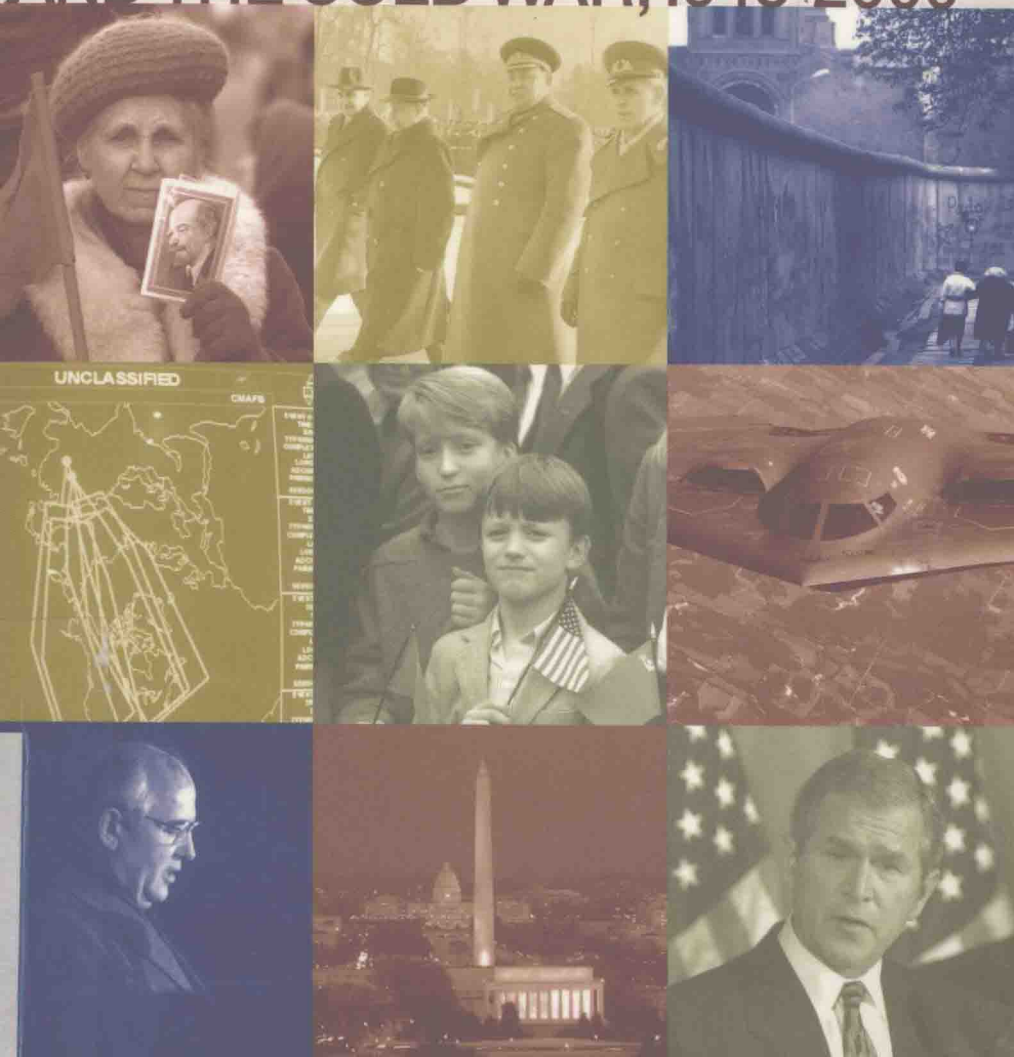


WALTER LAFEBER

NINTH EDITION

AMERICA, RUSSIA, AND THE COLD WAR, 1945-2000



America, Russia, and the Cold War 1945–2000

NINTH EDITION

Walter LaFeber

Cornell University



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America, Russia, and the Cold War
1945–2000

