

Examiners' Report  
June 2014

GCE History 6HI03 E

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## Introduction

The paper was divided into two sections: Section A was an In-Depth Study question, and Section B an Associated Historical Controversy question. As expected, there were far more entrants for *E2 – A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944-90* than for *E1 – The World in Crisis, 1879-1941*

It was pleasing to see a good standard of responses in this examination series. Many candidates wrote insightful comments and very few candidates produced essays which were devoid of analysis. Unfortunately, some candidates continue to write too much generalised comment. As a consequence, their responses lacked precise analytical focus and detailed supporting evidence. Examiners want to see that candidates can use the sources and their own material effectively to answer the questions set.

The main weakness in responses which scored less well tended to be a lack of sufficient knowledge, rather than lengthy descriptive writing without analysis. The paper provided candidates with the opportunity to develop their essay writing and to include source material as and when necessary.

There appears to be an increasing tendency for candidates to analyse and produce judgements in the main body of the answer and have cursory conclusions. Candidates can indeed sustain arguments by these means and this approach does not, in itself, prevent access to the highest levels. However, in some cases, judgements on individual issues and factors tended to be somewhat isolated, and ultimate conclusions were either only partially stated or implicit. Consequently, candidates should be aware that considered introductions and conclusions often provide a solid framework for sustained argument and evaluation.

The answers of a minority of less successful candidates in Section A suggested that they lacked the detailed knowledge base required to tackle these questions and produced a catch-all commentary on the stipulated topic. The best answers to these questions – and indeed those on the 1879-1941 option – showed some impressive study of international relations and Cold war history, with students producing incisive, scholarly analysis.

When attempting the Section B questions, a small number of candidates engaged more with the general debate of the set controversy, rather than the specific demands of the question and source package. This was most evident on Question 7, although it was still a small minority.

Centres should note that the amount of space provided in the booklet for answers is more than enough for full marks.

Although a few responses were quite brief, there was little evidence on this paper of candidates having insufficient time to answer both questions.

## Question 1

Most candidates who attempted this question were able to discuss to what extent the system of European alliances was defensive in theory but offensive in practice. Weaker responses tended to offer: (1) a general survey of international relations in the years 1879 to 1914 which lacked focus on the alliances; (2) a descriptive account of the key events leading to the crisis of 1914 which failed to analyse the role of the alliance systems; (3) a commentary on the formation and features of the major alliances which failed to address the defensive/offensive debate. Conversely, the best responses offered a sustained evaluation of the defensive/offensive nature of the European alliance systems across the whole period using an agree/disagree essay structure.

The European alliance systems served as defensive strategies however were offensive in practice as it prepared Europe to war.

During the period of 1879 to 1914 the ideas of militarism and Nationalism were increasing making therefore a possible war acceptable. However the Alliances system was started by Bismark (German chancelor) who continually wanted to feel secure and have allies in case of a war with France because of Revanchism of the Alsace-Lorraine. The aim of the Alliance was to isolate France from Europe by making alliances with the rest of the powers.

The Alliance system divided Europe in two fronts ~~where the powers~~ where each power was able to identify allies from enemies.

— In the case of the Triple Alliance which was with ~~Germany~~ ~~was~~ formally the Dual Alliance 1879 between Germany and Austria-Hungary later then joined ~~to~~ by Italy. Showed compromise as Italy had ~~with~~ ~~re~~ ~~rough~~ difficult relationships.

(Section A continued) with Austria because of land grievances. The terms of the Alliances included that in a threat of ~~any~~ an attack by a third party eg. France the other allies had to ~~support~~ give support in the conflict.

At first the alliance system had good intentions for defense but ~~it then~~ purposes however some secret agreements led to suspicions and therefore led Europe in confusion to start preparing for a possible war.

~~The~~ The alliance system was seen as dangerous as it accompanied with policies that encouraged expansion and imperialism of the European powers thus it was considered offensive in practice.

In certain cases alliances were then formed against Germany and therefore Germany ~~was~~ became isolated. An example of this was the Anglo-French Alliance which favoured mainly France who felt vulnerable by Germany alliances systems. Later attempts of Germany having an alliance with Britain failed and it suggested to them that Britain had no quarrels with them.

Also the Alliances had ~~to~~ to be renewed and if it wasn't it meant that there

(Section A continued) was conflict between the two Powers. This happened in the case of Germany and the Soviet, ~~(Germany and the Soviet)~~ ~~relationship~~ which failure of renewing the pact led to conflict.

~~The~~ In ~~Conclusion~~ the Alliance system was offensive in practice ~~of~~ because it led to the outbreak of the Great war. If there was none alliance powers such as Russia or France and Britain would have not played a part in the war, ~~thus~~ thus the war would have been a minor conflict but ~~the~~ the Alliance system led to their contribution and made the war a world war.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This Level 2 response illustrates two typical weaknesses of low-scoring essays: (1) it relies heavily on general statements about the European alliance systems rather than relevant detailed analysis: (2) it is rather short.

