**History notes from seminar- WACE exam prep**

April Thesis: April theses: there should be no cooperation with PG. War ended immediately. Land given to peasants. ‘All power to the sovites’ and’[bread, land and peace’. Bolshevik party turned his speech into these points. By october kerensky increasingly unpopular and isolated-last support left as bolshevik support grew, and from right as disillusionment within army continued to grow.

July days: 16th and 17th massive rioting of people protesting th war. Shortages continued and Kerensky in July launched a major attack on the germans which resulted in terrible defeat. People turned to the Bolsheviks to lead them and the end the war.

Jan 1924- Lenin dies.

**Europe:**

-Early causes of Cold War -Detente’s impact

Essay- Cold War origins

Question: The origins of the Cold War are contested because there is a great deal of evidence to support the positions of both the Americans and Soviets. Write an essay that explains, in your view, who or what was responsible for the development of the Cold War up to 1949.

The Cold War emerged from the competing ideologies and geopolitics of the immediate postwar period. The Cold War refers to the ideological tensions between the Soviet Union (USSR) and the US which were felt from 1946 onwards up until 1991. This war was called ‘cold’ rather than ‘hot’ because the superpowers involved never directly confronted each other. This was because the new reality of nuclear weapons multiplied the consequences of a war. Instead of fighting with weapons, both sides tended to wage war on each other on an ideological, political and economic level.Conflicting ideologies, the Kennan Long Telegram, Churchill ‘Sinews of Peace’ speech, Novikov Telegram, Truman’s ‘Containment’ speech, the Marshall Plan, Berlin Blockade, Soviet Union’s first successful test of a nuclear bomb and finally China becoming a communist state are the events which all played apart in the development of the Cold War up until 1949.

The USSR and America had differing postwar aims which caused suspicion and ultimately led to the Cold War; the USSR wanted security on its western borders as they had lost 27 million people in the war, they want Germany to be permanently weakened so it couldn’t invade Russia again as it had done twice in the recent past. Stalin wanted a buffer zone and sphere of influence (the region over which a powerful state can exercise some control, for security or economic purposes) in eastern Europe. Hence they installed a communist government in Poland in January 1945 and forced other countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania to adopt governments sympathetic to Moscow. Stalin hoped that the four-power division of Germany would keep It weak (where Britain, France, America and Russia would occupy 4 individual zones of Germany each). Russia believed that the source of all wars was the conflict between capitalist powers, and that future conflict could only be averted by a communist utopia. They believed the best way to deliver prosperity was to abolish the class divide, through centralised economic planning and the socialisation of the means of production.

The Americans on the other hand believed in self-determination, the concept of all nations being able to choose their own type of government. They believed that conflict could be solved by increasing cooperation, through bodies such as the United Nations and others intended to facilitate free trade between nations, as proposed at the Bretton Woods Conference. They believed that the best way to deliver prosperity was through capitalism, in which the market would distribute wealth through wages and affordable consumer products. These very big differences created tension between the two countries, and this tension was intensified with the Kennan Long Telegram, Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech and the Novikov Telegram.

Kennan’s Telegram was the first of these 3 events, occurring on 22 February 1946. George Kennan, American diplomat based in the Soviet Union, sent a telegram to Washington outlining his views on the Soviet foreign policy. Some of the key points he mentioned in it were; “Everything must be done to advance relative strength of USSR as a factor in international society… no opportunity must be missed to reduce strength and influence… of capitalist powers…Russians will participate officially in international organisations where they see opportunity of extending Soviet power or of inhibiting or diluting power of others… In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief … that is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power to be secure…” this telegram hence obviously warned the Americans of the Soviet’s threat and created a suspicion and tension between the two. Additionally, Churchill’s ‘Sinews of Peace’ speech in Missouri on 5th March 1946 added to this suspicion of the Soviets. In this speech he delivered his famous ‘iron cutrain’ line; “From Stettin in the Baltic to trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Budapest.. all these famous cities and populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and are all subject in one way or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high, and in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow…” this further portrayed to the public the Soviets sneaky ambitions, and continued to raise the question of ‘what are the Soviets really up to?’.

The Kennan Telegram and Churchill ‘Sinews of Peace’ speech both raised tension towards the Soviets, however the Novikov Telegram raised tension towards the Americans from the Soviets. The Soviet ambassador in Washington, Nikolai Novikov, provided an interpretation of his own on the foreign policy aims of the United States on 27th September 1946: “The foreign policy of the United States…is characterised in the postwar period by a striving for world supremacy. This is the real meaning of the many statements by President Truman… that the United States has the right to lead the world… (The United States had calculated) that during the Second World War they would succeed in avoiding, at least for a long time, the main battles in Europe and Asia.. they would only enter only at the last minute, when it could easily affect the outcome of the war… and that the Soviet Union would also be exhausted or even completely destroyed as a result of the war… All of the countries of Europe and Asia are experiencing a colossal need for consumer goods, industrial and transportation equipment, etc. Such a situation provides American monopolistic capital with prospects for enormous shipments of goods into these countries…would mean a serious strengthening of the economic position of the United States… and would be stage on the road to world domination…The present policy of the American government with regard to the USSR is also direct at limiting or dislodging the influence of the Soviet Union from neighbouring countries”. The tension between the USSR and America was now very evident.

