

# Edexcel A-Level History

## Democracies in Change:

### Britain and the USA in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century



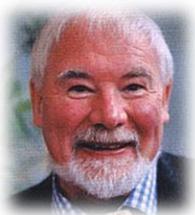
Year 11 Bridge to A-Level  
(Route H)

In the twentieth century, democracies came under increasing challenge and faced internal and external threats. By studying Britain and the United States, you can develop an understanding of those challenges as well as identifying the similarities and differences in how these two nations responded.

**Unit 1: Britain Transformed 1918-97:** This comprises a study in breadth, in which students will learn about the extent to which Britain was transformed politically, socially, economically, and culturally in the years 1918–79. This incorporates responses to the challenges of war, fluctuations in the economy, technological advances, and the desire for greater social equality. The unit also contains a depth study of historical interpretations which focuses on the impact of Margaret Thatcher’s governments on Britain between 1979 and 1997.

**Unit 2: The USA c.1920-55 - Boom, Bust and Recovery:** This unit focuses on the economic and social change in the USA; from the post-war boom of the 1920s, through depression, recovery and war, to the transformation of many aspects of US society in the years immediately after 1945. Students will gain an in-depth understanding of economic change and its long-term effects, the growing demands by black Americans for social equality, and the cultural changes driven by individuals and by technology.

## Activities



### What was the impact of WWI on Britain?

Read the chapter from Arthur Marwick and make notes/mindmap of the reading, focusing on the political, economic and social impact of war. **Aim to record the views of three historians, other than Marwick.**

### Research: Britain’s Prime Ministers 1918-1997

Create a timeline of British Prime Ministers from David Lloyd George to John Major. For each individual consider these questions:

- Which party did they lead?
- What significant events happened during their Premiership?
- What significant policies did they introduce?
- Why did they leave office?



### What is your opinion on Margaret Thatcher?

Watch the documentary (Margaret Thatcher <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P2oVbwT9E64>) and in paragraphs, answer the question: ***Is it justified to say that Thatcher is the greatest British Prime Minister?***  
→ Include specific evidence to support your judgement.

## **Research: US Presidents 1920-1955**

Create a timeline of American Presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Dwight Eisenhower. For each individual consider these questions:

- Which party did they lead?
- What significant events happened during their Premiership?
- What significant policies did they introduce?
- Why did they leave office?



## **How did the United States change during the 20th century?**

Read the extract from *USA: History in Brief* and complete a short timeline (no more than one side of A3) of US History from 1900-1955. This will help build in context of America before the First World War.

## **What events epitomise British and American history in the 20th century?**

After researching Britain and America in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, find a song or two photos that represent an event in either nation's history. This event should fall within the time periods of each unit but more importantly, be one that you believe to be important and significant for how the country developed.

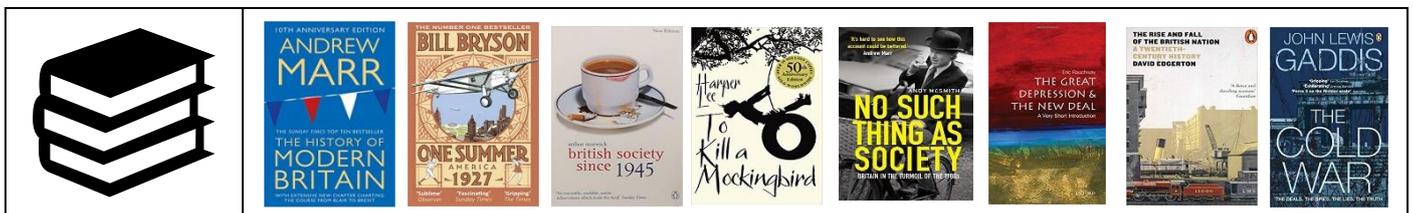
It might be good to explain why you have chosen the songs/photos and why the event is noteworthy. You can choose more than one event – this will be a great discussion to have in September.

# FROM GCSE HISTORIANS TO A-LEVEL HISTORIANS

Hello Year 11 Historians,



If you are considering History A Level next year, why not use this time to explore the subject a little more. The history department have the following suggestions, they are not compulsory, but we would love for you to engage in any that you find interesting. You can dip in and out of as much as you like or use as a starting point to find other resources you find interesting – Enjoy!



	<p><a href="#">In Our Time</a>  <a href="#">You're Dead to Me</a>  <a href="#">History Extra Podcast</a></p>	<p><a href="#">The History Hour</a>  <a href="#">Witness History</a>  <a href="#">Dan Snow's History Hit</a></p>
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	<p><a href="#">Andrew Marr's History of Modern Britain</a>  <a href="#">The Crown</a>  <a href="#">Cold War Britain</a>  <a href="#">Windrush</a></p>	<p><a href="#">FDR: A Presidency Revealed</a>  <a href="#">America in Colour: 1940s</a>  <a href="#">America in Colour: 1950s</a>  <a href="#">1929: The Great Crash</a></p>
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Execution of Nguyễn Văn Lém:

Vietnam War,  
February 1968

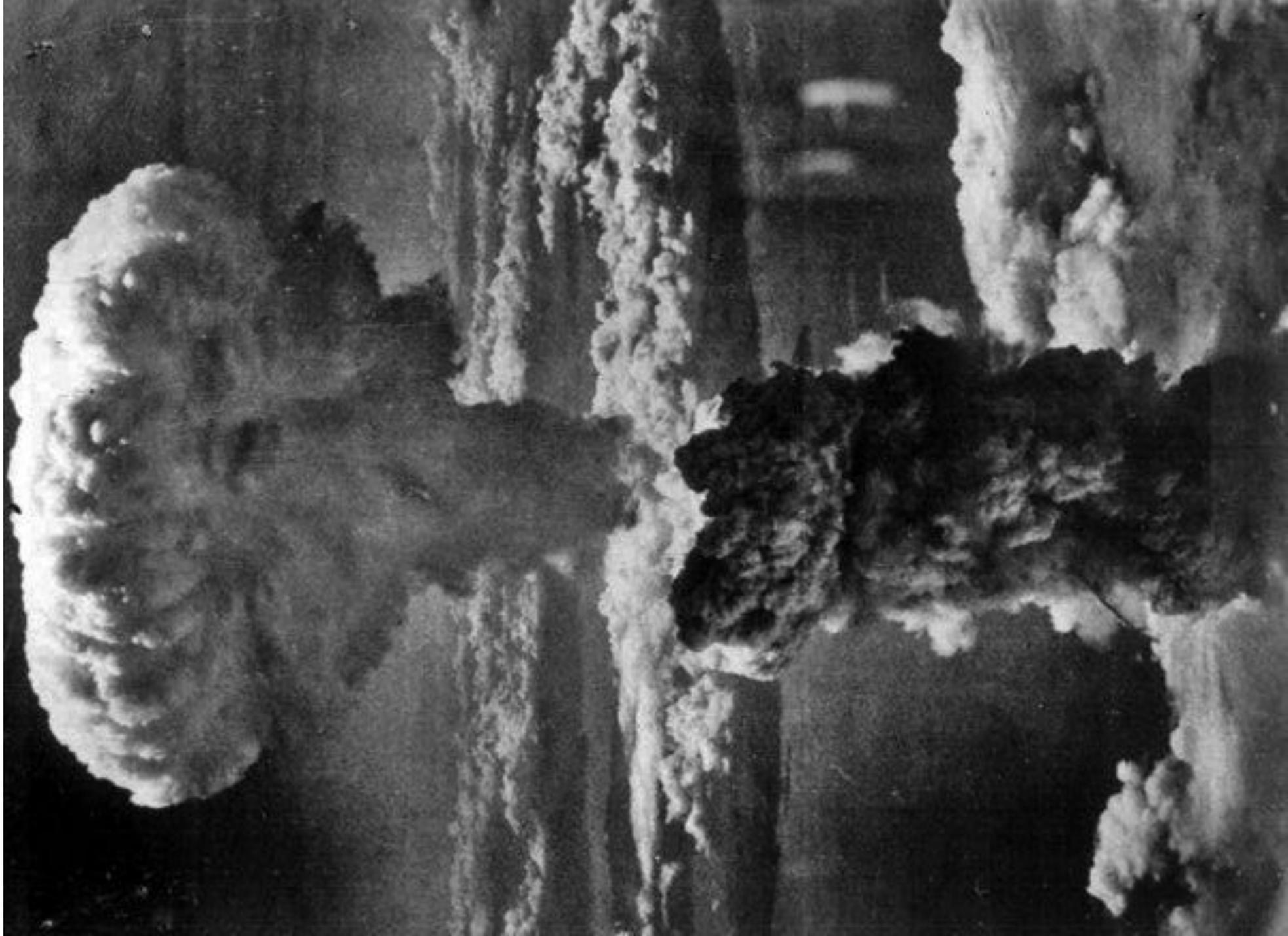


United Airlines Flight 175 flying  
towards the South Tower,  
World Trade Center.