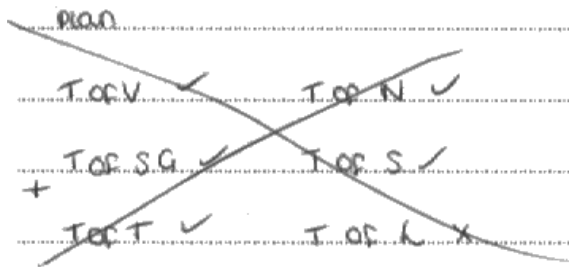


### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

To gain high marks on the Depth Study question you must have a sound subject knowledge. Check the specification for the key topics.

## Question 2

Quite a few candidates who attempted this question were let down by a lack of detailed knowledge about (1) the terms of the peace treaties concluded between 1919 and 1923, and (2) the precise aims of the victorious powers. Several responses offered sketchy or inaccurate accounts of both. Many of the weakest candidates relied on a simple description of the Versailles Treaty, together with a few basic references to some of the other treaties. The best responses were able to provide an assessment of how far the terms of peace treaties of 1919-23 met the aims of the victorious powers by referring to a range of relevant issues, including war guilt, the creation of the League of Nations, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires, national self-determination, selective use of Wilson's 14 Points, and the self-interest of specific Allied powers.



To a large extent, the treaties of 1919-23 met the aims of the victorious powers in the sense that they exerted punishment through strict reparations and disarmament, such as in the Treaty of Versailles, rendering the losing powers unable to start another war. However, it cannot be forgotten that the victorious powers were divided themselves and held different aims for the peace treaties. The big three: Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson essentially ran the operation and became the dictators of peace. Clemenceau held great resentment and fear towards the losing powers especially Germany due to their deep-rooted rivalry originating from the Franco-Prussian war, pushing France to support punishment <sup>in order</sup> ~~and to be determined that~~ <sup>ensure</sup> the losing powers will become powerless. This contrasted greatly with the views upheld by President Wilson who, in his 14 points which the peace treaties were largely based on, promoted 'open diplomacy' and national self-determination. Britain however ~~was~~ were stuck in the middle, knowing that punishment could lead to a revenge war but facing pressure from France and the British public to punish Germany and others for their 'crime' of war. Thus, the treaties

(Section A continued) appeared to fulfil the <sup>different</sup> ~~aims~~ of the victorious powers to some extent but could not help to be dominated by French insecurities. In the Paris Peace Conference 1919, the most controversial treaty of all was created: the Treaty of Versailles. Although this followed French aims by banning Anschluss, enforcing military restrictions: no conscription, tanks, submarines or air force, and placing the burden of £6.6 billion in reparations on Germany, it did not follow the Wilson's hopes for peace and reconciliation as Germany was no longer equal to the victorious powers. However, it did assert Wilson's concept of national self-determination to an extent as the long lost Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France, ending a root cause of their feud. Furthermore, East Prussia was given to Poland, allowing the Polish Corridor to be established. ~~Thus~~ the growth of Poland was due to the increasing fear of communism in Russia, therefore, the treaty did meet the aims of the victorious powers as it provided them with a buffer to Russia's communism.

On the other hand, the Treaty of St. Germain 1919 and the Treaty of Trianon 1920 worked to punish both Austria and Hungary in a similar way to Germany. They too faced reparation payments and military restrictions but the territorial arrangements were not so fulfilling, especially for Italy. Trieste, Istria and part of Tyrol was given to Italy as promised, asserting Wilson's national self-determination as they were mainly Italian speaking. However, it cannot be understated that Italy was also a victorious power yet they held little influence in the peace treaties. As a result, much more land they were promised was not given to them, such as Dalmatia. It demonstrates the priorities



(Section A continued) of the powers as ~~well~~ Poland was created more generously than Italy. Furthermore, ~~the~~ the treaty of Trianon lacked national self-determination in that 3 million Hungarians, <sup>or</sup> ~~etc~~ Nagyzs, were in separate states.

As a result of these peace treaties, there was much hostility in Europe as the losers of war became landlocked and economically insufficient. Although this fulfilled the victorious powers' wishes as most seemed more intent on short-term security and reaping the rewards than long-term peace, it would provide economic difficulty in the long run as ~~being~~ trade in Europe would suffer. Furthermore, the creation of new states; Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were very unstable as they were weak and artificial. ~~But~~ Even though they fulfilled the powers' aims in dissolving the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empire, they faced the threat of Communist Russia and made Europe, as a whole, fairly divided and politically unstable. Nevertheless, the creation of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia did fit Wilson's aims of national self-determination. ~~as well~~

Similarly, in the treaty of Sevres 1920, the victorious powers appeared to reap the rewards as they divided up the Ottoman Empire between themselves, fulfilling their long-term aims of creating and maintaining strong empires. Britain ~~kept~~ gained Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq as Mandates while France gained Syria and Lebanon. Thus, the imperialistic powers were satisfied as the only empires existing was their own therefore, they remained opposition while gaining power themselves. Additionally, Eastern Thrace and Smyrna were given to Greece. However, it seemed the selfish aims

(Section A continued) of Britain and France did not last long as Mustapha Kemal led a nationalist movement to overthrow the Sultan. Thus, Greece began to fight back to defend its newly gained empire but the other victorious powers were unwilling to fight. Not only does this demonstrate the reluctance of the victorious powers to enforce their peace treaties, militarily if needed, but it also shows that their treaties did not meet their aims of ensuring conformity and completely weakening the losing powers as it seemed all that was needed to revise the treaties was a strong military leader like Kemal.

