

# AP<sup>®</sup> UNITED STATES HISTORY

## 2012 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 5

Compare and contrast the Cold War foreign policies of TWO of the following presidents.

Harry Truman (1945–1953)

Dwight Eisenhower (1953–1961)

Richard Nixon (1969–1974)

#### The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses the similarities and differences between the Cold War foreign policies of two of the three designated presidents within the prescribed time periods.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information regarding the Cold War foreign policies of two of the three presidents within the prescribed time periods.
- Provides effective analysis of the similarities and differences between the Cold War foreign policies of two of the three presidents during the prescribed time periods; treatment of the two presidents' Cold War foreign policies may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

#### The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a partially developed thesis that addresses the similarities and differences between the Cold War foreign policies of two of the three designated presidents within the prescribed time periods.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the similarities and differences between the Cold War foreign policies of two of the three designated presidents within the prescribed time periods; treatment of the two presidents' Cold War foreign policies may be uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

#### The 2–4 Essay

- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Provides simplistic analysis that may be generally descriptive or may address only one president's policies.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized, poorly written, or both.

#### The 0–1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Demonstrates an incompetent or inappropriate response or is off topic (zero).
- Contains numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

#### The — Essay

- Is blank.

# AP<sup>®</sup> UNITED STATES HISTORY

## 2012 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 5 (continued)

#### Potential Outside Information

##### Cold War Foreign Policy of Harry Truman (1945–1953)

- Goals included George Kennan’s policy of containment, a policy to contain the spread of communist influence in areas of strategic importance; strengthen European nations; and contain communist influence in Asian countries.
- Weakening of wartime cooperation between the Yalta and Potsdam conferences; successful development of nuclear bomb and its use in Japan may have been driven in part by desire to keep Soviet Union out of Asia as much as possible; Occupation Zones were established in Germany.
- United Nations Security Council (fall 1945) was established, with United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union as permanent members.
- Created Atomic Energy Commission (1946).
- Truman Doctrine (1947) in Greece and Turkey (\$400 million) advocated a peaceful solution, with emphasis on financial aid rather than troops, to stop spread of Soviet influence.
- Marshall Plan/European Recovery Act (1947) was overseen by George Marshall, secretary of state. Allocated \$13 billion in aid to rebuild European countries. Was offered to East and West but refused by Soviet Union and satellite states. Was generally viewed as successful at ending the communist threat in Western Europe.
- Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech warned of Soviet expansion; contributed to triggering a change in view of the West toward the Soviet Union.
- National Securities Act (1947) involved the Department of Defense, National Security Council, CIA, and Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- Berlin Airlift (1948) began after Soviet and East German communists attempted to block access to West Berlin to force United States, English, and French interests out. United States planes flew in supplies for 11 months.
- NSC-68 focused on a military buildup to eliminate communist influence in the world.
- Communist government was established in the People’s Republic of China.
- The United States wanted to face down aggression in Korea (no “Asian Munich”); did not want Cold War/Korea to erupt into world war. As a result, Truman sent in troops.
- Nuclear arms race arose as the Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb (1949); in 1952 the United States made a hydrogen bomb; the Soviet Union followed in 1953.
- Rio Pact/Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed.
- The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in 1949 as a military alliance among Western European countries, the United States, and Canada; it involved a military buildup and commitment to mutually defend members.
- Second Red Scare (as related to foreign policy) involved espionage cases; Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury for likely having passed information to communists. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were found guilty of treason for spying and executed. McCarthyism challenged domestic unity (NOTE: must be applied to foreign policy to be considered relevant).

##### Cold War Foreign Policy of Dwight Eisenhower (1953–1961)

- Goals were to stop communists from overtaking the United States in the world; end Korean War; compete with the Soviet Union in the race to space.
- Wanted to interfere with the Warsaw Pact (formed in 1955).
- Attempted to roll back communism and push communists back to pre-1945 borders.
- Diplomacy by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who believed that containment was too passive, advocated “New Look” (challenging Soviet Union and China, “liberating captive nations”).