11<sup>th</sup> September 2001

The 'mushroom' cloud from  
the Atomic Bomb dropped on  
Nagasaki, Japan.

9<sup>th</sup> August 1945





The assassination of John  
F. Kennedy

Dallas, Texas.  
22<sup>nd</sup> November 1963



Camp inmates at  
Auschwitz-Birkenau,  
Poland.

c.1942



Emmeline Pankhurst,  
arrested for trying to  
enter Parliament and  
protest for Women's  
votes.

Westminster, London  
1908



"Day of 21 January 1793 the death of Louis Capet (King Louis of France) on the Place de la Révolution" –

French engraving.



Jesse Owens winning the Gold Medal for the Long Jump at the Berlin Olympics, in 1936.

To the right is German athlete, Luz Long.



The Beatles crossing at Abbey Road, London.

This photo became the cover for their album 'Abbey Road', released in 1969.

Winston Churchill and the 'V for Victory' pose.

c. Summer 1940 – after he became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom





Barack Obama addressing the nation after being announced as President Elect (he had won the 2008 Presidential Election)

December 2008



An East German  
attacking The  
Berlin Wall.

9<sup>th</sup> November  
1989

# The Impact of the First World War on British Society

Arthur Marwick

A generation ago Professor Cyril Falls, in his inaugural lecture as Chichele Professor of the History of War in the University of Oxford, attributed the disrepute into which he felt war studies had fallen to the 'fallacious' theory 'that the major, if not the sole, object of history should be the study of the artisan, the labourer and the peasant'.<sup>1</sup>

Today it has become a commonplace that this very preoccupation with the artisan, the labourer, and the peasant must, in the twentieth century at any rate, lead to a detailed study of war and war's 'impact' on society. Yet even now, despite the vast quantities of books and articles called forth in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the first World War, it cannot be said that the literature on the British social experience during and immediately after the war is extensive. This state of affairs is in accord with the simple doctrine that war can have only a destructive effect on civilisation elaborated by Professors Toynbee and Nef,<sup>2</sup> and reinforced by that form of sociological exposition which has treated war as analogous to natural catastrophe.<sup>3</sup> In general those who have talked most about war's impact have presented the least strict analysis and the fewest hard facts, writing blithely of

<sup>1</sup> Cyril Falls, *The Place of War in History* (London, 1947), 6.

<sup>2</sup> Toynbee's view is most clearly expressed in those extracts from the first six volumes of *A Study of History* published as *War and Civilisation* (London, 1950). John U. Nef, *War and Human Progress* (London, 1950), was written in explicit refutation of Werner Sombart, *Krieg und Kapitalismus* (Munich, 1913).

<sup>3</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Man and Society in Calamity* (New York, 1942); Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1942), especially I, 272: 'The preceding survey suggests that in the most recent stage of world-civilisation war has made for instability, for disintegration, for despotism, and for unadaptability, rendering the course of civilisation less predictable and continued progress toward achievement of its values less probable.'

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social revolutions, short skirts, and the vulgar manners of the *nouveau riche*.<sup>4</sup>

The higher ground of solid scholarship has been dominated by those 'whig' historians who have followed Toynbee and Nef in stressing war's disruptive effects, and who have tended to concentrate on the association between modern war and the growth of totalitarianism. The counter-attack has been mounted, sporadically, by the 'tories', the precursors and followers of Professor Falls;<sup>5</sup> in greater force, but on a more limited front, by the economists, who after 1918, and again in 1939-40, became fascinated by the economic reorganisation and growth of collectivism accompanying war; and, more in the spirit than in the published word, by Marxist upholders of Trotsky's dictum that 'war is the locomotive of history'.<sup>6</sup>

The classic whig account is that of F.W. Hirst, who set a fashion in naivety of analysis which many have imitated but few have equalled: the war, said Hirst, had weakened the Liberals, strengthened the Conservatives and the Labour party, though only to the extent of replacing the two-party system by a three-

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Philip Gibbs, 'The Social Revolution in English Life', in *More that Must be Told* (London, 1921), 213-43; Frank Dillnott, *England Since the War* (London, 1920); C.F.G. Masterman, *England after the War* (London, 1922); Frank P. Chambers, *The War Behind the War 1914-1918* (New York, 1940), is a worthless narrative.

<sup>5</sup> See N.H. Gibbs, 'War and History', *The Listener*, 6 October 1955; Correlli Barnett, *The Swordbearers* (London, 1963); John Terraine, *Douglas Haig; the educated soldier* (London, 1964); Cyril Falls, 'The Doctrine of Total War', *The Nature of Modern Warfare* (London, 1941), 1-20.

<sup>6</sup> Allen Hutt, *The Post-War History of the British Working Class* (London, 1937), 10, in fact argued that the war temporarily 'overwhelmed' the revolutionary movement. Paul Louis, *Le Bouleversement Mondial* (Paris, 1920), has only brief references to Britain: esp. 5-6, 184-9. Karl Kautsky, *Krieg und Demokratie* (Berlin, 1932), does not mention Britain and the first World War. Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (3rd ed., London, 1950), 354-5, of course, argued that a prolonged war hastened the advance of 'socialism and democracy', but did little to develop his point that 'Any major war that ends in defeat will shake the social fabric and threaten the position of the ruling group. . . . But the converse proposition is not so certain. Unless success be quick or, at all events, striking and clearly associated with the performance of the ruling stratum . . . exhaustion, economic, physical, and psychological, may well produce, even in the case of victory, effects on the relative position of classes, groups and parties that do not differ essentially from those of defeat. . . . In England the labour vote that had been at little over half a million in January 1910 and not quite two millions and a quarter in 1918, went to 4,236,733 in 1922 and to 5,487,620 in 1924 . . . MacDonald reconquered the leadership and in 1924 the party came into office if not really into power.'

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party system (Hirst gave no hint that there might be deeper sociological reasons for the decline of the Liberals); state control had been greatly and lamentably strengthened; war had brought 'moral evils' and 'social degeneracy'.<sup>7</sup> The emotional hysteria evoked by war formed the main topic of two important whiggish studies by Carolyn E. Playne and Irene Cooper Willis.<sup>8</sup> The earliest tory accounts are really part of the patriotic polemic of the war itself. Writing in September 1918, W. Basil Worsfold, well-known for his pot-boiling studies of the British Empire, produced *The War and Social Reform: An Endeavour to Trace the Influence of the War as a Reforming Agency; with special reference to matters primarily affecting the wage-earning classes* (London, 1919). Though the book scarcely fulfils the promise of the title, the author did incidentally touch on two of the fundamental issues to which all serious commentators have been forced to return again and again: war as a supreme challenge to society and its institutions,<sup>9</sup> forcing reorganization in the direction of efficiency; and war as a revelation 'of the value of the manual worker to the state'. The most imposing works in the economic canon are the Carnegie Foundation *Economic and Social History of the Great War* – of which, finally, twenty-four volumes were published in the British series (Oxford, 1919–34), with 'economic' firmly taking precedence over 'social' and, in lesser degree, the *Official History of the Ministry of Munitions* (8 volumes, 1918–22). Written, in the main, by administrative participants in the events described and composed partly from the documents, partly from memory (as is so often the case with contemporary history), the Carnegie series is by no means uniformly reliable, but the cumulative effect is a hymn of praise for the war-time experiments in state control. In general historians have agreed that once new techniques of economic management had been developed in war, there could be no complete return to the laissez-faire orthodoxy of 1914, though Professor Tawney wrote a polemical denunciation (riddled with minor errors) of what he

<sup>7</sup> Francis W. Hirst, *The Consequences of the War to Great Britain* (Oxford, 1934), I–46, 63–85, 305.