Consequently, the final peace treaty, the Treaty of Versailles 1919 did not fulfill the aims of Britain and France alone but became more suited to both the losing and victorious aims. National self-determination was asserted as most land was returned to Turkey except those less than 50% Turkish, and Turkey was pleased to be treated as a nation rather than a defeated power making long-term peace seem more likely.

Overall, the treaties mainly met the conflicted aims of the victorious powers the best they could. Although French dominated with their insecurity and incentives to punish the losing powers, Britain ensured it was justified through the 'war guilt' clause as the blame was pinned on the losing powers. Furthermore, Wilson's ideas were asserted where possible but mainly in the <sup>only</sup> negotiated Treaty of Versailles that became the most successful treaty. They served the victorious powers because they were regarded ('diktabi') as the Allied powers based them on their own definition of peace: that

(Section A continued) term security, disarmament and reparations as they were in much debt after the war. It seemed the powers did anything they could to ensure the peace treaties met most of their aims and prevented war. Even if that met ironically did not suit the defeated powers' definition of long term peace.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This candidate has produced a good Level 4 answer by offering detailed knowledge within a focused analytical structure. Care has been taken to focus on key allied aims and develop the argument across several treaties. Consequently the response has good range and depth.

### Question 3

This proved to be a very popular question. Most candidates were aware of the main features of, and the major developments under, peaceful coexistence. Consequently, the majority of responses offered some explanation of why peaceful coexistence failed to end the Cold War in the years 1953-61. Indeed, the strongest candidates demonstrated impressive range and depth by considering continuing ideological hostility, the accelerating arms race, increased superpower competition in the developing world, China's criticism of Soviet policy, and US-Soviet failure to resolve specific divisive issues (e.g. the future of Germany). Some weaker candidates went outside the date range, typically producing lengthy accounts of US-Soviet relations under Stalin or the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. A few confused peaceful coexistence with 1970s détente..

~~Peaceful Coexistence - Failed - U2 incident - 'Open skies' - Disneyland meetings~~  
~~Failed - Uprisings unsettling - Hungary and Berlin~~  
~~Failed - <sup>too much</sup> expected to be done - Austria + Finland + Korea good~~  
~~Hard-line approach of Eisenhower - 'brinkmanship' - 'massive retaliation'~~  
~~'Cereva' spirit little more than hope~~

~~Other 1st~~  
~~Dallas~~  
~~Paris~~  
~~Cuba~~  
~~missile~~  
~~crisis~~  
~~19-61~~  
~~Both sides as a result~~

The post-Stalin period referred to as 'the Thaw' is debated amongst many as to why the Cold War did not end there and then. Between the years 1953-61 many agreements and settlements were made to ease the tensions of the superpowers and pull into question whether the Cold War would end soon. However the <sup>heated</sup> meetings between the two contrasting leader Khrushchev and Eisenhower, the uprisings of the <sup>50s</sup> 50s, the expectancy for so much to be done especially under Eisenhower's radical 'New Look' policy consisting of 'brinkmanship' and 'massive retaliation' show why the Cold War continued beyond this time frame.

The meetings between the two superpowers were seen in the public eye to be successful with the Geneva Summit bringing about this 'Geneva spirit' in many countries hopeful that the conflict would end. However, they were little

(Section A continued)

more than a meetings of discussions. Eisenhower's failure to achieve an 'open skies' agreement with Khrushchev after the embarrassing U2 incident with Gary powers, Dulles decision to storm out of the Paris summit and Khrushchev's accusation towards the US that military weapons were kept in Disneyland after being refused entry <sup>in '59</sup> are the many reasons for this failure to end the Cold War by 1961. A joint blame, since both only managed to achieve the exchanging of musicians and artists from them, the conferences and summits that took place between 1953 and 1961 are ~~the~~ <sup>a significant</sup> reason for the superpowers failing to end the Cold War before 1961.

