

Reasons for the Cold War

1.1 Long Term Rivalry Between the Soviet Union and the West

East - West Relations

- November 1943: Tehran Conference: 'Big Three' met to plan war strategy
- February 1945: Yalta Conference: 'Big Three' discussed arrangements for the post-war world
- May 1945: VE Day (Victory in Europe): Allies defeated Hitler's Germany
- August 1945: USA dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan
- July 1945: Potsdam Conference: 'Big Three' agreed to split Germany

Grand Alliance

- Between 1941 - 1945: Britain, USA, and the USSR fought together against Hitler's Germany in WWII
- Leaders:
 - USA- Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR, 32nd US President)
 - Britain - Winston Churchill
 - USSR - Joseph Stalin
- 3 countries had an informal agreement that Churchill later called the 'Grand Alliance'
- By 1945, Grand Alliance was close to winning the war
 - Britain and France attacked Germany from the west and the south
 - April 24, 1945 Soviet and US forces met at River Elbe in central Germany and later reached the German capital Berlin
- At the end, Stalin didn't trust the US and wanted to capture Berlin first
 - as a result, 70,000 Soviet soldiers died

Deteriorating Relations

- Soviet troops had taken control of large parts of Berlin and Hitler accepted that Germany was beaten at the end of April 1945
- Hitler married his long time girlfriend Eva Braun and committed suicide together on April 30
- Germany formally surrendered on May 8
- each of the two 'superpowers' used propaganda, spying and the threat of war to try to force its view on the other
- military alliances were formed and huge arsenals of conventional and nuclear weapons were developed

- fortunately, those weapons were never used

Ideological Differences Between Communism and Capitalism

- USSR feared that the West wanted to impose their beliefs on the Soviet people
- USA and USSR believed in two different ideologies

Differences Between Nations

	Soviet Union	USA and Britain
Politics	Single-party rule	Free elections with a choice of parties to vote
Social structure	Classless society, everyone is equal	some people have more power than others (because of family background, wealth, education or personal achievements)
Economy	All property owned by the state, no individual ownership	Private ownership and a competition between businesses
Rights	Rights of all workers more important than individual rights	Individual freedom valued but limited by majority opinion

Early Conflict

the Revolution:

- Russia fought on the same side as Britain and France (and later USA) in WWI (1914-1918)
- Russian revolution: Bolshevik (later called communist) government took over in October 1917
- Bolsheviks faced opposition to their rule within Russia and could not fight a civil war in their own country and a war against Germany
- Russia made a peace treaty with Germany and dropped out of the WWI
- Britain, USA and France were furious that Russia had made a peace treaty with Germany and disapproved of Bolsheviks' political beliefs
- Britain, USA, and France sent forces to Russia to support the Bolshevik opponents to defeat the Bolsheviks and bring Russia back into the war
- the west failed in both counts
- Bolsheviks were left with no doubts that the West wanted them overthrown

Deteriorating Relations in the 1920s and 1930s

Bolsheviks won the civil war and in 1922 Russia changed its name to the Soviet Union and was run as a communist country.

- 1933: Britain, France and Italy agreed to allow Hitler to take over parts of Czechoslovakia which contained large numbers of ethnic Germans
 - Soviet Union and Nazi Germany were bitter enemies of Czechoslovakia was close to the border of the Soviet Union but Stalin was not consulted for his opinion
 - Stalin realized that the Western powers had no interest in a friendly relationship with his country
- Relations worsened before the outbreak of WWII
 - Britain and France knew that Hitler wanted to take over Poland but also knew that he would not invade because the Soviet Union also wanted to take over parts of Poland which would not allow Hitler to conquer it
 - August 1939: Hitler and Stalin signed the **Nazi-Soviet Pact** agreeing to split Poland between them
 - Britain and France felt betrayed by Stalin's actions, but he had come to realize that they had no interest in helping the Soviet Union
- September 1939: Both USSR and German forces entered Poland and took control
 - Britain and France had no choice but to declare war on Germany (WWII start)
 - Hitler invaded USSR in June 1941 and Soviet Union and the West came together

Tensions and Disagreements During the Second World War

'the Big Three' - Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin

- Churchill and Roosevelt feared that Stalin wanted to install communism in the Eastern European countries that Germany had conquered
- Stalin feared that Churchill and wanted to see Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union fight a long war, destroying the resources of both countries and making both weak after the war
 - Stalin saw this reasoning as the cause for the Britain and the USA not opening a second front until 1944
- After the defeat of Germany, the Western Allies continued to fight together against Japan
- Americans dropped two atomic bombs on Japan on August 1945
 - Stalin was not informed until the development until the very last moment
 - he was worried that this was done because the Americans might be thinking of using such bombs against the USSR in the future