<sup>8</sup> Carolyn E. Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain* (London, 1928), *Society at War 1914–1916* (1931), *Britain Holds on 1917–1918* (1933); Irene Cooper Willis, *England's Holy War* (New York, 1929).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Correlli Barnett, *The Swordbearers*, II: 'war is the great auditor of institutions'.

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called the 'Abandonment of Economic Controls 1918-1921',<sup>10</sup> and the *Official Ministry of Munitions History* boldly stated the probability that 'experience of state control during the war has retarded rather than hastened the spread of state socialism' (VII, 1).

Best of all the economic studies is a slender volume by Professor A. L. Bowley, the statistician and author of a number of valuable social surveys. Bowley suggested that post-war changes could be divided into three categories: those mainly unconnected with the war; those accelerated (or retarded) by the war; and those directly attributable to the war – the destruction of life and of capital. He thought the main post-war technological changes, such as the transition to oil firing in ships, fell under the first heading, while certain other technological changes, such as the development of aviation, fell into the second category, as did the emancipation of women and the growth of political and social democracy. In *Has Poverty Diminished?* (1925) Bowley had referred to his verdict of 1913 that 'to raise the wages of the worst-paid workers is the most pressing social task with which the country is confronted today', and concluded, 'it has needed a war to do it, but that task has been accomplished'. To war's direct destruction of capital Bowley linked the imposition of high progressive taxation and the partial redistribution of income between social classes which resulted.<sup>11</sup> Historians remain divided on the question of how far this redistribution brought about significant changes in the class structure: Professor D. C. Marsh is sceptical, but other recent work has tended to suggest that at the upper levels of society taxation did have a significant effect.<sup>12</sup>

American commentators, almost all of them preoccupied with the problems of economic reorganisation, have been legion, French, German, or other non-British commentators practically non-existent.<sup>13</sup> Of the two great French authorities on modern

<sup>10</sup> *Economic History Review*, no. 1, 1943.

<sup>11</sup> A. L. Bowley, *Some Economic Consequences of the Great War* (London, 1930), 20-3.

<sup>12</sup> David C. Marsh, *Changing Social Structure of England and Wales* (London, 1955), esp. 216-7. F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), 330 ff. W. L. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite* (London, 1963), 100-196.

<sup>13</sup> The most recent, and best, American study is Samuel J. Hurwitz, *State Intervention in Great Britain* (New York, 1949). First into what became a very crowded field was H. L. Gray, *War Time Control of Industry* (New York, 1918). The advent of a second World War brought forth such books as Horst Mender-

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Britain, André Siegfried gave no special weight to the war as an agent in what he called *England's Crisis* (1930). Elie Halévy made some pertinent comments on the 'social peace' in Britain during the war, showing how misplaced were contemporary hopes (he was writing in 1919) that the Whitley Councils would usher in a new era of co-operation between employers and employed; his major (though undeveloped) theme, the idea that war had ushered in *The Era of Tyrannies*, is very similar to that of the British whig historians.<sup>14</sup> While sociologists have opened up important lines of enquiry, the notorious colourlessness of contemporary British history (no soviets, no concentration camps, no resistance movements) has apparently dissuaded them from drawing their data from the British experience. Clearly, the general concept of war as 'disaster', or at least as 'discontinuity',<sup>15</sup> is a valuable one. It is almost half a century since Samuel H. Prince completed his investigation into the disastrous explosion which took place at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1917. His assessment of the role of catastrophe was that

Functioning directly, it prepares the groundwork for social change by (1) weakening social immobility; (2) precipitating fluidity of custom; (3) forcing environmental favourability for change. Indirectly it sets in motion factors determining the nature of the social change, such as (1) the release of spirit and morale; (2) the play of imitation; (3) the stimulus of leaders and lookers-on; (4) the socialization of institutions.<sup>16</sup>

hausen, *The Economics of War* (New York, 1941), A. W. Spiegel, *The Economics of Total War* (New York, 1942), and Albert T. Lauterbach, *Economics in Uniform* (Princeton, 1943), all drawing some of their material from the earlier British experience. First-war German studies, such as Otto Jöhlinger, *Der britische Wirtschaftskrieg und seine Methoden* (Berlin, 1918), were generally admiring of British methods of economic reorganisation; second-war studies were purely propagandist. The 1940 annual meeting of the American Historical Association resulted in the publication of *War as a Social Institution: the historian's perspective* (ed. Jesse D. Clarkson and Thomas C. Cochrane, New York 1941), but Britain's 1914-18 experience was not thought worthy of inclusion. The Institute of World Affairs, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Session: War and Society* (Los Angeles, 1941), is little more than propaganda on behalf of American participation in the second World War.

<sup>14</sup> Elie Halévy, *L'Ère des Tyrannies* (Paris, 1938). American paperback edition, *The Era of Tyrannies* (New York 1965), 105-57, 183-207, 234-47, 249-66.

<sup>15</sup> See William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (Glencoe, 1959), 159-72. He writes (168): 'In general, war crises of great severity clearly are mass-producing in their devastation of the very physical basis of both elite and non-elite.'

<sup>16</sup> Samuel H. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change: Based on a Sociological*

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However, the point about war is that it is not wholly an extra-social stimulus (as is natural catastrophe), but that it also involves intra-social stimuli. Failure to appreciate this, I believe, invalidates much of Sorokin's *Man and Society in Calamity*. From the twin periods of scholarly activity centred on the two wars the most directly relevant contributions are William B. Trotter's *Instincts of the Herd in War and Peace* (rev. ed. 1919), and Willard Waller's essay 'War and Social Institutions',<sup>17</sup> though Trotter came perilously close to patriotic rhetoric in his eulogy of the social cohesion of the British people in time of stress. Waller referred to group instincts in explaining the growth of social reform during wars: 'For the most part this phenomenon is a phase of the reversion to the tribal morality of the in-group and the out-group. The direction of hostility toward the enemy leaves the in-group at peace' (488).

Taking up the concept of war as 'discontinuity', Waller explained how the new situations of war created a need for new *mores* and new *folkways*, certainly very relevant to what took place in Britain during and after the war in the world of sexual standards, fashion, etc. (487-92). This is certainly an area in which the tools of the social psychologist could usefully work on the materials gathered by the historian. The one concrete example which Waller drew from Britain was that of the gaining of political rights by women in 1918, cited in support of the somewhat question-begging thesis that 'minorities and under-privileged groups tend to make gains, at least temporarily, under war conditions' (511).

Here we return to one of the central historical issues, subsequently brilliantly illumined in Stanislaw Andrzejewski's *Military Organization and Society* with its theory of the Military Participation Ratio (MPR) and the co-variation of the pyramid of social stratification with this MPR.<sup>18</sup> (In other words, the greater the participation of low-status groups and classes in the war effort, the stronger the levelling tendency.) Necessarily, in a book covering

*Study of the Halifax Disaster* (New York, 1920), 145. An invaluable recent contribution is G. Sjöberg, 'Disasters and Social Change', in G. W. Baker and D. D. Chapman, eds., *Man and Society in Disaster* (New York, 1962).

<sup>17</sup> In Willard Waller, ed. *War in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1940), 478-532.

<sup>18</sup> Stanislaw Andrzejewski, *Military Organization and Society* (London, 1954), 33-8.