However, remaining the confrontation that both leaders needed to have with each other the uprisings in Poland, Hungary and Berlin were all a catalyst to worse relations between the USSR and US by 1961. With Poland a failure for the USSR in terms of dealing with the conflict that arose with the revolution, the 1956 Hungarian rising overthrowing <sup>communist</sup> Imre Nagy resulted <sup>in 300,000</sup> in ~~thousands~~ of arrests and 300 executed as a result highlighting how the USSR were not going to take any trouble. Catalysed by Eisenhower and Dulles encouraging the people of Hungary to revolutionise and receive help from them the crisis highlighted the

(Section A continued)

weakness of the US as a result of backing down and ~~receded~~ the level to which Eisenhower would go to disprove communism was limited from a 'worsening the Cold War' fear. The uprising in Berlin leading for Khrushchev to call for a 'neutral Germany' not only made Khrushchev angry when refused because the US enjoyed its propaganda uses but as a result created the Berlin Wall. Showing the level to which the superpowers gaining a strong distaste for each other, putting up the Berlin wall can actually signify that tensions were worse by 1961 showing why ~~the~~ <sup>peaceful coexistence failed to end the</sup> Cold War ~~did not end~~ in that period.

With Eisenhower's pursuit of the radical 'New Look' peaceful-coexistence failed to end the Cold War by 1961 because too much was expected to be done. The major achievement of ending the Korean War in 1953 (although arguably under <sup>Maklarenkov's</sup> 'New Course') by reunifying Austria in 1955 and the Soviets withdrawing from Finland in 1956 there was still much to be done. The failure to reduce military spending is another reason why the Cold War could not end. With the US creating the hydrogen bomb in 1952<sup>nd</sup>, the B52 in 1955 it energized the USSR into increasing their investment into the

(Section A continued)

arms race. Creating the TU20 Bear, the ICBM in 1957 along with Sputnik I in ~~October~~ and Sputnik II in November that year it showed how the Cold War could not end especially when Khrushchev was on the defensive talking up USSR when it had nothing to talk about. The Cold War could not end because Peaceful-Coexistence was not fully pursued with the further progression of nuclear weapons.

It is evident that the superpowers achieved a sense of stability between 1953 and 1961 showing why the period was called 'The Thaw,' however, there were many reasons why the Cold War could not end here as a result. With the failure to achieve anything major at the summits, especially the reduction in military spending it was bound to cause unrest and keep the nuclear arms race going well into the 60s when the US created Polaris. Along with the trouble of dealing with the revolutions in Europe the Cold War could not end from 'peaceful coexistence' by 1961 because the superpowers were just as fearful of each other as they were when the Cold War started, <sup>evident</sup> two year later under the Cuban Missile Crisis.



This Level 3 response is broadly analytical, and attempts to address the question, but offers limited detail and development. The candidate puts forward reasons which are not always clearly explained or precisely linked to the question



If you use the key phrases from the question throughout your essay, this will help you to write a relevant analytical response.

PLAN: 1. Perceived co-ex failed to halt ongoing arms race: - (certain extent.)

~~Admission of Eisenhower~~

~~New Look Diplomacy~~

- First <sup>trip</sup> H bomb. ~~July~~ 1953

- ICBMs

2. Even within perceived co-existence, key features such as conference diplomacy, failed to make things simply too great in terms of national interests

- Vienna 1961

- Camp David 1959

- Geneva Summit

- Paris conference 1950

3. Policies of Eisenhower were arguably too confrontational.

- Open skies

- U2

- Sustains view PAC won't attack.

- New Look - defense spending increase

- Brinkmanship. Quemoy, Matsu, Korea.

4. MAIN REASON: Perceived co-ex a superficial front but

K was not - showed (co-ex would go on). Pursued national interests



(Section A continued) Peaceful co-existence refers to a period of policy designed to relax tensions, particularly used by the USSR under ~~Khrushchev~~ Khrushchev. ~~While the policy it arose~~ To a certain extent, it failed <sup>due to the cold war</sup> due to circumstances which it could not halt, namely the arms race, while the lack of concessions made through "conference diplomacy" were also of ~~some~~ certain significance. Eisenhower, too, pursued an agenda that, on the surface, seemed to be confrontational, and it could be argued that this accounted for a general failure to relax tensions between 1953-61. The main reason why peaceful co-existence <sup>\* failed</sup> failed, however, was that the very notion of peaceful co-existence was a superficial ploy by Khrushchev, who believed in the inevitability of a communist victory, and so pursued national interests to that end.

\* failed to end the cold war.

To a certain extent, peaceful co-existence was destined to fail, as it could not halt the on-going arms race. This was of some significance, because it affected both US + USSR interests, and this increased over time. In 1953, the USSR ended the US monopoly on hydrogen bombs with the testing of Top 6 in Kazakhstan. This added to an emerging culture of secrecy + suspicion between the superpowers, therefore overriding any trust which peaceful co-existence might have built up. Similarly, the development of the first ICBM (1957) by the USSR co-incided with

(Section A continued) The CIA's release of the Gathler report (1957). This showed that peaceful co-existence was being undermined to some extent by the suspicion created by the arm race. The report suggested that a 3:1 missile gap was emerging in ~~the~~ favour of the USSR, and recommended that the US spend \$66 billion over 5 years to offset this, thus heightening tensions. The development from the US thereafter - Minskeman (1958) and Polaris (1960) indicates that, over time, the arm race had escalated. ~~This~~ The tension + suspicion created by the arm race thus partially accounts for why peaceful co-existence failed between 1953-61, and thus the Cold War did not end.