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About the Author

WALTER LAFEBER was born and raised in Indiana, attended Hanover College, and then received his Master of Arts degree from Stanford University and his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. His books include *The American Age: U.S. Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750* (2nd ed., 1994); *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (2nd ed., 1993); *The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective* (2nd ed., 1989); and *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1865–1898* (1963). He also wrote *The American Search for Opportunity*, Volume II of the *Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* (1994). *The Clash: U.S.-Japan Relations Throughout History* (1997) won the Bancroft and Hawley prizes. *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism* was published in 1999. Since 1968, Professor LaFeber has been the Marie Underhill Noll Professor of American History at Cornell University, and in 1994, he was named a Stephen H. Weiss Presidential Teaching Fellow.

Foreword

“The United States always wins the war and loses the peace,” runs a persistent popular complaint. Neither part of the statement is accurate. The United States barely escaped the War of 1812 with its territory intact. In Korea in the 1950s the nation was forced to settle for a stalemate. A decade later in Vietnam, the United States clearly lost the war. At Paris in 1782, and again in 1898, American negotiators drove hard bargains to win notable diplomatic victories. Yet the myth persists, along with the equally erroneous American belief that we are a peaceful people. Our history, in fact, is studded with conflict and violence. From the Revolution to the Cold War, Americans have been willing to fight for their interests, their beliefs, and their ambitions. The United States has gone to war for many objectives—for independence in 1775, for honor and trade in 1812, for territory in 1846, for the Union in 1861, for humanity and empire in 1898, for neutral rights in 1917, and for national security in 1941. Since 1945, the nation has been engaged in two limited wars in Asia with disappointing outcomes and a brief conflict in the Middle East that ended in a decisive victory over Iraq. (伊拉克)

This volume on the Cold War is part of a series of books designed to examine in detail critical periods relating to American involvement in foreign wars. Since the first edition appeared in 1967, Professor LaFeber has carefully revised his account to explain the course of the Cold War as it moved from periods of intense crisis and confrontation to times of relative stability. In recent editions, he has

paid special attention to the dramatic events that ended the Cold War, notably the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, and the demise of the Soviet Union itself in 1991. In this edition, he surveys the troubled state of U.S.-Russian affairs in the decade since the end of the Cold War, enabling the reader to see how the half-century of conflict between the superpowers led to today's uneasy relationship.

Robert A. Divine

Preface to the Ninth Edition

This edition has a new chapter on the foreign policy of the Clinton and Yeltsin-Putin presidencies, as well as an introduction to the initial foreign-policy ideas of George W. Bush's administration. That chapter and other pages as well note the effects of the technology revolution that took hold in the 1980s and 1990s. Every other chapter has been revised to include recent scholarship and materials from openings of the United States, Soviet, and Chinese archives (with the Woodrow Wilson Center's Cold War International History Project indispensable for the Soviet and Chinese documents). The revisions also include the elimination of a number of sentences that once seemed clear and important.

I owe my largest debt to those who have found this book useful. Many of them have been kind enough to take time to tell me about the parts of the narrative that worked and those that did not. I have tried to fix faulty parts without changing the book's purpose: to provide an overview of especially American, but also Soviet/Russian, foreign relations during the Cold War and after, while suggesting the general theme that domestic needs largely shape the foreign policy of each country. As the 1990s have vividly demonstrated, foreign policy is no more effective than domestic circumstances allow.

Website

An accompanying website (www.mhhe.com/lafeber) is also new to this edition. Visit the site to find primary source documents and links to relevant websites, organized by chapter.