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945)	President of the USA: 1933-45	Believed strongly in democracy but compromised and formed an alliance with Stalin. After Pearl Harbor in 1941, Roosevelt thought he would need Soviet support against Japan. His desire for Soviet support explains why he was not always as tough in negotiations with Stalin as Churchill would have liked. Roosevelt believed any long-term settlement would only be possible if the Soviet Union was accepted as a superpower and partner in peace.
Winston Churchill (1874-1965)	Prime minister of Britain: 1940-1945, 1951-55	Conservative from an aristocratic family. Churchill had very traditional values and believed strongly in British Empire at a time when others like FDR thought colonies should be allowed freedom to rule themselves. His political attitudes made him deeply suspicious of Stalin. He saw his role as trying to stop Soviet expansion
Joseph Stalin (1878 - 1953)	Leader of the Soviet Union: 1920s - 1953	Stalin strengthened one-party rule in the Soviet Union and cut back on people's individual rights. He was convinced that the West wanted to destroy communism, so the USSR had to stand firm in any negotiations with the Western 'superpowers', the USA, and its close ally, Britain. He believed it was important to keep Germany weak and set up an area of pro-Soviet countries as a 'buffer zone' between Germany and the Soviet Union

1.2 Conferences at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam

Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam Conferences

The leaders of the Grand Alliance nations met three times during the war: at Tehran (1943), Yalta (1945), and Potsdam (July 1945).

Tehran, November 1943

- Grand alliance first met in Tehran to plan a winning strategy to end the war and agreed that:
 - USA and Britain would open a 'second front' by launching an attack on Germany in Western Europe. This would ease pressure on the Eastern Front, where the Soviets were suffering heavy losses. Germans would then have to take troops from the USSR to fight in the West
 - Stalin would declare war against Japan and supply Soviet troops to help the war with the war against Japan - but only once the war in Europe is over
 - the Big Three also discussed what would happen to Germany and the countries east of Germany after the war. There was no formal agreement, but it was agreed in general that the aim of the war was to bring about complete surrender of Germany and that it should remain weak after the war.

- Poland should receive land from Germany, but Soviet Union could keep land it had seized from Poland in 1939. This was important to Stalin whose ultimate aim was to secure his western borders after the war
- General agreement that an international body should be set up to settle disputes through discussions and negotiations rather than war. Later led to the creation of the United Nations
- Stalin arrived in Tehran concerned that the USA and Britain were deliberately delaying a second front against Germany, so he was pleased with the agreement to open a front in the West.
- Churchill was less pleased because he had wanted to open the second front in the Balkans, not in the West but Roosevelt sided with Stalin to open in Western Europe.
- There was some tensions between the USA and Britain - especially as Roosevelt seemed at times to view British colonialism as more of a threat to world peace than Soviet Union. the Big three was also becoming the Big Two as the USA and USSR would be only global superpowers.

Yalta, February 1945

- Two years after the Tehran Conference, the Big Three held a second meeting at Yalta in the Soviet Union.
- They discussed how to bring the war against Germany to a successful conclusion and the government of post-war Europe.
- Soviets had defeated the Germans in the Soviet Union and now had control of most of central and Eastern Europe.
- Stalin was determined to keep the territory he had won between the Soviet border and Germany as a cushion against German invasions
- Agreements:
 - After the war, Germany would be split into four zones. They would each be controlled by different powers: USA, USSR, France, and Britain. Germany would pay 20 Billion Dollars in reparations, half of which would go to the Soviet Union. Nazi party would be banned and war criminals prosecuted
 - United Nations would be set up, with its first meeting on April 25, 1945. All nations could join, but the USA and France did not agree with Stalin's suggestion that all 16 Soviet republics should be given individual membership. instead, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus were admitted.
 - Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan, 3 months after the defeat of Germany
 - Stalin agreed that future governments of countries in Eastern Europe would be decided in free elections
 - Poland proved to be the major issue. It was agreed that the borders of Poland would be returned to their position in 1921 (giving the Soviets significant gains) and that there would be free elections. However, Stalin expected those elections to bring about pro-communist government, whereas the British supported the non-communist London Poles

Roosevelt and Stalin were pleased to get agreement on free elections and the United Nations, but the issue of Poland was to prove a difficult one to solve in future discussions

Potsdam, July - August 1945

Conference at Potsdam, near Berlin.