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## 2012 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 5 (continued)

- Brinkmanship involved pushing Soviets to brink of war, from which they would back down because of United States nuclear superiority.
- Massive retaliation was planned, involving more emphasis on air power and nuclear weapons; “mutually assured destruction.”
- Domino Theory in Southeast Asia said that if one nation falls, others will fall like dominos.
- Ended Korean War in 1953, but country was split into North (communist) and South (anticommunist).
- In Vietnam/Indochina, the United States supported France in its conflict in Vietnam; Eisenhower refused to send United States troops. Gave over \$1 billion in aid to prop up South Vietnam and sent military advisers; refused to sign Geneva Accords Final Declaration but agreed to “refrain from . . . use of force.”
- Federal Highway Act financed federal highway program across the country in part to allow faster military traffic within the United States and quick mobility in case of attack.
- CIA covert actions included overthrowing government in Iran for shah; overthrowing leftist government in Guatemala; supporting many questionable Latin American leaders.
- Formosa Resolution established United States policy of supporting Taiwan militarily.
- SEATO (1954) regional defense pact was signed by eight nations but had limited effectiveness.
- Radio Free Europe and Voice of America received support.
- Hungarian Revolt (1956) was a popular uprising in Hungary initially successful at overthrowing the government. Khrushchev sent in tanks to crush the new government, and the United States did not respond. Ended Dulles talk of liberating Eastern Europe.
- In the Middle East balanced Arab nations against support for Israel; attempted to bring in pro-Western culture in the Middle East; supported but did not join the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO).
- In the Suez Crisis (1956), Nasser turned to the Soviet Union for support to build Aswan Dam, nationalized Suez Canal. Britain, France, and Israel conducted surprise attack on Egypt in response. United States sponsored UN resolution condemning the action and they withdrew.
- Arab nations and Venezuela formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).
- Eisenhower Doctrine (1957) involved a pledge of economic and military aid in Middle East if threatened by communism. Eisenhower sent 5,000 marines to Lebanon in 1958 to suppress leftist uprising (1958) in Beirut; they left in October.
- *Sputnik* was launched by USSR in 1957; United States launched *Explorer I* in 1958.
- The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created in 1958.
- National Defense Education Act of 1958 was passed to help students advance in math, science, and foreign languages, to get (and stay) ahead of communist nations.
- Khrushchev visited Eisenhower at Camp David in 1959 and endorsed “peaceful coexistence”; agreed to summit in 1960.
- Cuban Revolution took place in 1959, in which Fidel Castro overthrew Fulgencio Batista and nationalized British-American oil refineries (1960). Eisenhower imposed embargo (1960) and suspended diplomatic relations (1961); he also authorized CIA training of Cuban exiles.
- U-2 spy plane (1960) flew over Russia and crashed; at first Eisenhower denied knowledge of the spy mission of Francis Gary Powers.
- Arms race involved IRBMs in Europe and ICBMs in the United States.
- “Military-industrial complex” became a popular term; in Eisenhower’s farewell address he warned the nation about letting the military-industrial complex get too much influence.

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## 2012 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 5 (continued)

#### Cold War Foreign Policy of Richard Nixon (1969–1974)

- Henry Kissinger was instrumental in Nixon's policy of détente to drive a wedge between China and the Soviet Union.
- Wanted to stop communists from overtaking the United States and the world; end Vietnam War — “Peace with Honor” (1968).
- Prop up repressive regimes in Iran (shah), Chile (Pinochet), etc.
- Nixon Doctrine (1969) provided economic and advisory aid to nations threatened with communist takeover but insisted these nations take primary responsibility for self-defense; United States to keep all standing treaties.
- Vietnam policy included the following:
  - Vietnamization (1969)
  - Expanded bombing of Cambodia (1969); invasion of Cambodia (1970)
  - United States troop withdrawal of 540,000 (1969) to 50,000 (1973); “Peace is at hand” before 1972 election; “Christmas bombings,” saturation bombing of North Vietnam (December 1972)
  - Ongoing Paris Peace Talks; United States demands for communist withdrawal from South; recognition of Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Paris Peace Accords (1973), with United States and South Vietnam signing agreement with North Vietnam; United States guaranteed integrity of independent South. War resumed between North and South after United States withdrawal.
- China policy included the following:
  - “Ping Pong Diplomacy”
  - Kissinger secret talks with China (1971)
  - People's Republic of China representatives on UN Security Council
  - Nixon visit to China in 1972
  - United States recognition of People's Republic of China
- Détente with USSR involved thawing of relations.
- Arms race continued at first but then SALT I and Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty were signed; strengthened relations with communist China to put a wedge between China and the Soviet Union.
- Israel received aid in its Yom Kippur War (1973); Kissinger negotiated cease-fire.
- “Shuttle Diplomacy” took place in Middle East.
- OPEC oil embargo/boycott took place.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

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| Part A — Mandatory<br><b>1</b> | Part B — Circle one<br><b>2 or 3</b> | Part C — Circle one<br><b>4 or 5</b> |
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5A  
(p. 10 of 3)

The Cold War between the US and the USSR was a long, complicated era of fear, tension, and animosity. Right after ~~the~~ World War II, the US and the USSR started having ideological and political disputes over territories and communism. This became a full blown Cold War when ~~the~~ Berlin was blockaded by the Soviets but was aided by America with an airlift. As Winston Churchill, prime minister of Britain, had said, an iron curtain had descended between the East and the West, communist and noncommunist. Different presidents had different ways of dealing with this new threat to America. Dwight Eisenhower had a policy of ~~brinkmanship~~ brinkmanship, while Richard Nixon believed in a state of détente. However, both ~~the~~ believed that communism should be contained, and that the United States had to come out of the war as a victor.