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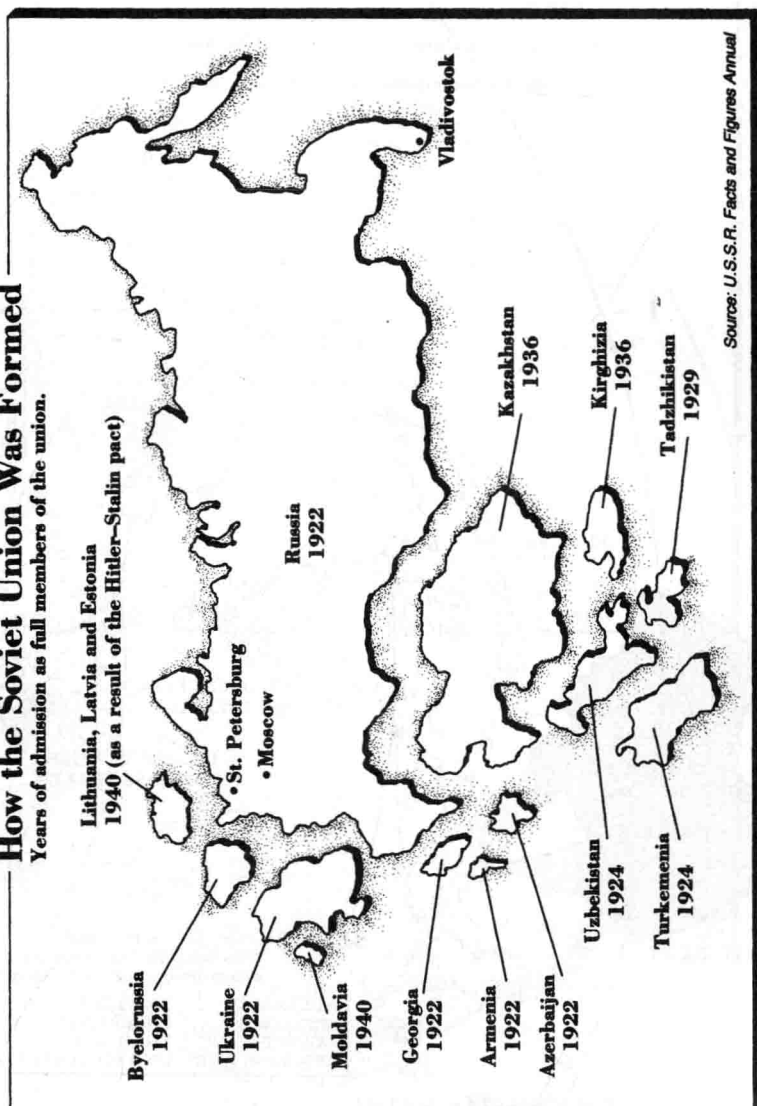
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Walter LaFeber
February 2001


How the Soviet Union Was Formed


Years of admission as full members of the union.