After these war of words came some action. On 12th March 1947 the Truman Doctrine where president Truman delivered his ‘containment’ speech to a joint session of congress. In it he outlined his reasons for urgent economic and financial assistance to relieve Turkey and Greece of Soviet aggression, the Doctrine offered $400 million to do just that. This Doctrine meant that the Americans would now shoulder the burden of containing communism in these countries by providing military assistance and financial support, therefore the Soviets would realise that the Americans were prepared to take action. After the Doctrine came the Marshall plan or European Recovery Program, on 5th June 1947 when US Secretary of State George Marshall addressed a crowd assembled at Harvard University. Marshall understood that without a plan for economic recovery (as the war had destroyed many country’s economies), communism might become attractive politically to western European governments, or alternatively they’d be forced to make trade deals with the Soviet Union to meet their basic needs. Hence the European Recovery Program injected about US $15 billion worth of grants to assist European governments with reconstruction, including purchases of fuel, raw materials and food. The US were taking a stand to stop communism spreading, and Stalin and the Soviets certainly wouldn’t have liked this.

Finally, the Berlin Blockade, which began on 23rd June 1948, was the major contributor to the development of the Cold War up until 1949. The immediate cause of the Berlin Blockade was the introduction of a new currency into the Western sectors of Berlin on 23rd June 1948, the deutschmark had replaced the reichsmark. In a humiliating move for the communists, East Germans rushed to cash in their reichsmarks in exchange for the new currency. Stalin responded by closing all roads, canals and railways into Berlin-if Stalin could not control his former allies, he’d attempt to starve the West Berliners into submission. The Americans responded immediately by sending 60 long range B-29 bombers from the US to bases in Britain; although they did not carry nuclear weapons, the implications were clear- if the Soviet Union attempted to take West Berlin, Truman was prepared to fight back with conventional force or nuclear weapons. The US and Britain responded to the blockade with a massive daily airlift of supplies into West Berlin from 24th June 1948 to 12 May 1949- they ended up airlifting more than 4500 tons of food, fuel and other basic necessities into Berlin each day. It was now very clear that the former allies during WW2 were against each other. This airlift was the US and Britain’s attempt to prevent the Soviets from gaining West Berlin and thus gaining more power. This was as intense as the Cold War got as neither side confronted each other directly, rather indirectly. The final contributors to the development of the Cold War was when the Soviet Union made their first successful test of a nuclear bomb in the remote desert of Kazakhstan in September 1949 (the Americans had already successfully invented a nuclear bomb as they dropped 2 on Japan during WW2) and then when the People’s Republic of China was declared following communist victory in the long-running China civil war in October 1949. These 2 latest developments favoured the Soviets,and added to the threat against the Americans as communism spread to China and Russia gained strength. All these events are what caused the tension, suspicion and conflict between Russia and America and ultimately led to the development of the Cold War.

The Cold War, as the name suggests, was a war where the Soviets and Americans never directly engaged in combat, rather indirectly, as they differed with ideologies and policies after the end of WW2. The two former allies from WW2 were now on opposite sides as they competed for power and a new world order was attempted to be established. Conflicting ideologies, the Kennan Long Telegram, Churchill ‘Sinews of Peace’ speech, Novikov Telegram, Truman’s ‘Containment’ speech, the Marshall Plan, Berlin Blockade, Soviet Union’s first successful test of a nuclear bomb and finally China becoming a communist state are the events which all played apart in the development of the Cold War up until 1949. These events are highly significant as they provided the onset for the further tension to come for the next 42 years, before the Cold War was to finally come to an end in 1991.

**Detente**

**Question: Evaluate the proposition that Detente was seen as a way to come to terms with each other’s existence but it did not bring an end to the Cold War.**

For the majority of the Cold War time period; after the end of World War 2 in 1947 up until 1991, tensions between the USA and the Soviet Union were high as they engaged in the nuclear arms race and space race as they aimed for supremacy in the new world order. As the threat of nuclear war became closer and closer so did the concept of MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) which meant that if nuclear war broke out both superpowers would annihilate and destroy each other, possibly even other parts of Europe and the world. This outcome was unwanted not only by the whole population but by the leaders of the USA and USSR. This led to the temporary instalment of detente; a french word meaning relaxation. During this period tensions took a much needed relaxation as the two superpowers came to terms with each other’s existence. However, detente would not bring an end to the Cold War and was more ‘the eye before the storm’; the quiet before the Cold War would break out again. The USA and the USSR still were major rivals and wanted to out-do each other, detente was just a method of assuring nuclear destruction wouldn’t break out. Reagan’s election in 1980 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 would lead to the end of detente and the start of “Cold War 2”.