When Eisenhower became president, he had a specific policy to follow. Brinkmanship was the idea of constantly putting the enemy on edge. The use, or possession, of nuclear weapons would serve as both a threat and a deterrent to the enemy. This was known as "Mutually Assured Destruction." ~~Further~~ In addition, under Eisenhower, America was spurred on an arms race, especially when the Soviets launched Sputnik. From then on, ~~the~~ America raced to build weapons, and further technology in order to go into space. Ultimately, this was achieved in Kennedy's presidency, where the Apollo Project sent men to the moon. Under Eisenhower, the US was constantly competing with the USSR to ensure that it would always have the upper hand. Falling behind would mean failure and, potentially, destruction.

Nixon's approach to the Civil War was very different. Instead of threatening constantly, he decided on diplomacy. Nixon broke barriers when he went to China in what is known as ping-pong diplomacy. The fact that Nixon went to China ~~shows~~ shows his willingness to compromise, since the United States

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5A  
(2023)

hadn't even recognized China because of its communist ideology. The visit to China was also a brilliant move because it put the Russians ~~and the Soviets~~ on a bad spot: ~~But~~ the USSR and China were not friendly, so by having good relations with China, this allowed more negotiations with ~~the~~ the Soviets. Nixon and the leader of Russia, Khrushchev, eventually worked out an agreement called the SALT I treaty. This limited the amount of nuclear arms on both sides, which eased tensions considerably and put the two superpowers at a détente. In other words, the United States and the Soviet Union coexisted somewhat peacefully; although underlying tensions did exist, the surface was calm. Nixon's diplomatic approach was suitable for the time, especially since Stalin was no longer alive.

Although both presidents had their differences in foreign policy, they were quite similar in that both believed in the stop of communism. Eisenhower, a war general, had little qualms about containing communism at the expense of human life. The Central Intelligence Agency was often used for the purpose of covert operation. Nixon too, was not afraid to use force. Having been a member of the anti-Communist HUAC, he strongly believed in stopping and eradicating it. ~~###~~ Though Nixon had stated that America was beginning "Vietnamization", or the gradual ~~with~~ replacement of American troops with South Vietnam ones, he actually increased military presence in the region. The bombings in Cambodia showed just that. In a response to the many wars and secret attacks, Congress did pass the War Powers Act to limit the president, but Nixon still pushed for his anti-communist agenda.

To conclude, the Cold War policies of Eisenhower and Nixon had their similarities and differences. Eisenhower believed in a more

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5A  
(383)

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aggressive stance, ~~showing~~ showing the Soviets brinkmanship and ~~the~~ the threat of mutually assured destruction. Nixon, on the other hand, negotiated his way through foreign policy with pragmatic diplomacy and the SALT I Treaty. Both of them were certainly not "soft on communism" and ~~the~~ fought the Cold War with all their presidential power could muster. ~~These~~ Whether or not one policy was better than the other is not known; both of them were integral to American history and the fall of the Soviet Union. Both contributed to American victory of the Cold War.

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SB

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(p. 103)

In the cold war, Presidents Truman and Eisenhower had different means of achieving the same goal. They both believed in the policy of containment and distrusted the Soviets, however Truman was more indirect in his attempts to stop communist expansion whereas Eisenhower was bolder and treaded with less caution than his predecessor.

Both Truman and Eisenhower believed in the policy of containment, that is, the ~~attitude~~<sup>tolerance</sup> of communism where it already exists but the active attempt to stop its spread. Both had a distrust of the Soviets and did not attempt many peace talks the way future Presidents like Nixon and Reagan had. Under their lead, the nations saw Soviets as soulless menaces and communism the great evil they wished to unleash upon the world. However, where their ideals were quite similar, the actions they took were considerably different.