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the whole range of human history, actual reference to Britain and the first World War is brief: noting that the levelling tendency in Britain was apparent long before 1914, Andrzejewski continued: 'It is nevertheless significant that the two world wars, fought with conscript armies, strengthened immensely these levelling tendencies. The end of the first saw the introduction of universal adult suffrage; the second brought to power the Labour Party, with its programme of soaking the rich.'

The last phrase, sufficient to send shudders down the historian's spine, perhaps suggests that, vitally important as Andrzejewski's contribution undoubtedly is, the parade of sociological precision conceals a goodly amount of historical imprecision. Fortunately, however, Andrzejewski's basic idea was snatched up by two distinguished scholars, Professor Richard Titmuss and Dr Philip Abrams, and applied to the specifically British evidence.

In his lecture on 'War and Social Policy',<sup>19</sup> Professor Titmuss noted that in recent times wars have followed an 'ascending order of intensity', hence the 'increasing concern of the State in time of war with the biological characteristics of its people'. At the first stage of intensity the concern is with the quantity of recruits to the armed forces; at the second it is with the quality of recruits; and at the third it is with the whole population, from whom future recruits will be drawn. Titmuss stressed the importance of the Boer War (1898-1902) in the development of this concern on the part of the State. Strangely, he played down the importance of the first World War, the throwaway remark that 'the story repeats itself in the First World War' suggesting a somewhat imperfect sense of historical proportion. Explicitly picking up Max Weber's dictum that 'the discipline of the army gives birth to all discipline', Titmuss enunciated his first general conclusion:

The waging of modern war presupposes and imposes a great increase in social discipline; moreover, this discipline is only tolerable if – and only if – social inequalities are not intolerable. The need for less inequality is expressed, for example, in the changes that take place in what is socially approved behaviour – marked differences in standards of

<sup>19</sup> First published in *The Listener*, 3 November 1955, and reprinted in R. M. Titmuss, *Essays on 'The Welfare State'* (London, 1958). Altogether seven talks on 'War and Society' were published in *The Listener*, 6 October – 17 November 1955.

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living, in dress, in luxury entertainment and in indulgences of many kinds are disapproved.<sup>20</sup>

Historically, of course, the question remains: is this levelling permanent, or may there not be, in reaction against the austerity of war, a subsequent outbreak of conspicuous consumption on the part of the wealthier classes? Some of the evidence from Britain 1918–21 would support this view, though on balance it does distinctly appear that a permanent levelling of standards was effected.<sup>21</sup> Here again the assistance of the social psychologists would be welcome.<sup>22</sup> Drawing upon Andrzejewski's theory, Titmuss concluded that 'The aims and content of social policy both in peace and war are . . . determined, at least to a substantial extent, by how far the cooperation of the masses is essential to the successful prosecution of the war . . . If this cooperation is thought to be essential then inequalities must be reduced and the pyramid of stratification must be flattened'.

In a superb article, whose only disappointments are its title and its conclusions, Dr Abrams, following in social history a parallel course to that charted by Tawney in economic history, sought to explain what he called 'The Failure of Social Reform 1918–1920'.<sup>23</sup> Despite all the high hopes and rhetoric of the war period, Abrams argued, there remained two major obstacles to the realisation of concrete social reform: administrative and ideological. For all that there had been a great expansion in government, 'still it was not nearly big enough to handle the business it had undertaken'. Ideologically the obstacle was the failure of the politicians responsible for social planning 'to understand certain critical relationships' within the society they wished to reform:

It was not just that their greatest desire was 'social harmony' or that they thought of harmony as the natural condition of society. The peculiar ideology of the war effort, of 'all pulling together', the tacit MPR assumptions that the war generated, led them to believe in the *immediate reality of harmony* between interests and classes in society which it was

<sup>20</sup> The quotation from Weber, as cited by Titmuss, is in J.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1947), 261.

<sup>21</sup> The evidence is to be found in *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, ed. Hubert Llewellyn Smith, VIII (London, 1934), and D. Caradog Jones, *Social Survey of Merseyside*, 3 vols. (Liverpool, 1934).

<sup>22</sup> There was certainly a very pronounced reaction against austerity in Britain some years after the second World War.

<sup>23</sup> In *Past and Present*, April 1963.

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their job to 'ameliorate'. To this extent they were effectively disqualified from seeing the need to constrain groups to work together.

Dr Abrams is therefore led to the conclusion that 'the one group in English society to which the war brought a significant extension of social and political privilege was middle-aged propertied women'.

Abram's article provides a kind of *post facto* justification for the various narrative historians who have felt the war unworthy of any special treatment as an agent of social change,<sup>24</sup> and it serves as a remarkable complement to Halévy's earlier reflections on the abortive nature of the wartime 'social harmony'. Yet, though his argument must command our respect, I do not believe that it should command our acceptance. With the Titmuss lecture it shares one great self-imposed defect: a total concentration on the issue of guided social reform to the exclusion of any consideration of the unguided forces of social change unleashed by the war. Only two major narrative histories have appreciated this point, and then implicitly rather than explicitly. In reading the early chapters of Professor Mowat's *Britain between the Wars 1918-1940* (London, 1955), one constantly suspects that the author wishes he had chosen 1914 or 1916 as his starting date: he does bring out clearly how the war experience had made acceptable such major innovations as the recasting of Unemployment Insurance in 1920 and 1921 (not mentioned by Dr Abrams).<sup>25</sup> Briefly and pungently, Mr A.J.P. Taylor, in his volume of the *Oxford History*, has asserted that it was the war that brought democracy and socialism to fruition in Britain, that 'the history of the English state and of the English people merged for the first time'.<sup>26</sup>

How then do we assess the impact of the war? Although, as the researches of W. L. Guttsman, F. M. L. Thompson, J. M. McEwen, and J. M. Lee have shown, the war did alter the balance of power within the British political elite away from the landed aristocrats

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Alfred Havighurst, *Twentieth Century Britain* (New York, 1962), Maurice Bruce, *The Coming of the Welfare State* (London, 1961), Hardy and M. Wickwar, *The Social Services* (London, 1949).

<sup>25</sup> C. L. Mowat, *Britain between the Wars 1918-1940*, 45-6, 127-8.

<sup>26</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (Oxford, 1965), I-2, 34-41, 73-114, 120-6.

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towards the lesser businessmen,<sup>27</sup> it is evident that the nature of British political leadership in the post-war years was not greatly different from that of the Edwardian era. A study of the relevant Cabinet papers suggests that instead of well-meaning reformers being frustrated by their ideological limitations, a clear-headed group of Conservative politicians found that, however hell-bent they were on a return to 1914, they could not will away all the changes brought about by the war.<sup>28</sup> Believing that so far no one has given a completely satisfactory explanation of the relationship between war and social change, I concluded my own study of 'British Society and the First World War' with the suggestion that the relationship could best be examined through identifying seven *methods* by which war affects society.<sup>29</sup> I now believe that this list can be reduced to four (a sign, I hope, of progress), and I have substituted *mode* for the unsatisfactory word *method*.<sup>30</sup>

First, war *is* destructive; it shares in the characteristics of disaster:<sup>31</sup> it is certainly discontinuity. Undoubtedly, in basing their every action on the economic standards of 1914, British politicians rendered more serious the effects of the economic dislocation brought about by the war: but the economic dislocation was nonetheless a reality. War-time borrowing, loss of reserves, and sales of overseas assets had severely reduced London's international creditor status. In the expansionist phase which lasted till 1914

<sup>27</sup> W.L. Guttsman, *Political Elite*, 100-196; F.M.L. Thompson, *Landed Aristocracy*, 330 ff.; J.M. McEwen, 'The Coupon Election of 1918 and the Unionist Members of Parliament', in *Journal of Modern History*, 1962, 294 ff.; J.M. Lee, *Social Leaders and Public Persons* (London, 1964), 80.