Even within peaceful co-existence, however, there were notable failures in the shape of the lack of consensus in warring diplomacy. Indeed, this indicates that overwhelming national self-interest on the part of both leaders was too great to allow peaceful co-existence to succeed. Pravda, among other European newspapers, coined the phrase "Geneva spirit" after the Geneva Summit (1955), but this did little to progress peaceful co-existence: no agreements were made at the conference, while the issue of Berlin had not been solved in the Geneva Conference (1954). As Berlin was the central point ~~that~~ of the Cold War, the lack of consensus meant there was an element of failure to this area of peaceful

(Section A continued) co-existence. Indeed, tensions nearly boiled over in the Berlin crisis (1958), showing that 'conference diplomacy' had failed to make notable gains. National interests were also prevalent in the summit at Camp David (1959), where Khrushchev rejected Eisenhower's 'Open skies' proposal as 'insulting'. This shows that conference diplomacy was limited by highlighting indications of the inextinguishable ideological divide between the two superpowers. Indeed, both the total failure of the Paris conference (1960) and the Vienna conference (1961) showed that 'conference diplomacy' became increasingly more ineffectual as time progressed. In this way, national interests manifested through 'conference diplomacy' particularly led to the failure of peaceful co-existence, and thus the failure to end the cold war.

To a greater extent, it would be argued that the policies of Eisenhower conflicted with peaceful co-existence, thus hindering it + stopping the cold war from ending. Indeed, ~~so~~ the policy of "Bridgmanism" developed by himself + Dulles seemed on the surface to be utterly confrontational. ~~the~~ threats of nuclear attack arguably defined Eisenhower's foreign policy - threats made over Quemoy + Matsu (1955-56) and Taiwan (1958) halted peaceful co-existence, leading Khrushchev to publicly state "we will bury you". Indeed, defence spending accounted for 52% of Eisenhower's budget.

(Section A continued) Part of this was for the aforementioned army race, but - on the surface. Eisenhower's conventional attitude went beyond this. His 'open skies' proposal (1954) is indicative of this - directly asking Khrushchev for permission to fly U2 spy planes over Soviet skies is indicative of a policy that increased tensions, thus continuing the Cold War + hindering "peaceful co-existence". In this way, Eisenhower's policies ~~did not~~ halted peaceful co-existence, ~~but~~ they arguably maintained the Cold War.

This, however, is too limited a view. ~~Further~~ More pertinent is the idea that Eisenhower pursued confrontation in order to allow for co-existence. In this sense, ~~so~~ Eisenhower arguably helped the ideal of 'peaceful co-existence'. Indeed, ~~perhaps~~ it could be said that brinkmanship alleviated tensions. For example, nuclear threats in Korea (1953) forced the ~~the~~ Chinese into signing a peace treaty, while the neutralisation of Austria (1955) can also be partially accounted for by nuclear threats. In this sense, perhaps peaceful co-existence itself was a success. ~~However~~ Under this interpretation, the fact that it failed to end the Cold War is indicative of the fact that the ideological divide between the two superpowers was too great for peaceful co-existence to make a meaningful impact.

To the greatest extent, however, peaceful co-existence

(Section A continued) By Khrushchev was just a superficial, "breast-feeding" mechanism - this can explain how it failed to end the Cold War, because Khrushchev actually sought a long-term communist victory. To this end, he pursued a policy of provocation in order to convince the USSR that Europeanism was failing, as Marx claimed it "inevitably would". This is particularly true as the time period progressed. In 1957-61. The Vostok ~~is~~ ~~companion~~ of (1957), saw ~~Russia~~ ~~land~~ the USSR land the first satellite in space. This led to the arms race, then increasing tensions (and shuffling peaceful co-existence from having any meaningful impact on the Cold War) by ~~not~~ implying that the US was lagging behind technologically. Similarly, Yuri Gagarin, a Soviet, was the first man on the moon (1961) - this was used as a propaganda mission by the USSR to indicate that the US was no match. The reality was quite different. The U2 spy plane shot down under Khrushchev's order is indicative of this, because it revealed that the USSR did not have what it claimed to. In this sense, ~~Europeanism~~ & the pursuing of self-interest by Khrushchev increased suspicion to the extent that peaceful co-existence was ultimately revealed as a failure. Thus, to the greatest extent, this failed to end the Cold War.

