On April 23rd, Truman confronted Molotov on the Soviet plans for their control over western Europe.

**Potsdam Conference (17th July – 2nd August 1945)**

The ‘Big Three’ had changed since Yalta following the death of Roosevelt and Churchill’s loss of power. Truman replaced Roosevelt and Attlee replaced Churchill.

**Issues:**
- To decide on the terms for Japan’s surrender
- The fate of Poland – the Oder-Neisse line (Polish-German border)
- How and who would take control of Germany following the Second World War
- The reparations of Allied countries and the overseeing of German reparations

**Changes between Yalta and Potsdam:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalta</th>
<th>Potsdam</th>
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<tr>
<td>Germany would be split into 4 zones</td>
<td>There were arguments about the details of the zones</td>
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<tr>
<td>A government of ‘National Unity’ was to be set up in Poland, comprising of both Communists and non-Communists</td>
<td>Truman was angry because Stalin had arrested the non-communist leaders of Poland</td>
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<td>There were to be free elections in the countries of eastern Europe. This part of the agreement was called the Declaration of Liberated Europe.</td>
<td>America and Britain were alarmed because communists were coming to power in the countries of Eastern Europe</td>
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<td>Russia would help against Japan when Germany was defeated.</td>
<td>Truman was planning to drop the atomic bomb on Japan so that it would surrender before Russian troops could go into the country. America had the bomb in July 1945, but Truman did not tell Stalin about it. When this happened, Stalin was angered with Truman and trust was lost between the two.</td>
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**Outcome of the Conference:**
- Germany would be divided into zones, as agreed in Yalta
The First Area of Dispute between East and West (1945-1949)

Kennan’s Long Telegram (22nd February 1946)

George. F. Kennan was a Junior Official in the US Embassy in Moscow.

Truman wanted to make a stand against the USSR in Turkey, and this was shown in a note written to the Secretary of State: ‘Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language, another war is in the making. Only one language do they understand – ‘how many divisions have you?...’ I’m tired of babying Soviets’.

The ‘Long Telegram’ is viewed as being the foundation in shaping US policy towards the Soviet Union, and ultimately in determining the USA’s role as a global power.

**Long Telegram Extracts:**

- To undermine general political and strategic potential of major western powers.
- Efforts will be made to weaken power and influence of Western powers over colonial, backward, or dependent peoples. Soviet dominated puppet political machines will be undergoing preparation to take over domestic power in colonial areas when independence is achieved.
- Everything will be done to set Western powers against each other
- The Soviet Regime is a police regime accustomed to think primarily in terms of police power. This should never be lost sight of in gauging Soviet motives. It is desirable and necessary for our traditional way of life to be destroyed and the international authority of our state to be broken if Soviet power is to be secure.

Kennan drew some clear conclusions for the direction of US Foreign Policy. He argued that the USA must be prepared to threaten the use of force and ensure unity among its allies. He also urged the USA to adopt a proactive role, particularly in Europe. His telegram referred to the urgency of action.

Kennan added to his initial points made in the ‘Long Telegram’ by producing the ‘X’ article. In the article he called for a ‘long term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansionist tendencies’. Truman agreed with Kennan as his growing certainty that the Soviet Union was not only an enemy of Western democratic values but also a threat to the USA’s security matched Kennan’s analysis of the Soviet Union’s Foreign Policy being aggressive and ideologically driven.

Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech (6th March 1946)

Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech was a highly influential one, that was made in Fulton, Missouri. President Truman attended the speech. Churchill did not believe that Russia wanted war, only to expand its borders and therefore its powers and doctrines.

In response to Churchill’s speech, Stalin also made a speech in which the Soviet Union peacefully sought Eastern European allies with which to reinforce Russia’s security.
• Was designed to protect democracy and freedom and there was no aggressive intent to other states. It was a response to aggressive Soviet policy in Europe
• Truman needed to demonise the Communists in the minds of the American public. He needed to present the Soviets as an enemy of the USA in order to justify his aim of protecting national interests and turning the country into a global superpower
• Truman had to provoke the USSR and was designed to make the Soviets feel threatened by America’s power
• The Doctrine formed an important part of the USA’s aim of developing its global economic power. By creating an enemy, the USA would make other states both militarily and economically dependent on it and therefore close trade relations would be formed

The Marshall Plan 1947

In May 1947, Under-secretary of State for Economic Affairs, William Clayton returned from a fact-finding tour in Europe. He discovered the extremity of the economic deterioration of Europe and concluded that the USA must intervene as the decline of the European economy would have a detrimental effect on the American economy (unemployment, unbalanced budget, depression etc.). His analysis exaggerated the situation, but the US new that they had to intervene. On the 5th June 1947 Marshall unveiled his plan – The European Economic Recovery Plan.