<sup>28</sup> See especially the Cabinet discussions of 5 August 1919, P.R.O., CAB 23/15, 606. At the height of the 1921 coal crisis the Cabinet (in the absence of Lloyd George) noted that: 'During the war the miners had shown that they were immensely patriotic, and it would be a calamity if Labour generally obtained the impression that the Government was siding in this matter with the employers'. P.R.O., CAB 23/25, 18(21).

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London, 1965), 289.

<sup>30</sup> Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change* (London, 1968).

<sup>31</sup> In fact two world wars have brought to the United States material gain rather than the losses associated with disaster, and it may still be possible to profit from a limited war - as, for instance, did Israel in the Middle East. As I phrase it in my forthcoming book, the first mode results from the fact that war, at its simplest, is a matter of profit and loss (catastrophe, destruction, etc.). For a sociologist's appraisal of this point see Sjoberg, *loc. cit.*, 358: 'one man's misfortune is often another's gain'.

## IMPACT OF FIRST WORLD WAR ON BRITISH SOCIETY

London had functioned triumphantly as the world's greatest financial centre on ridiculously small reserves; in the post-war atmosphere of suspicion and economic nationalism, this was no longer easy. Thus, after the first burst of inflation at the end of the war, the government sought to protect London's international financial position through deflation and retrenchment, giving the appearance of a total 'failure of social reform'. The economic dislocations of war, too, created the conditions of mass unemployment, which soon flooded past the paper barriers of inflated post-war demand. Again, though in the broad view the worker had made great gains during the war, in certain areas these were wiped out by the incidence of unemployment. Yet by a paradox which also attends upon natural disaster,<sup>32</sup> the disruptions brought by the war to normal educational and health provision and to house-building gave an impetus to social construction on an entirely new scale. H. A. L. Fisher explained his Education Act of 1918 as being 'framed to repair the intellectual wastage which has been caused by the war'<sup>33</sup>; so, too, the massive state initiative implied in the Housing Act of 1919<sup>34</sup> which, far from being a total failure, made possible the building between 1919 and 1921 of 70,000 houses a year, let at rents ranging from 5s. to 12s. a week, and which provided the basic principles for all future housing legislation.<sup>35</sup>

War, to come to the second mode, acts as a supreme challenge to, and test of, a country's social and political institutions. War results not only in the destruction of inefficient institutions (such as the Tsarist regime in Russia), but also in the transformation of less efficient mechanisms into more efficient ones.<sup>36</sup> Leaving aside the challenge to and exposure of economic liberalism, the challenge to and exposure of the Liberal party, and the challenge to and rapid development of the country's exploitation of science and technology, this challenge-transformation mode also subsumes the public health improvements touched on by Professor Titmuss.

<sup>32</sup> One thinks, in particular, of the way in which the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 resulted in San Francisco being rebuilt as one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

<sup>33</sup> *House of Commons Debates*, 10 August 1917.

<sup>34</sup> The case is argued in these terms in two government papers of 1917, *Housing in England and Wales* (Cmd. 9087), and the *Report of the Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland* (Cmd. 8731).

<sup>35</sup> Marion Bowley, *Housing and the State* (London, 1945), 15-25.

<sup>36</sup> Ironically there is an echo here of Professor Toynbee's famous 'Challenge and Response' theory.

## CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

Usually, however, it must be seen as operating in conjunction with the third mode (Military Participation) identified by Andrzejewski and developed by Abrams. The war-time 'emancipation of women' is a commonplace (though in fact there is no good modern scholarly account); more controversial is the question of the effects of the war on the working classes. Their gains, in fact, were three-fold: because of their strengthened role in the market, their wages and living standards rose; because of their increased participation in activities and decisions that were, and were seen to be, important, their political and industrial organization was toughened; because the government needed them, it gave them, mainly through the processes of legislation, enhanced recognition and status. The average income of all working-class families between 1914 and 1920 rose by 100 per cent, which slightly more than cancelled out the rise in the cost of living. After 1920 price levels fell while, with some exceptions, the new wage levels were successfully defended, so that by the early twenties the working classes, provided they were not unemployed, were in real terms ten or twenty per cent better off than before the war.<sup>37</sup> Whether we talk of 'rising expectations' or changing 'reference groups', it is apparent that the taste of affluence, afforded to some workers during the war, greatly accelerated that quest for a higher standard of living which in itself has proved so potent an agent of continuing social change.<sup>38</sup> While it would be absurd to deny that the actual tally of social legislation fell dismally below that promised by the politicians, it is also instructive to make two other comparisons: the post-1918 Labour Party with the pre-1914 Labour Party,<sup>39</sup> and the post-1918 franchise with the pre-1914 one – only in 1918, as Mr Noel Blewett has clearly demonstrated, did Britain become a political democracy.<sup>40</sup>

The fourth mode I present with diffidence. To say that war, in common with the great revolutions in history, is a colossal emo-

<sup>37</sup> *Labour Gazette*, 1925; A. L. Bowley, *Has Poverty Diminished?*; Sidney Pollard, *Development of the British Economy* (1962), 289 ff.

<sup>38</sup> We need more studies in the style set by W. G. Runciman, *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A study of attitudes to social inequality in twentieth century England* (London, 1966).

<sup>39</sup> Of the many histories of the Labour Party, the one which brings this point out most forcefully is Carl F. Brand, *The British Labour Party: A Short History* (Stanford, 1964).

<sup>40</sup> Noel Blewett, 'The Franchise in the United Kingdom 1885–1918', *Past and Present*, December 1965.

## IMPACT OF FIRST WORLD WAR ON BRITISH SOCIETY

tional and psychological experience may seem either vague and question-begging, or mere repetition of the point that, in one sense, war is catastrophe. Yet, when we all talk so lightly of the 'traumatic' effects of the first World War, when there is such copious evidence of the stimulus given by the war to the arts in Britain,<sup>41</sup> when there are so many individual examples of conversions to socialism or away from religious and other orthodoxies,<sup>42</sup> it does seem that we have here a vast and important topic for study: the historian can collect the evidence, but again the help of the social psychologist is urgently needed.<sup>43</sup>

One related point remains: did the war foster a growth of violence in post-war British society? The answer, I believe, is 'no', though certainly Britain did channel her form of fascism into the Black-and-Tan war in Ireland. But it would help to settle the matter definitively if a comparative statistical study were made of acts of violence committed in the three years before the war and in the three years after the war.

My purpose has been to explain a paradox. Of all human activities, war is most inextricably linked to the extremes of misery, suffering, and human degradation. To demonstrate how, at the same time, the war of 1914-18 was accompanied by important social change, is in no sense an attempt to glorify or condone war.

*(This essay was written as a paper for the International Conference held by the Institute of Contemporary History in London, 25-27 October 1967.)*

<sup>41</sup> See A. Marwick, *The Deluge*, 140-8, 217-23. For an examination of the changes in war fiction wrought by the war see I.D. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War 1763-1984* (London, 1966), 166-208.

<sup>42</sup> Many of the older converts are listed in G. T. Garratt, *The Mugwumps and the Labour Party* (London, 1932). Others were Lord Haldane, Sir Patrick Hastings, Godfrey (later Lord) Elton, Hugh (later Lord) Dalton, and Reverend Campbell Stephen. See also J. A. Lovat-Fraser, *Why a Tory joined the Labour Party* (London, 1921), and (for an example of the reaction against revealed religion) Lucy Masterman, *C. F. G. Masterman* (London, 1939).