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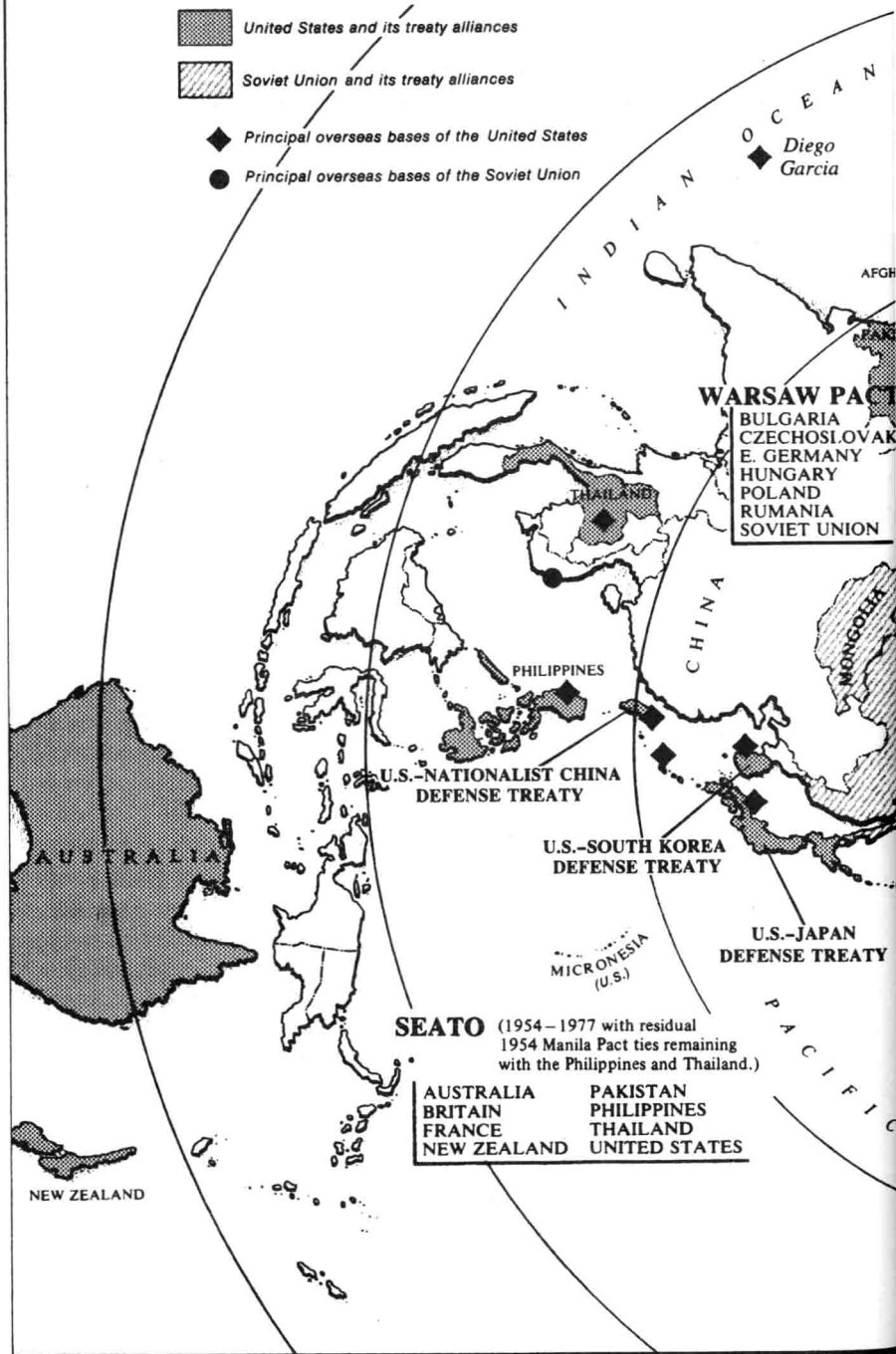
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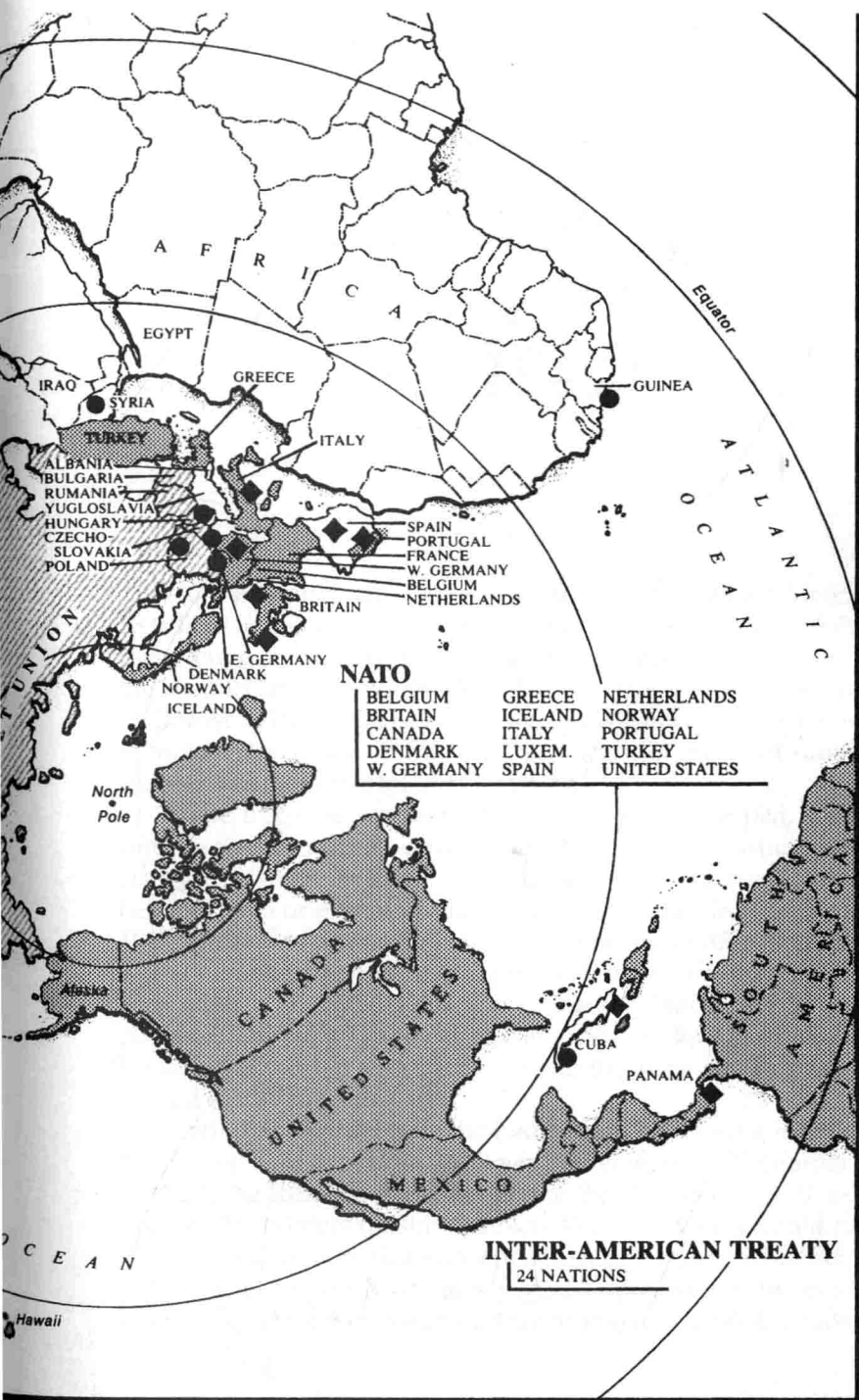
 United States and its treaty alliances