Detente lasted from 1968 to 1980. Detente came about as the USA and USSR improved their relations with each other through several different agreements and meetings. SALT 1 and 2, the Four Power agreement over Berlin, the Helsinki Accords and the Apollo-Soyuz Project were the integral events which led to detente.

The signing of SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) 1 in 1972 kicked off the detente period for the superpowers. This was an arms limitation treaty, the first of which to be signed by the superpowers to finally limit their ever-growing number of nuclear missiles. President Nixon flew to Moscow to meet Brezhnev to sign this treaty,which forced each other to have only two anti-ballistic missile sites, one defending the capital city and the other defending the intercontinental ballistic missiles, at each site only 100 missiles were permitted. Two days later, another agreement was signed which in effect formalised detente on paper; they agreed to ‘avoid military confrontations and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war’. These agreements were vital in slowing the Cold War, and there was a sense of improved relations as the leaders had met face to face. Additionally, they had significant follow ups.

SALT 2 would then be signed, at Vienna in 1979 by President Carter and Brezhnev. The treaty restricted each other to a maximum of 2250 strategic nuclear missiles by 1981, this meant that for the first time each side had the same number of missiles. Four years earlier, 1975, the Helsinki Conference took place. 35 nations were represented at Helsinki, the conference was more a declaration of good will, as its achievements included the permanent borders of post-war Europe to be recognised and the members agreed not to disrupt them by force, and to co-operate and consult on questions of security. Additionally Soviet-bloc countries promised to respect the ‘human rights’ of its citizens. Helsinki was significant in prompting continued attempts by East and West to understand each other’s point of view.

Furthermore, the Four Power Agreement over Germany finally settled the long unanswered “German Question”. The USSR, Britain, France and USA signed this agreement over Berlin in 1971- the agreement confirmed the right of each of these countries to control part of Berlin, and the transport links between West Germany and West Berlin would remain permanently open. Disagreement and conflict over Germany had been a major cause of tension between US and USSR since end of WW2. This agreement meant the Soviets finally accepted the continuing presence of the major Western powers in Berlin, and additionally Berlin ceased to be a cause of conflict between the super powers resulting significantly in improved US-Soviet relations.

Finally,the Apollo-Soyuz space project in 1975 was literally (and satirically) the ‘high point’ of detente. 3 years of planning and cooperation had culminated in the success of this project- an American Apollo space capsule docked with a Soviet Soyuz craft in orbit around Earth. Previously, with the development of more sophisticated rockets and missiles in the 1950s, space was an area of competition between the superpowers, just like the arms race. This project marked the first time the superpowers had worked together. It’d also be the last time they’d cooperate, for a while.

Even though relations had improved, it was short lived. The final years of the 1970s saw detente break down as the world entered “Cold War 2”. The major cause of the return in tension was in 1979 when 75,000 Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan to support a fledgling Marxist revolution that had attempted to cast aside a strong Muslim tradition in favour of communism. The new Afghani communist leaders required Soviet assistance if they were to survive. The Soviets would become embattled in a decade long conflict with a new guerrilla force; the Mujahidin, which had the support of Pakistan, Iran, and more importantly, the US. This led to the fear of Soviet expansionism once again, and was the final nail in detente’s coffin.

In response to the invasion, the US responded by halting technology and grain shipments to USSR, refused to ratify SALT 1 and 2 leading to their abandonment, and increased defence spending from$196 billion to $226 billion. Furthermore, Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party being elected in 1980 increased tensions to an even higher level. Reagan was tough-talking and strongly anti-communist and in 1983 would even refer to the Soviets as ‘The Evil Empire’. In 1983 also he’d implement the ‘Star Wars’ defence program. Hence his election in 1980 led to the end of detente and renewal of high tensions.

The period of Detente between 1968 and 1980 was therefore a temporary period of relaxation and peace between the two superpowers, as they attempted to come to terms with each other’s existence. It was brought about by SALT 1 and 2, Four Power Agreement over Berlin, Apollo-Soyuz Project, and the Helsinki Accord. As the threat of nuclear war became likely the world was frightened and neither superpower wanted this to breakout as MAD would occur, so they signed arms limitations agreements and tried to understand each other’s policies more in order to prevent this happening. However as the USSR and USA were still major rivals and wanted to out-do each other, this led to Cold War 2 beginning as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Reagan’s election sprung up the return of tensions.

Syllabus 1: Europe after war- early developments of cold war.

Syllabus 2: The Cold War.

Syllabus 3: End of Cold War and break up of Soviet Union.

Syllabus 4: The European Union.

Impact of nuclear arms race- big part of Cold War.