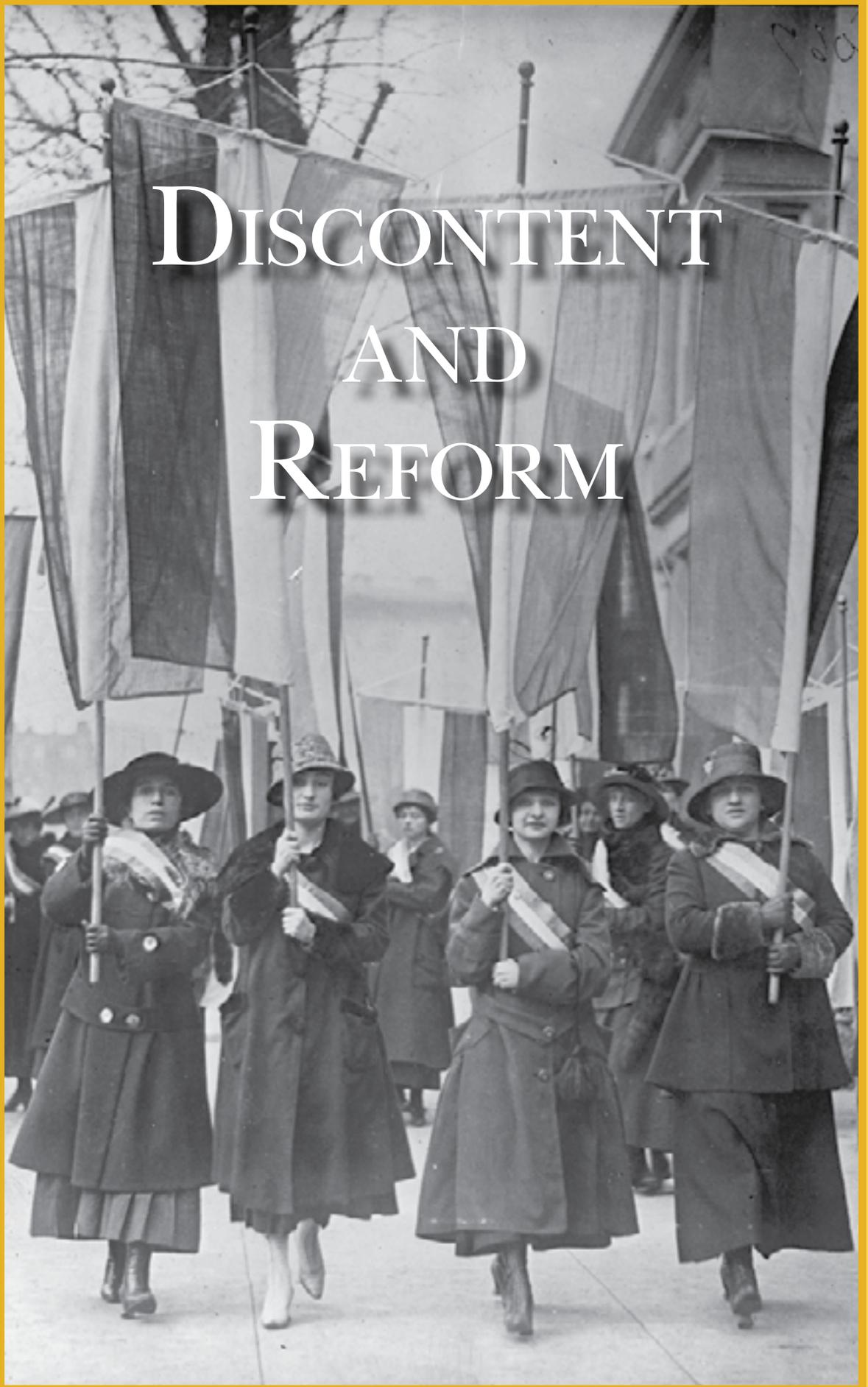
<sup>43</sup> 'Shell-shock' was a phenomenon much studied at the end of the war. The evidence seems to suggest that there was not a great increase in psychoneurotic conditions among civilians. See e. g. J. T. McCurdy, *War Neuroses* (Cambridge, 1918), Millais Culpin, *Psychoneuroses of War and Peace* (Cambridge 1920), and L. S. Hearnshaw, *A Short History of British Psychology 1840-1940* (London, 1964), 245.

# U.S.A. HISTORY I N B R I E F



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# DISCONTENT AND REFORM



**neg-a-tive** / 'nɛgətɪv /  
*adjective* [more **neg\*a\*tive**;  
most **neg\*a\*tive**]  
: harmful or bad : not  
wanted • Car exhaust has a  
*negative* effect/impact on the  
environment. • the *negative*  
effects of the drug

**cor-rupt** / kə'ɹʌpt / *adjective*  
[more **corrupt**; most **corrupt**]  
: doing things that are  
dishonest or illegal in order  
to make money or to gain  
or keep power • The country's  
justice system is riddled with  
*corrupt* judges who accept  
bribes. • *corrupt* politicians/  
officials

**en-act** / ɪ'nækt / *verb*  
**en-acts**; **en-act-ed**; **en-act-ing**  
: to make (a bill or other  
legislation) officially become  
part of the law • Congress  
will *enact* legislation related to  
that issue. • The law was finally  
*enacted* today.

**Opposite:** Women seeking the right  
to vote march for their cause in 1917.  
They won the right in 1920.

**Below:** A goal of the Progressive  
Movement was **enacting** laws to end  
child labor, such as these children  
working at the Indiana Glass Works  
in 1908.

**B**y 1900, the United States had seen growth, civil war, economic prosperity, and economic hard times. Americans still believed in religious freedom. Free public education was mostly accessible. The free press continued.

On the **negative** side, it often seemed that political power belonged to a few **corrupt** officials and their friends in business. In response, the idea of Progressivism was born. Progressives wanted greater democracy and justice. They wanted an honest government to reduce the power of business.

Books by Upton Sinclair, Ida M. Tarbell, and Theodore Dreiser described unfair, unhealthy, and dangerous situations. These writers hoped their books would force the government to make the United States safer and better for its citizens.





President Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909) believed in Progressivism. He worked with Congress to **regulate** businesses that had established monopolies. He also worked hard to protect the country's **natural** resources.

Changes continued under the next presidents, especially Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921). The Federal Reserve banking system set interest rates and controlled the money supply. The Federal Trade Commission dealt with unfair business practices. New laws improved working conditions for sailors and railway workers. Farmers got better information and easier credit. Taxes on imported goods were lowered or **eliminated**.

**reg-u-late** / 'regjə,leɪt /  
*verb* **reg-u-lates**;  
**reg-u-lat-ed**; **reg-u-lat-ing**  
: to bring (something) under the control of authority • We need better laws to *regulate* the content of the Internet. • Laws have been made to *regulate* working conditions.

**nat-u-ral** / 'nætʃərəl /  
*adjective*  
: existing in nature and not made or caused by people : coming from nature  
• a country rich in *natural* resources [=a country that has many valuable plants, animals, minerals, etc.]

**elim-i-nate** / ɪ'lɪmɪ,neɪt /  
*verb* **elim-i-nates**;  
**elim-i-nat-ed**; **elim-i-nat-ing**  
: to remove (something that is not wanted or needed) : to get rid of (something) • The company plans to *eliminate* more than 2,000 jobs in the coming year.

**Above:** Writer Upton Sinclair (on right) became known for a style of journalism called "muckraking." One of his most famous books, *The Jungle*, exposed the terrible conditions in the meat-packing industry.

**Below:** The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations meets to hear testimony from John Pierpont Morgan, regarded as one of the most powerful businessmen in the country, in 1915. May reforms were put in place in the early 1900s to reduce the power of large businesses.



During the Progressive Era, more immigrants settled in the United States. Almost 19 million people arrived between 1890 and 1921 from Russia, Poland, Greece, Canada, Italy, Mexico, and Japan.