Truman's policy was the more indirect of the two Presidents. He never attacked or threatened attack

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SB  
(p2 of 3)

On the Soviets, but while still in World War II he released 2 Atomic bombs on the Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki to warn Soviets not to mess with American might. Furthermore, his plan for containment consisted mainly of giving struggling countries money to stabilize their economy and make communism unnecessary. Such was the course of action under the Marshall Plan which provided money for Greece and Turkey in the middle of rebellion, and such was the policy named the Truman Doctrine.

Eisenhower was more upfront with his opposition to the spread of communism. The Eisenhower-Dwight Policy consisted of direct military threats to unleash nuclear weapons if the Soviet Union didn't back down from ~~an area~~ attempting to convert ~~an area~~ <sup>an area</sup> to communism. He was more militaristic and refused to let communism spread anywhere it did not already exist. This probably stemmed from his past position as a general during WWII. However, Eisenhower rarely took actual action against the Soviet Union.

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SB  
(P 3 of 3)

He was limited to his threats whereas Truman actually provided struggling nations with money and actually dropped a bomb on Japan, twice.

Eisenhower and Truman, while having differing means to achieve their end goal, were in fact very similar when compared to other cold war presidents. They were the only two who did not attempt peace talks with soviet leaders, and some of the only ones not involved in the Vietnam War. However, it was their end goal which marked their greatest similarity: To stop the spread of communism wherever a country may be at risk.

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5C  
(p. 1 of 2)

The Cold War was a pretty big deal.

With the threat of nuclear war on the doorstep & the end of the human race seeming inevitable, it could be said that it was pretty important for presidents to have Cold War foreign policies.

Truman felt like the big brother of the world after he nixed Japan. At that point,

America was the only one w/ atomic weapons.

Truman could essentially threaten anybody to do anything simply because we had a bomb. It was much like a

~~parent~~ parent to child relationship. The mother tells the child to do something, the child asks

why. Truman ~~says~~ says, "Because I'm your mom with a bomb." And for a while that worked until the

Soviets tested, a successfully, an atomic bomb. Either

that or Rasputin came back from the dead. (Did he actually ever die?) So Truman's excuse of wanting to

bomb everyone because we were the only ones with it was no longer feasible.

Nixon, on the other hand, was much ~~more~~ softer in his approach. ~~He actually went~~ He

decided that it would be a better idea to make

friends with a bunch of communists than threaten to kill them. He actually ~~fraking~~ went to China & shook hands

with Mao Zedong, and Americans just sat back & let it happen. No big deal. This was only allowed

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

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50  
(p 2 of 2)

because of Nixon's hardcore Republican background. He was the farthest thing from a Communist. This made the USSR a little confused so they asked to be friends w/ us too. So, Nixon pretty much ~~single~~ single-handedly ended the Cold War.

In about 30 million years, the Andromeda galaxy will collide w/ the Milky Way & reality as we know it will cease to exist. Have a nice day.

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## 2012 SCORING COMMENTARY

### Question 5

#### Overview

This question asked students to compare and contrast the Cold War policies of two of three presidential administrations (Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and Richard Nixon). The intent of the question was not only to determine students' knowledge of the Cold War foreign policies of each of their selected presidents within the designated years but also to explore the strategic similarities and differences between the administrations, demonstrating change over time regarding presidential Cold War foreign policy. The question was straightforward and specific. Supporting the comparative argument that the prompt demanded encouraged students to take a broad view of the Cold War as well as to demonstrate their understanding of the specific Cold War foreign policies of the individual presidents and to provide relevant historical information in support of their essay. Because students could not use the administrations of John Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson, they were forced to forgo discussion of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the height of the Vietnam War (1961–1969) — all areas very familiar to them.

#### Sample: 5A

**Score: 9**

The thesis in this well-written essay is highly developed, with an effective comparison and a highly nuanced analysis that demonstrates an understanding of the complexity of foreign relations during the Cold War. The essay provides an abundance of information to support its argument. The minor error (“Civil War”) does not detract from the overall quality of the response.

#### Sample: 5B

**Score: 5**

This essay offers a workable thesis that compares and contrasts the foreign policies of Truman and Eisenhower. Although the evidence is somewhat limited, the essay offers some accurate and appropriate information for both presidents. The analysis is competent and supports the basic thesis, but its characterization of Truman as “indirect” and Eisenhower as “more militaristic” is simplistic enough to have kept the essay from earning a higher score.

#### Sample: 5C

**Score: 2**

This essay has a very limited thesis, simply noting that it is important that presidents have “foreign policies.” The essay demonstrates little relevant information other than Nixon’s China policy. The lack of apparent comparison between Truman and Nixon made this a low-scoring essay.