- Crucial events that happened between Yalta and Potsdam conference that influenced the Potsdam conference.
 - Roosevelt died in April 1945 and was replaced by Harry S. Truman
 - Winston Churchill lost the 1945 British general election to Clement Attlee
 - Germany surrendered in May 1945
 - Scientists in the USA developed an atomic bomb (which was successfully tested)
 - United Nations was created in the Treaty of San Francisco in June 1945. Eventually, 51 members signed the treaty. The USA, USSR, France, Britain and China were made permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, with the power to veto resolutions they disapprove of.
- new personalities meant different relations:
 - Compared to Roosevelt and Churchill, Truman and Attlee were new to diplomatic discussions. It was much harder for them to get their way with Stalin.
 - Truman was determined to take a 'get touch' approach with Stalin. He was much more suspicious about Stalin's motives than Roosevelt had been and believed the Soviet were keen to spread communism worldwide and bring down capitalist democracy. He took harder line in discussions. He also deliberately delayed the date of the conference until the atomic bomb was ready to give him an edge in discussions.
 - As newly elected prime minister, Attlee's main concern was to return to Britain to take charge and he did not want the talks to drag on
- Agreements:
 - Germany would be divided into four zones, administered by the Soviet Union, the USA, USSR, Britain, and France, but German economy would be run as a whole
 - German capital, Berlin, would also be divided into four zones controlled by different countries even though it was well inside the Soviet controlled Germany
 - Soviet Union wanted Germany to pay heavy reparations, but Truman was concerned that this would make it harder for the German economy to recover. It was agreed that each administering country should take reparations from its own zone. As the USSR controlled the poorest zone, it was allowed to take a quarter of the industrial equipment from the other zones
 - Agreement was not reached over the government of Eastern Europe. Truman objected to the control that the USSR had over the countries it had liberated from German rule. He was beginning to think that as the Soviet forces were not leaving the countries they have liberated, Stalin was actually using them as an army of occupation. However, without risking further war, there was little Truman could do.

- Truman also objected to the arrangements for Poland and the borders that had previously agreed. In addition, he wanted to see a new government with less communist influence
- Although the leaders agreed to issues in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, by August 1945 it was clear that there were now significant issues that could not be agreed on
 - Stalin wanted control of Eastern Europe to ensure the security of the USSR
 - in his view, getting control of Eastern Europe was a reasonable defensive measure
 - Truman believed that Stalin was trying to spread communism and saw his ambitions as examples of communist aggression

Impact of the Atomic Bomb on US - USSR Relations

- August 6, 1945: USA exploded an atomic bomb over Hiroshima
- August 9, 1945: USA exploded the second atomic bomb over Nagasaki
- Some historians argue that the USA could have won the war against Japan without using nuclear weapons claiming that the USA used it to establish a stronger negotiating position with the USSR
- Stalin felt even more determined to make the Soviet Union secure as a result of American atomic bomb
- Stalin's immediate aim was to create a buffer zone of countries sympathetic to communism between Germany and the Soviet Union's western borders
- USA's nuclear monopoly did not last. USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb on August 29, 1949.

2.1

Growing East - West Divisions 1946 - 1949:

- February 1946: Long Telegram
- March 1946: Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech
- November 1946: Novikov Telegram
- March 1947: Truman doctrine announced
- June 1947: Marshall Aid plan announced
- September 1947: First Cominform meeting
- February 1948: Communist takeover Czechoslovakia
- June 1948: Berlin Blockade set up
- January 1949: Comecon established
- April 1949: NATO formed
- September 1949: Official founding of the Federal Republic of Germany
- October 1949: German Democratic Republic established

Creation of Soviet Satellite States in Eastern Europe

In 1944 and 1945, the Soviet Red Army freed many countries in Eastern Europe from the Nazis as it advanced west towards Germany. When the war was over, Stalin did not want to give up control of these countries as they were a useful buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany.

- Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (sometimes called the Baltic States): conquered by the Soviet Union in 1940
- Yugoslavia and Albania: communist countries. They were never occupied by the Soviet Red Army, so had more independence than other countries bordering the USSR
- Stalin turned six other countries into satellite states with communist governments with little independence. Truman saw this as evidence that the USSR wanted to spread communism world wide
- From 1919, Czechoslovakia was the only democracy in Eastern Europe. After WWII, a coalition tried to restore the pre-war democracy. Stalin saw this as a threat to the secure buffer zone he was trying to set up. Supported by the USSR, communists overthrew the Czech president in February 1948 and a communist government was set up under Klement Gottwald
- In 1944, Poles rebelled against German occupation in the Warsaw Uprising. USSR had promised to help them, but, instead of doing so, the Red Army waited until the uprising had been crushed. Only then did they invade Poland to put a pro-communist government in place. At first, it included some of the London Poles, but after supposedly free elections in 1947, they were forced to flee or being put in prison
- Hungary: elections in 1945. Some communists were elected but not enough to form a government. In the next elections, in 1947, voters were threatened in a campaign supported by Moscow and a Communist Party government was elected. By 1949, Hungary was a one-party communist state
- In 1944 & 1945, the Soviet Red Army took control of Bulgaria, Romania and the eastern parts of Germany. As in Poland, there were 'free' elections, but, in reality, voters were frightened into voting communist party candidates. Communist governments were elected in all three areas.