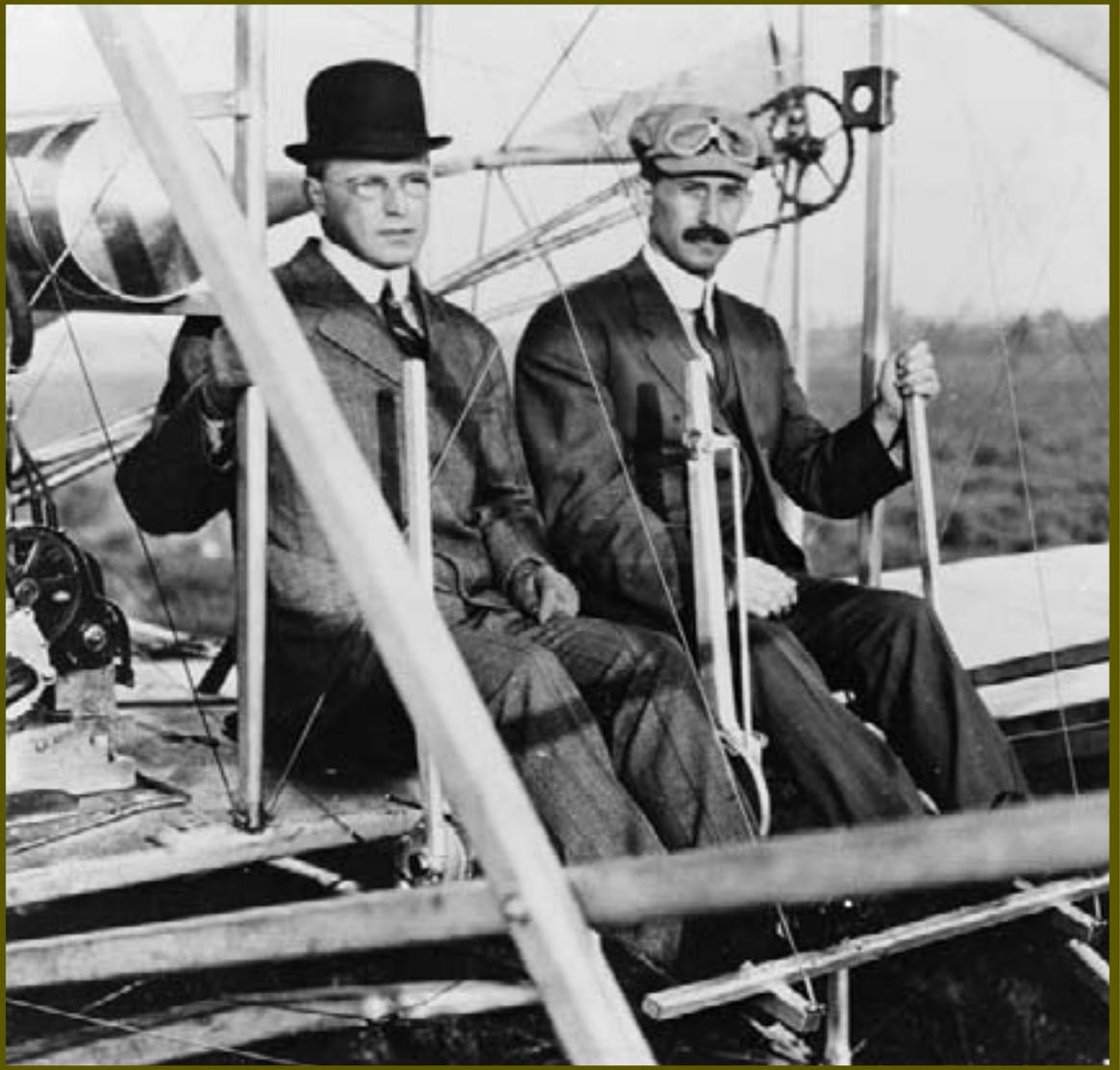
By the 1920s, citizens worried that the immigrants might take their jobs and change the culture of the United States. Although the government created quotas to restrict immigration, it relaxed those restrictions in the 1960s, assuring that the United States would remain a nation in which many different people and cultures could **forge** an identity as Americans.

## Quiz

1. How many immigrants arrived between 1890 and 1921?
  - A. 3 million
  - B. 14 million
  - C. 19 million
2. What is the U.S. government office that regulates money and banking?
  - A. The Commerce Department
  - B. The Federal Reserve
  - C. The Federal Trade Commission
3. What did Progressive Era President Theodore Roosevelt not do?
  - A. He wrote a book about the unhealthy situations for children in the workplace.
  - B. He worked with Congress to end the practice of monopolies.
  - C. He advocated laws to protect the country's natural resources.

**forge** /'foʊɑːdʒ/ *verb*  
**forg-es; forged; forg-ing**  
: to form or create (something, such as an agreement or relationship) through great effort • The two countries have *forged* a strong alliance. • They were able to *forge* a peaceful relationship.

Answers: 1. C; 2. B; 3. A



WORLD WAR I,  
1920s PROSPERITY,  
AND THE  
GREAT DEPRESSION

In 1914, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey fought Britain, France, Italy, and Russia. Other nations joined the conflict, and the war reached across the Atlantic Ocean to affect the United States. The British and German navies blocked American shipping. In 1915, almost 130 Americans died when a German submarine sank the British ocean liner *Lusitania*. President Woodrow Wilson demanded an end to the German attacks. They stopped but started again in 1917. The United States declared war.

More than 1,750,000 U.S. soldiers helped to defeat Germany and Austria-Hungary. The war officially ended on November 11, 1918, when a **truce** was signed at Versailles in France.

**truce** / 'tru:s / *noun plural truces*

: an agreement between enemies or opponents to stop fighting, arguing, etc., for a certain period of time

- They called/proposed a *truce*.
- They broke the *truce*. [=they began fighting when there was an agreement not to fight]

**Opposite:** Orville Wright is shown here at the controls of a later model plane with Albert Lambert at Simms Station in Dayton, Ohio in 1910. The Wright brothers built and flew the first heavier-than-air airplane at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina in 1903.

**Below:** More than 1,750,000 U.S. Army soldiers helped defeat Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I through battles like this one against German forces in 1918.



**guar-an-tee** / ,gerən'ti: / *verb*  
**guarantees; guaranteed;**  
**guarantee-ing**  
: to make (something) certain  
• We can't *guarantee* your safety.  
= We can't *guarantee* (you) that you'll be safe.

**vic-tor** / 'vɪktə: / *noun plural*  
**vic-tors**  
: a person who defeats an enemy or opponent  
: winner • the *victors* in the battle/game • Who will emerge the *victor* [=be the winner] in this contest?

**ten-sion** / 'tɛnʃən / *noun*  
**plural ten-sions**  
: a state in which people, groups, countries, etc., disagree with and feel anger toward each other • Political *tensions* in the region make it unstable. • The book describes the *tension*-filled days before the war.

**un-rest** / ,ʌn'rest / *noun*  
: a situation in which many of the people in a country are angry and hold protests or act violently • The country has experienced years of civil/social/political *unrest*.

**Above:** The "Big Four" attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, following the end of World War I. Despite strenuous efforts, President Wilson (far right) was unable to persuade the U.S. Senate to agree to American participation in the new League of Nations established in the aftermath of the war.

**Right:** Fashionable and daring young women, called "flappers," were seen at parties in the 1920s.



President Wilson had a 14-point peace plan, including the creation of a League of Nations. He hoped the League would **guarantee** the peace, but in the final Treaty of Versailles, the **victors** of the war insisted on harsh punishment. Even the United States did not support the League of Nations. Today, most Americans accept the United States taking an active role in the world, but at that time they believed otherwise.

After the war, the United States had problems with racial **tension**, struggling farms, and labor **unrest**. After Russia's revolution in 1917, Americans feared the spread of communism. This period is often known as the Red Scare.



Yet, the United States enjoyed a period of prosperity. Many families purchased their first automobile, radio, and refrigerator. They went to the movies. Women finally won the right to vote in 1920.

In October 1929 the good times ended with the collapse of the stock market and an economic depression. Businesses and factories shut down. Banks failed. Farms suffered. By November 1932, 20 percent of Americans did not have jobs.

That year the candidates for president debated over how to reverse the Great Depression. Herbert Hoover, the president during the collapse, lost to Franklin Roosevelt.