To conclude, ~~peaceful co-existence was partially a failure in itself, thus having no meaningful positive~~

(Section A continued) ~~impact on the Cold War~~ 10 conclude,  
peaceful co-existence failed on two main fronts. ~~Firstly~~  
The arms race, firstly, is indicative of the fact that  
~~peaceful co-existence could~~ to end the Cold War on  
three main fronts. The arms race, firstly, showed that  
peaceful co-existence was unable to stop an increase  
in nuclear rivalry & insecurity, highlighted by the development  
of more powerful hydrogen bombs & culminating in the development  
of Polaris. In this sense, peaceful co-existence itself was  
not the cure of the issue. Secondly, while it can be  
debated whether peaceful co-existence was a success or  
not (the failure of 'concrete diplomacy' would imply  
that it wasn't, as would Eisenhower's ~~policy~~ analytical  
remarks in Querny, Makin & Tainen, but his success  
in Korea & Austria would indicate that, while peaceful co-exist-  
ence was successful, the ideological divide between the two  
nations was too great), it in itself failed to end the  
Cold War. Ultimately, though, that "peaceful co-existence"  
failed to end the Cold War, particularly between 1957-61,  
is because it was merely a superficial ploy by Khrushchev,  
as he used propaganda & secrecy to ~~not~~ demonstrate  
that he was trying to win a longer-term, more conventional  
war.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This Level 5 response offers a sustained analysis with detailed support for the reasons put forward. Clear links are made to the question throughout and the answer is rounded off with an effective conclusion.

## Question 4

On this question, the majority of candidates were able to offer an explanation for the deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations which examined the impact of conflicting national interests and other key factors, such as ideological differences and personal rivalries. The strongest candidates also paid close attention to the date range (1958-69). Lower scoring responses tended to exhibit three main weaknesses: (1) an over-concentration on the Khrushchev-Mao era which ignored Sino-Soviet relations after 1964; (2) extensive accounts of Sino-Soviet relations between 1949 and 1957 (particularly Stalin's relationship with Mao) which went far beyond setting the context; (3) extensive accounts of Sino-US 'ping-pong' diplomacy in the early 1970s which ignored the 1969 cut-off point.

- 1.) Plan: Seeds for conflict - Mao's ill judged foreign policy  
→ Korea  
→ Taiwan Straits.
- 2.) Ideological differences
  - ↳ Hunt for true Marxism → Small scale & peasants
  - ↳ De-Stalinisation → proletarian bourgeois class war
  - ↳ Great Leap forward - 17 million dead & 1960 withdrawal of all aid
  - ↳ People's coexistence
- 3.) National interests
  - ↳ Sino-Soviet border dispute
  - ↳ USSR: River Dispute
  - ↳ Joint nuclear arms
- 4.) Political rivalries
  - ↳ Khr. first & second visit
  - ↳ Khr. coward after CMC
  - ↳ Mao splitting com. rev. - but so did Khr. by meeting with Eis.

(Section A continued)

Sino-Soviet relations were first established ~~following~~ following the Chinese Communist Party's victory over the Nationalists. The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance would underpin ~~super~~ superpower relations and help advance communism. The seeds for the conflict were first sown when Khrushchev made it clear in private he would not assist Mao in his hunt to establish China as a world power. ~~He~~ Khrushchev had misgivings over Mao's foreign policy following Mao's actions in the Taiwan Straits Crisis in 1954/55 and again in 1958. Other factors which also contributed to the Sino-Soviet split and undermined relations include political rivalries, but primarily it was ideological differences that would be the ~~defining~~ determining factor, ~~so~~ differences in the application of communism being the most pertinent. National interests conflicting was an important factor, such as the Sino-Indian border ~~dispute~~ <sup>conflict</sup> and the Ussuri River Dispute, but it was ideological differences that was fuel for these occurrences and was the most significant factor in underlying ~~so~~ relations and causing the Sino-Soviet split 1958-69.

Ideological differences between communism ~~and~~ in USSR and China were the most significant factor as it shows the leaders did not agree on the most fundamental basis. This began with De-Stalinisation, which Khrushchev announced at the 20th Party Congress. Khrushchev attacked Stalin for building an empire based on terror



(Section A continued) and persistent purges. He claimed Stalin's application of communism was incorrect and needed to be repressed. This had significant implications for Sino-Soviet relations as much of Mao's domestic policies were based on Stalin ~~and~~ therefore Khrushchev was attacking his own policies. This convinced Mao that Khrushchev was a revisionist, an administrator who had been given too much power. This was just the beginning for of the ideological differences. Mao's Great Leap Forward was a full on rejection of the Soviet model of economics. It reflected the continued hunt for true Marxism, a pursuit which was the primary factor ~~under~~ undermining Sino-Soviet relations. Mao based his economic policy on small scale industry and peasants whereas Carl Marx argued it was the proletariat and urban class war that would advance communism. Mao's policies were a complete failure, 17 million people died through famine and purges. Soviet impatience at Chinese inefficiencies led to an eventual withdrawal of all economic aid in 1960. This was had great implications as it shows the Sino-Soviet split had first occurred due to ideological differences and the hunt for communism. This is reinforced by Khrushchev's Peaceful Coexistence, which faced fierce backlash from Mao, describing it as co-operating with the enemy. Mao attacked Khrushchev stating Peaceful Coexistence would not change global realities and therefore was not a credible foreign policy.

(Section A continued) Ideological differences are what fuelled the Sino-Soviet split ~~it~~ but <sup>it</sup> was conflicting national military interests that brought forth this differences and led to full scale confrontation in the ~~USSR~~ Ussuri River Dispute 1969.