Rising Tensions

Both Truman and Stalin were worried about how their rivals were thinking and, in 1946, both asked their embassies to report on attitudes in each other's countries. These reports came in the form of telegrams - a written message sent over a telegraph line

- Soviet Attitudes: George Kennan's view in the long telegram:
 - George Kennan, the USA's ambassador in Moscow lived and worked in the USSR as a diplomat
 - when he sent a telegram, his view were taken seriously by the american government
 - although most telegrams were very short, Kennan's telegram was more like a letter, so his message became known as the 'Long Telegram'
 - Message worried the American Government:
 - He reported that Stalin wanted to see the destruction of capitalism and felt the world outside of the Soviet Union was unfriendly and looking to destroy communism

- Kennan also believed that the USSR was not self-destructive, so if faced with strong resistance, it would soften its position
 - this message played a key role in American policy towards the USSR
- American government agreed with Kennan that there should be a determined policy of 'containment' to stop communism from spreading
- US Attitudes: view of Nikolai Novikov
 - Nikolai Novikov was a Soviet diplomat working in Washington
 - Telegram showed that Soviets equally did not trust the West
 - said USA wanted to use its massive military power to dominate the world
 - Since Roosevelt's death, the Americans no longer wanted to co-operate with the Soviet Union and the American people would support their government if they led to war
 - Told Moscow that it's vital to develop as much protection as possible in Eastern Europe
 - Stalin accepted what Novikov said and the telegram further encouraged him to take control of the countries on his border
- British PoV: Winston Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech
 - March 1946: Winston Churchill was no longer British prime minister but still had enormous influence
 - On a visit to Fulton, Missouri, USA, he gave a speech that is now seen as defining moment in US-Soviet relations
 - he made it clear that he thought the Soviet Union was a threat to freedom and world peace
 - chose to make this speech because communist governments had recently been set up in Hungary, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria
 - Stalin thought that Churchill was reflecting American beliefs
 - the speech, along with Novikov Telegram increased tensions and led the USSR to strengthen its forces and step up a campaign of anti - western propaganda

2.2 Impact of US-Soviet Relations of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

Truman Doctrine - Stating the US Position

- USA hoped that wealthier European countries such as Britain might be able to help rebuild Europe's broken economies
- But after 6 years of war, Britain was nearly bankrupt and could not provide aid to other countries
- British government announced in 1947 that it could no longer provide military support to the Greek government against communist guerrillas and President Truman decided it was time for the USA to take action
- March 12 1947: President Truman delivered a speech to the US Congress

- officially given to announce economic aid package to Greece and Turkey
- USA would provide 400 Million Dollars in aid to Greece and Turkey and send American civilian and military personnel to the region
- Truman saw the opportunity to make a clear statement of what he saw as the differences between democracy and communism
 - majority rule and freedom from political oppression
 - will of the minority to be forced upon majority
- he said communism should not be allowed to grow and that the USA was prepared to send troops and economic aid to those countries trying to resist it
- these ideas became known as the 'Truman Doctrine' and indicated the beginnings of new approach to international relations for the USA
- Isolationist policy used before WWII was abandoned and replaced with containment

Marshall Plan - Fighting Communism with Financial Aid

- USA did not suffer damages to the infrastructure and industry
- three months after Truman's speech, details were given on how that aid would be provided in a speech by the US secretary of state, George Marshall
- Marshall Plan was a practical outcome of the Truman Doctrine
 - providing economic aid to help war-torn countries in order to stop communism from taking over in Western Europe
 - Between 1948-1952 the USA gave 13.7 Billion Dollars of aid in addition to 13 Billion already given by the USA before the Marshall Plan went into action
- Economic impact of Marshall Aid in western Europe was enormous