 Soviet Union and its treaty alliances

◆ Principal overseas bases of the United States

● Principal overseas bases of the Soviet Union





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Introduction: The Burden of History (to 1941)

The Cold War dominated American life after 1945. It cost Americans \$8 trillion in defense expenditures, took the lives of nearly 100,000 of their young men and women, ruined the careers of many others during the McCarthyite witch hunts, led the nation into the horrors of Southeast Asian conflicts, and in the 1980s helped trigger the worst economic depression in forty years. It was not the most satisfying chapter in American diplomatic history.

These tragedies can be understood—and, it is hoped, some future disasters averted—only by understanding the causes of this struggle between the United States and Russia. The conflict did not begin in 1945 or even with the communist victory in Russia during 1917. The two powers did not initially come into conflict because one was communist and the other capitalist. Rather, they first confronted each other on the plains of north China and Manchuria in the late nineteenth century. That meeting climaxed a century in which Americans had expanded westward over half the globe and Russians had moved eastward across Asia.

Until that confrontation the two nations had been good friends. Whenever conflicts arose (as over settlements in California and Alaska), the Russians retreated before the demands of U.S. expansionists. Encounters outside the New World, however, could not be settled so easily. Americans swept across a continent while sending out tentacles of trade that quickly seized upon Asia as the great potential market for their magnificently productive farms and factories.