Between 1947 and 1952 Marshall Aid provided around $13.5 billion to 16 countries in Europe. Aid was also given in the form of goods, not just financial aids.

One of the conditions with accepting the aid was that some of it had to be spent on importing goods from the USA. The countries who received the aid also had to share economic information with the USA. This was part of a plan that would benefit the US economy (by helping in Europe’s economic reconstruction), but it also was aimed at promoting European unity. This unity would help to reinforce Truman’s idea of containment.
Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the FRG, understood that the best way of getting the country to re-emerge from its dark times would be to win the support of the Western world – including reconciliation with France. Reintegration of West Germany was supported by the USA, as they saw it as a buffer against Communist expansionism. The reliance of the country on America would mean that there wouldn’t be a resurgence of nationalism or militarism (which would have unsettled Europe). The first step for Adenauer in the re-emergence process was made in the ‘Petersberg Agreements’ of November 1949, which allowed the FRG to join the Council of Europe as an associate member. The FRG was also given the right to have direct representation on the Organisation of Economic Cooperation (the organisation that administered the Marshall Plan).

**NATO**

The USA was uncertain whether to maintain its defence of Europe and whether to make the defence a long term plan. Many people in America believed that Europe should make a significant contribution towards its own defence and this had already begun with the formation of a European defence organisation – Western European Union.

The Western European Union was formed from the Brussels Pact (17th March 1948) and its aim was to prevent any form of German resurgence that could pose a threat to post-war Western Europe. Through the creation of the union, Western states were seen as signalling to the USA that they were under threat from Communism and that the US must take a more active role in the development of a strong defence system. This came in the form of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

The Western European Union organisation was too small to protect the western states and this was recognised by the USA. The US didn’t want to join the organisation as it would just have been protecting Western Europe and would have no hand in policy making. America needed to establish and Atlantic Alliance in order for it to have influence over Europe and its defence against the expansion of Communism.
**Actions of the USSR**

- Development and successful testing of the Atomic bomb (1949), ended the USA’s Atomic monopoly.
- Berlin Blockade (June 1948 – May 1949), following the introduction of the ‘Deutschmark’ into West Germany.
- Expansionism/ Creation of a buffer zone, countries included Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Greece.
- Warsaw Pact (1955), a pact that provided protection to Communist countries that were under threat (the countries involved were ones that Soviet expansionism had taken claim to).

**Role of Ideology**

- Spread of Communism, leading to expansionism
- Capitalism, Route followed by the West. The USSR objected to the spread of capitalism into areas geographically surrounding them.
- Protectionism of the US economy and also the determination to remain the primary superpower.
- To protect the peoples of their country, predominantly the USA.

**Role of Germany**

- Germany was a metaphorical battleground at the start of the Cold War between the East and West.
- Was used by the USSR to create a buffer zone and also to try and expand Communism.
- Used by the west to prevent Soviet expansionistic actions.
- The USA, France and Britain tried to help it regain its economic status, in order to prevent Communism.

**Nuclear Factor**

- USA’s atomic monopoly meant that they were militarily superior and therefore had more influence over many countries.
- Dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan, this was seen as a threat to the USSR.
- The creation and successful testing of the atomic bomb in the USSR ended America’s atomic monopoly.

**Role of Great Britain and other European Countries**

- USA’s special relationship with Britain was one which suited both sides, this especially increased the amount of influence the US had over Europe.
- Western Europe’s alliance with the USA through NATO, following the Western European Union.
- The USSR’s alliances with Eastern European countries saw the signing of the Warsaw Pact.

**Role of Individuals**
assumptions of Soviet strengths rather than concrete evidence. Gaither concluded that the Soviet economy was growing faster than that of the USA and that expenditure on nuclear technology would double that of the USA within the decade. He suggested that the Soviets had the capacity for 1,500 nuclear weapons and that they had developed an arsenal of short and medium range ballistic missiles, sophisticated early warning systems which could easily intercept US missiles and the USSR surpassed the USA in ICBM development.

Gaither recommended a rapid increase in ICBM expansion and all other medium and short range missile development. He also suggested developing an interception technology system through an Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) programme. The report called for a vast civil defence programme based on constructing nuclear fallout shelters for US citizens.