Dollar Imperialism - Soviet Response

- Truman thought of the new policy as a defensive measure to contain communism but Stalin did not see it that way
- Stalin believed that Truman was trying to extend his influence in Europe and weakened the international role of the United Nations by suggesting that it was the USA's job to protect the world
- Stalin argued that the Marshall Plan was a way of using economic might to divide Europe in two and establish an American economic empire there.
- Soviets called this 'dollar imperialism'
- Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan's international reactions:
 - Any remaining belief that there was still a Grand Alliance was gone as the USA set itself up as the opposition to the USSR
 - Stalin's suspicions of the West are strengthened. He believed he now had evidence that the USA was trying to destroy the Soviet Union

- Marshall Plan successfully tied Western European countries into supporting the USA. As Stalin rejected it, Europe became divided into two economic and political camps
- History of Europe for the next 50 years became one of extreme rivalry between the two superpowers and attempts to win diplomatic and political victories over its opponents

Formation of Cominform and Comecon

- Marshall plan set Stalin an economic and political challenge so he set up two organisations for communist countries:
 - Cominform: the Communist Information Bureau, was a political organization set up in 1947
 - Comecon, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, was an economic organization setup in 1949
- Stalin strengthening power in turn led to a stand-off in Berlin in 1948 and the USA and Western European countries creating a military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949
- Cominform, 1947
 - set up on Stalin's orders on September 22 1947.
 - association of communist parties from all over Europe
 - new body gave Stalin a way of directing and controlling the governments of the satellite states
 - rejected the Marshall Plan in the first meeting
 - spread propaganda and accused America of being no different from Nazi Germany
 - responsible for ending opposition to Moscow and ensuring the loyalty of Eastern European governments
- Comecon, 1949
 - Stalin knew he needed to offer a positive alternative to American aid
 - Comecon was established on January 25 1942, 2 years after the Marshall Plan was announced
 - Including USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania

2.3 1948 Berlin Crisis and its Consequences

Germany Divided

- agreement at Potsdam on dividing the occupied land was meant to be temporary but ended up lasting for many years
- Allied Control Commission (ACC) was the central organization for the four zones
- disagreement between the powers
 - Soviets wanted to extract as much materials as possible to rebuilt their country
 - Western countries wanted to rebuild up Germany's economy for Germany to become a wealthy trading partner and to resist spread of communism

- December 1947: talks between the foreign ministers of the occupying powers broke down and the Soviets stormed out

Uniting the Western Zones

- with Soviets no longer co-operating, the remaining allies France, USA, and Britain had to decide how to run their part of Germany.
- the British and the Americans had already combined their zones into Bizonia in 1947 and in March 1948, the French added theirs to create Trizonia
- Result was that Germany and Berlin was split into two parts, western Trizonia and eastern Soviet-controlled Germany
- June 1948: three allies created a single currency, the Deutschmark, to give Trizonia an economic unity
- Soviets were furious about two decisions
 - new single currency separating economic unit from the East
 - two Germanys: West and East
- Stalin thought of this as 'ganging up' on the USSR

Berlin Blockade

- Stalin knew that the Western occupied zones of Berlin were easy to attack as they were entirely surrounded by Soviet-occupied territory
- June 1948: Stalin decided to shut off the land routes across Soviet-controlled Germany into Berlin known as the "Berlin Blockade" and wanted to show that a separated Germany would not work
- he thought that food and resources would run out and would be a huge propaganda win for him with a huge cost to the West
- Truman could not ignore as he made a speech about defending the world from communism

Berlin Airlift

- June 26: Western Allies began Operation Vittles, known as the Berlin Airlift
- flew food, coal and other essential supplies into the city from the Allied Zones
- pilots took a huge risk as they could not be sure the Soviets would not shoot them down
- People of West Berlin and Western Troops in the city joined together to create a new airport at Tegel so that supplies could land
- May 9, 1949: Soviets gave in and lifted the blockade
- Airlift had worked and West Berlin survived.

Creation of East and West Germany

- After the blockade, it was clear that division of Germany will continue.
- Western allies quickly moved to create a separate West Germany

- May 8, 1949: 3 days after the blockade, USA, Britain and France permitted their zones to come together as a stake of Federal Republic of Germany
- August 14, 1949: Germans in the new country were allowed to elect their own parliament called the Bundestag
- September 15, 1949: First democratically elected chancellor of the Federal Republic, Konrad Adenauer took office
- Federal Republic's new capital was Bonn
- new country was much bigger than East Germany
- three Western-controlled zones of Berlin
- Stalin responded by creating the German Democratic Republic in October 1949

Creation of NATO

- Stalin's threat to Berlin and the communist takeover in Czechoslovakia persuaded the Western powers to form a military alliance for protection
- April 1949: USA, Britain, France and nine other western countries joined together in the NATO
- agreed that if any member was attacked, all members would come to its assistance