A culmination of ideological factors led to the US Ussuri River Dispute and it was to do spell the end to Sino-Soviet relations. It was a border clash on Demiansky island, a ~~base~~ <sup>base</sup> some of ~~tension~~ <sup>tension</sup> for many years. Chinese troops entered the Soviet area and opened fire, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> a wild melee ensued and the Chinese set up a ~~base~~ <sup>base</sup> bivouac. They retreated and ~~repeated~~ <sup>repeated</sup> this one week later. The Soviets established Chinese military weakness and killed 500 ~~prop~~ <sup>prop</sup> troops. Khrushchev was prepared to hand over Demiansky island but when Mao boasted this was the first of many concessions, Khrushchev cancelled the agreement. This is significant as it was the incident that caused the Sino-Soviet split, however it can be argued ideological differences were what underpinned the split, the US Ussuri River Dispute was just the enabling factor. Other conflicting national interests played a part in the demise of the relationship such as the Sino-Indian border conflict. Khrushchev condemned Chinese action and sent aid to India. Conflicting national interests, together with political rivalries are significant in the breakdown of relations, however it was ideological differences that fuelled this dispute and undermined relations.

Arguably, the most important political rivalry was

(Section A continued) Khrushchev's first and second visit to China. Mao made fun of the fact Khrushchev could not swim and also snubbed him in public. Other incidents like Mao labelling Khrushchev a coward following the Cuban Missile Crisis and personal arguments relating to splitting the Communist revolution were significant in the breakdown of relations but these all highlighted underlying ideological differences and the way communism should be applied. Joint control of Chinese nuclear weapons can fall under political rivalries and conflicting national interests as it is likely Khrushchev did not trust Mao with nuclear weapons ~~due~~ <sup>due</sup> to his ill-judged foreign policy, thus reinforcing the ideological differences.

In conclusion, Sino-Soviet relations 1958-69 were not undermined primarily by conflicting national interests but it was more ideological subversion of communism that led to the Sino-Soviet ~~split~~ <sup>split</sup> and made relations acrimonious, doomed from the start. De-Stalinisation and Peaceful Coexistence was seen as a divergence from true Marxism and Mao's application of communism in the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution led to famine and purges. The heart of the Sino-Soviet split lay in Mao's pursuit to become a world superpower and Khrushchev's determination to prevent it. Conflicting national interests and political rivalries were significant in undermining superpower relations however these were

(Section A continued) just enabling factors that brought forth the differences in ideology.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This candidate has produced a Level 4 answer by offering reasonable knowledge within a focused analytical structure. The argument has been developed in terms of three relevant categories - conflicting national interests, ideological differences and personal rivalries. Given the question, this is a very sensible approach. Greater range and depth, such as comment on conflicting national interests, would have pushed this response further into Level 4.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Tip**

When answering a 'stated factor' question, make sure you consider the role of other factors as well to give your response range.

## Question 5

Most candidates who attempted this question were able to discuss the association 'with defeat and disillusionment' as a reason for the failure of the League of Nations and weigh the stated factor against others, such as the impact of the economic downturn from 1929, the actions of the revisionist states and American isolationism. Better responses integrated source material and candidates' own knowledge to develop an argument about the League's failure based on the issues raised by the extracts. These responses cross-referenced the sources extensively to support or challenge particular viewpoints in the process of reaching a judgement. Weaker candidates often relied almost exclusively on the source material and introduced very little own knowledge to develop a line of argument. In addition, some low-scoring answers merely offered 'potted' summaries of each source (often with a little own knowledge included) which prevented cross-referencing and the development of a support/challenge approach. A number of candidates did not fully understand the reference made to 'defeat and disillusionment' in Source 1.

Source 1 strongly supports the interpretation that the league failed due to its association with 'defeat and disillusionment'. This suggests that the failure of the League was down to its weak constitution and lack of stability to have control as it states 'the principles behind it were faintly applied'. One reason for why the constitution was so unsuccessful was because it failed to meet its 'ambiguous aims', one being to disarm <sup>equally</sup>. An example of this is the Treaty of Versailles as source 1 mentions. It was made clear at this treaty conference that Germany would disarm, however it was also agreed before WW1 had ended that all nations would disarm but in hindsight

(Section B continued) we know that other nations in the League failed to carry this out. The treaty stated that Germany would reduce its army to 100,000 men, alongside reducing their number of ships and aircraft also.

This inequality towards Germany made it clear that the League was an 'unstable international system' as it failed to enforce a main aim, making them look weak. This lack of equality certainly led to 'defeat' for the League as supported implicitly by source 2. It states that Hitler (once come into power in 1931) wanted to 'weaken any international body' and from own knowledge, I am aware he does this by reversing the Treaty of Versailles and threats to re-arm as he leaves the League in 1933. This, therefore, shows that the ~~weak~~ League's <sup>bad</sup> 'principles' meant that it was open to defeat and wasn't successful.