1961-1962

US estimates suggested a Soviet ICBM deployment of 500 in early 1961 and 1,000 by 1962. The USA had only 70 in 1962. The USSR had only 50 ICBM’s in 1961, of which only four were ready and deployed. The Cold War in the early 1960’s was based on mutual suspicion. The USA still held the view that the Soviet Union must be judged on its potential to act aggressively rather than solely on its ability to do so. The Soviet position in the early 1960’s was founded on the idea of preventing war, but at the same time being able to engage effectively within one. These positions were to have great significance in the Cuban Missile Crisis, which was on the horizon by 1962.

Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962

In 1962, the US had a vast arsenal of nuclear weapons. This arsenal included 15 Jupiter Missiles in Turkey, 30 in Italy and 64 missiles in Britain. The USA also had 1,600 Strategic Bombers and 200 ICBM’s that could strike the USSR from America. In total, the US had around 5,000 nuclear warheads. This outnumbered the Soviet Union who only had 300 – of which only 2/3 could reach the USA.

Cuba

Cuba was a Communist island in a sea of American power, which the US had been trying to overthrow the government – led by Castro. This attempt to overthrow the government at the Bay of Pigs where US trained Cuban exiles were used to infiltrate the country, however this failed.

In 1962, Khrushchev felt that the US had more dominance than the USSR due to the vast amount of military bases around the world that they controlled. It was from this that Khrushchev decided to install nuclear missiles in Cuba. These would both protect Communist Cuba and enhance Khrushchev’s bargaining power. Castro consented to the installation of 60 missiles into his country.

To disguise the missiles that were being imported into Cuba, the Soviets used cargo ships. 60 missiles and 14,000 men were shipped by 80 ships. The missiles were unloaded at night in order to stop them being photographed by American U-2 spy planes.
the East and the West. ‘Detente’ was made possible from the Soviet perspective, as by the late 1960’s, the USSR had established nuclear equality with the USA. This equality put the Soviet Union in a position to co-operate with the United States. The USSR took the view that the USA was no longer the dominant world power and the Soviet Union were now in a position to gain by being able to co-operate with the United States. ‘Detente’ was a way in which the Soviets could preserve world socialism and protect it from the threat posed from the western capitalists.

Sino-American Relations

Following the takeover of China by the Communists in 1949, the United States refused to recognise the legitimacy of the People’s Republic of China. However, as Nixon came to power he recognised the importance that a relationship with the Chinese could play, ‘We must not forget China. We must always seek opportunities to talk with her. We must not only watch for changes. We must seek changes.’ Nixon realised that China was a developing nuclear power and a major political and strategic force in Asia.

The first steps towards a better relationship came in July 1969 when the United States removed some of their trade controls and relaxed some travel restrictions. Nixon also managed a number of diplomatic contacts through France, Romania and Pakistan, with which he aimed to show the willingness of the US in working towards improving Sino-American relations.

The relationship between China and the USSR slowly worsened over time. Ideological differences and the dispute over who was to lead Communism forward started to tear the relationship between the two main Communist states. The split was out in the open in 1960, when Peng Zhen and Khrushchev had an argument at the Romanian Communist Party Congress. Following this argument, Soviet experts were removed from China.

By early 1970, some initial diplomatic connections between China and the United States had been established in Warsaw. In August 1970, Zhou Enlai achieved a major victory over those opposed to China opening improved relations with the USA. There was a shift in policy away from the dual confrontation with both the USA and the USSR towards the recognition that the Soviet Union now posed a greater threat China. To Mao, the USA still posed a threat, but in the short term this threat was much less than that posed from the USSR and therefore was willing to pursue a policy of ‘Detente’.

In Nixon’s Presidential Report of February 1971, he stated, ‘We are prepared to establish a dialogue with Peking’, ‘there could now be opportunities for the People’s Republic of China to explore the path of normalisation of its relations with its neighbours and with the world, including our own country.’ In April 1971, the Chinese invited the US team to participate in the 31st World Table Tennis Championship in Peking – giving an important signal to the US administration of China’s intentions. In July of the same year, Henry Kissinger visited Peking. It was here that he established the plans for a presidential visit and a Sino-American summit meeting in 1972. In October, Kissinger re-visited Peking to finalise preparations for Nixon’s visit the following year.

Nixon’s visit to China was a huge step in Sino-American relations, as well as reinforcing the possibility of a triangular diplomacy between the USA, China and the Soviet Union. At the end of his visit, Nixon declared, ‘This was the week that changed the world.’ For the United States’ recognition of