oppose the spread of communism in the world. In framing the containment policy, George Kennan argued that the United States of America can confront the Soviet Union's expansions depending on peaceful economic and political means. The Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, the United Nation and the NATO were from the principle stones that formed the political and economic aspects of the American foreign policy abroad during the Cold War era.

The practice of the containment policy in Europe was different from its practice of the same policy in Asia. Because of the adaptation of the containment policy in the Far East, Truman opened the door for the nuclear arms competition, and pushed the United States into two bloody conflicts in East Asia. One of these two conflicts was the Korean War. During this war the American administration extended the containment policy to Asia, but this time relying on the military confrontation rather than the economic and political strategies.

The war that lasted four years represented the first military clash between the communist troops and the United Nations forces. Even though the troops were under the sponsorship of the United Nations, but the whole control of the war- generals, decisions and plans- were under the domination of the American administration. The military confrontation and Eisenhower's threat to use the Nuclear weapons to end the Korean struggle, proved that

the containment policy applied in Korean was different from the one proposed by George Kennan in 1947. Thus, the Korean War was the deviation of the original copy of the containment policy.

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