## Quiz

1. What did most Americans desire after World War I?
  - A. The creation of the League of Nations
  - B. Allowing more immigrants into the country
  - C. Isolationism
2. What event signaled the Great Depression?
  - A. Women getting the right to vote
  - B. The stock market collapse of 1929
  - C. Herbert Hoover losing the presidency to Franklin Roosevelt

**Above:** Henry Ford and his son stand with one of his early automobiles and the 10 millionth Ford Model-T. The Model-T was the first car whose price and availability made car ownership possible for large numbers of people.

Answers: 1. C; 2. B



# THE NEW DEAL AND WORLD WAR II

**P**resident Roosevelt believed that democracy had failed in other countries because of unemployment and insecurity. In the early 1930s, he proposed a “New Deal” to end the Great Depression.

The New Deal included many programs. Bank accounts were insured. New rules applied to the stock market. Workers could form **unions** to protect their rights. Farmers received financial aid for certain crops. The government hired people to plant trees, clean up waterways, and fix national parks. Skilled workers helped build dams and bridges. The government provided flood control and electric power for poor areas. The Social Security system helped the poor, disabled, and elderly.

**Opposite:** During the Great Depression, many banks failed, and depositors stood in long lines in hopes of getting their money out. Many did not.

**Below:** President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the Social Security Act of 1935. This is one of the government’s largest programs.



**un-easy** /ˌʌn'i:zi/ *adjective* [more **un\*easy**; most **un\*easy**]

: worried or unhappy about something • Rain made the crew *uneasy*. • I'm (feeling) *uneasy* about/with the change.

**draft** /'dræft/ *verb*  
**drafts; draft-ed; draft-ing**

: to officially order (someone) to join the armed forces • The legislature debated *drafting* more soldiers. —often used as (be/get) *drafted* • He was *drafted* for the war. • He got *drafted* into the army.

**Above:** People stand in line for free food during the Great Depression in the 1930s.

**Below:** World War II demanded heavy production of fighter planes.



Many Americans were **uneasy** with big government, but they also wanted the government to help ordinary people. These programs helped, but they didn't solve the economic problems. The next world war would do that.

The United States remained neutral while Germany, Italy, and Japan attacked other countries. Although many people wished to stay out of these conflicts, Congress voted to **draft** soldiers and began to strengthen the military.

As Japan conquered territories in China and elsewhere in Asia, it threatened to seize raw materials used by Western industries. In response, the United States refused to sell oil to Japan. Japan received 80



percent of its oil from the United States. When the United States demanded that Japan withdraw from its conquered territories, Japan refused. On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The United States declared war on Japan. Because Germany and Italy were allies of Japan, they declared war on America.

American industry focused on the war effort. Women built many of the 300,000 aircraft, 5,000 cargo ships, and 86,000 tanks while the men became soldiers.



**Left:** A Japanese plane falls in flames during an attack on a U.S. fleet in 1944. Mostly air and naval battles were fought in the Pacific.



The United States fought with Britain and the Soviet Union against the German Nazi threat in Europe. From the time that Germany and the Soviet Union invaded Poland in 1939 (Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941) until the German surrender in 1945, millions of people died. Millions more were killed in the Holocaust, the Nazi **regime's** mass murder of Jews and other groups.

Fighting continued in Asia and the Pacific Ocean even after the war ended in Europe. These battles were among the bloodiest for American forces.

**re-gime** / reɪˈzi:m / *noun*  
**plural re-gimes**  
: a form of government  
• a socialist / Communist / military *regime* : a particular government • The new *regime* is sure to fall.

**Above:** Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, the supreme commander in Europe, talks with soldiers before the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944.

**Right:** U.S. marines climb Mt. Suribachi on Iwo Jima island in Japan. Capture of the island was an important U.S. victory in World War II.



Japan refused to surrender even as U.S. forces approached the Japanese home islands. Some Americans thought invading Japan would cause larger numbers of U.S. and Japanese deaths. When the atomic bomb was ready, President Harry S. Truman decided to use it on two Japanese cities—Hiroshima and Nagasaki—to bring the war to an end without an invasion.

World War II was finally over in August 1945. Soon the world would fear nuclear weapons far more powerful than the bombs used against Japan.

## Quiz

1. What was Roosevelt's plan called to help the country recover from the Great Depression?
  - A. New Way
  - B. Real Deal
  - C. New Deal
2. Why did the United States enter War World II?
  - A. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor
  - B. The sinking of the *Lusitania*
  - C. The attack on isolationism
3. What did Harry Truman do to end the war against Japan?
  - A. Organized the building of fighter planes
  - B. Dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
  - C. Accepted the League of Nations



# THE COLD WAR, KOREAN CONFLICT, AND VIETNAM

**A**fter World War II, the United States and Great Britain had long-term disagreements with the Soviet Union over the future of Europe, most of which had been freed from Nazi rule by their joint effort. Each wanted to establish governments friendly to its own interests there.

Russia had been invaded twice in the past 40 years, and the United States twice had been dragged into European wars not of its making. Each believed that its system could best ensure its security, and each believed its ideas produced the most liberty, equality, and prosperity. This period of disagreement between the United States and Russia often is called the Cold War.

**Opposite:** U.S. troops witness a nuclear test in the Nevada desert in 1951. The threat of nuclear weapons remained a constant and ominous fact of life throughout the Cold War era.

**Below:** President Harry Truman holds a newspaper wrongly announcing his defeat by Republican nominee Thomas Dewey in the 1948 presidential election.



After World War II, many empires fell, and many civil wars occurred. The United States wanted stability, democracy, and open trade. Because it feared that postwar economic weakness would increase the popularity of communism, the U.S. offered European nations including the Soviet Union large **sums** of money to repair the war damage and help their economies. The Soviet Union and the communist nations of Eastern Europe turned down the offer. By 1952, through a program to rebuild Western Europe (called the Marshall Plan), the United States had invested \$13.3 billion.

The Soviet military forced communist governments on nations in Central and Eastern Europe. The United States wanted to limit Soviet expansion. It demanded Soviet withdrawal from northern Iran. America supported Turkey and helped Greece fight against communist revolts. When the Soviets blockaded West Berlin, a U.S. airlift brought millions of tons of supplies to the divided city.

In 1949, the communist forces of Mao Zedong took control of China. Communist North Korea invaded South Korea with the support of China and the Soviet Union in 1950. The United States got support from the United Nations, formerly the League

**sum** / 'sʌm / *noun* **plural sums**  
: an amount of money • They spent large/considerable *sums* (of money) repairing the house. • We donated a small *sum* (of money) to the charity.

**Right:** U.S. infantry fire against North Korean forces invading South Korea in 1951 in a conflict that lasted three painful years.



of Nations, for military **intervention**, and a bloody war continued into 1953. Although an **armistice** eventually was signed, U.S. troops remain in South Korea to this day.

In the 1960s, the United States helped South Vietnam defend itself against communist North Vietnam. All American troops withdrew by 1973. In 1975, North Vietnam conquered South Vietnam. The war cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and many Vietnamese “boat people” fled their nation’s new communist rulers. Americans were divided over the war and not eager to get into other foreign conflicts.

## Quiz

1. What was the Cold War?
  - A. A short-lived war against Canada
  - B. The melting of icebergs
  - C. The disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union about their systems of government
2. The Marshall Plan
  - A. Gave \$13.3 billion to rebuild Western Europe
  - B. Gave \$13.3 billion to rebuild Japan
  - C. Gave \$13.3 billion to rebuild Vietnam

**in-ter-vene** / ,ɪntəˈviːn / *verb*  
**in-ter-venes; in-ter-vened;**  
**in-ter-ven-ing**  
: to become involved in something (such as a conflict) in order to have an influence on what happens  
• The military had to *intervene* to restore order. —often + in • We need the courts to *intervene* in this dispute.  
—**in-ter-ven-tion** / ,ɪntəˈvenʃən /  
*noun plural in-ter-ven-tions*  
• This situation called for military *intervention*. • military *interventions*

**ar-mi-stice** / ˈɑːməstɪs / *noun plural ar-mi-stic-es*  
: an agreement to stop fighting a war : truce

Answers: 1. C; 2. A