Source 3 also strongly supports that the League failed due to its 'disillusionment' as it explains that the organisation should have been able to 'settle' political or economic quarrels between states, followed

(Section B continued) by the overall conclusion that this aim would be 'wrecked on the rocks of hard reality'. This implies that although in 1919 it seemed promising as a world organisation, but again was damaged by the League's failure to co-operate with other Nations. It <sup>implicitly</sup> suggests that the League's failure was due to nations isolation specifically America and the Soviet Union. Many would argue that America's isolation was significant because with their influence they may have been able to supply military equipment, acting as a deterrent for crises such as Manchuria in 1931. However I would argue that America wasn't important as in 1929, after the Wall Street Crash they would have to become isolated, like others and therefore wouldn't have kept the League stable either. Therefore I would argue against America's isolation specifically as the reason for the League's 'defeat'.

Furthermore I would argue that it was the weakness of the constitution, that ~~and it's~~ ~~was~~ led to the 'aggression' of left out defeated powers and ~~again~~

(Section B continued) This aggression in the 1930's is what left the League open to defeat as they couldn't control anyone outside of the organisation and therefore was vulnerable.

However on the other hand source 2 argues to an extent that the League didn't fail due to it's mass defeat as an organisation but because of the Wall Street Crash. It describes it as the 'slump' of 1929, 'a dark shadow over the League'. This is because 1929 was a huge turning point for ~~the~~ European powers, as they became isolated and aggressive. <sup>moving away from the Locarno era</sup> An example of this is the Manchurian crisis 1931. As trade fell by 20% and Japan invaded Manchuria in hope for a recovery the League failed to stop them. The League set up a commission that was ~~ign~~ ignored by Japan who then left the League completely. This lack of control and teeth made it clear that the League could be undermined and controlled by other powers, & who could then 'defeat' them altogether.



(Section B continued) In addition to this source 2 explains another example that shows the League as a 'defeated and disillusioned organisation as they failed to control Abyssinia in 1935, when Italy invaded using chemical weapons (also going against my previous point about their aim to disarm, highlighting the instability of the League).

At this point in 1935 the League's successes outweighed their successes & vastly, as they failed to achieve what they set out to do. It was clear to nations that they could undermine the ~~prevalent~~ powers organisation and ~~add~~ although Americas isolation and the Wall Street Crash were significant in leading to its failure, the League was unsuccessful from the beginning. Its long association with 'defeat and disillusionment' led to the chipping away of the covenant and its stability leading to huge failure. Therefore, I would argue that it was certainly the knowing of the League's incapability, as they were defeated many

(Section B continued) *times that led to the failure of The League of Nations.*



**ResultsPlus**  
**Examiner Comments**

This Level 3 response illustrates two common limitations in answers to the Associated Historical Controversy question. Although the candidate cross references the sources, the links are often superficial and only modest own knowledge is added to develop the argument. The extracts need to be more rigorously cross-referenced and more detailed own knowledge included.



**ResultsPlus**  
**Examiner Tip**

When planning your answer, read through the sources carefully and list all the support and challenge points you can. This will help you to cross reference effectively in your essay.

## Question 6

On this question, the majority of responses were able to offer an explanation for the outbreak of war in September 1939 based on the competing views set out in the three sources. Most candidates could also draw on a sound knowledge of the key events leading to the Second World War. Once again, stronger candidates integrated cross-referenced source material with their own knowledge to put forward a substantiated judgement. Lower scoring responses typically adopted the 'potted' summary approach to the sources or else included little or no own knowledge. A few of the weaker candidates uncritically accepted the German responsibility viewpoint outlined in Source 6 (Karl Dietrich Bracher) and failed to consider properly the arguments set out in the other extracts.

The outbreak of war in Europe was partly due to differences in ideology, Britain and France in particular. However there were other factors such as the harsh terms which were stated within the Treaty of Versailles which caused resentment within Germany. Also the Wall Street Crash caused an economic paralysed which caused countries to expand imperially. All of these factors hindered disarmament as with no disarmament the European war of 1939 was inevitable.

The differences within ideology was partly a cause for the outbreak of the war in 1939. The best example of this is the World Disarmament Conference in 1931. Within this Britain and France had very different ideologies about disarmament, Britain on the one hand wanted to reduce army numbers while France wanted to restrict naval numbers and warships. These were both very selfish aims. Source 4 supports this

(Section B continued) Interpretation as it states "British and French governments pursued the strategy that they judged to be in the interests of the empires they guided." ~~That~~ Britain and France both held different ideologies to Germany as Germany wanted ~~the~~ equality which meant other countries had to disarm to their level. This ideology clashed with France and ~~the~~ Britain as they ~~was~~ selfishly wouldn't do this to protect their empire. This ultimately resulted in Germany threatening to ~~rescind~~ of other powers hadn't disarmed to Germany's level in 2 years. In this sense the different ideologies halted any disarmament and ~~without~~ <sup>without</sup> disarmament and the ongoing tensions within Europe there was bound to be war. However, it can be argued that Germany's difference ~~in ideology~~ ~~was due to~~ ~~the~~ ~~an~~ ideology towards the end of the World Disarmament Conference caused Germany to be more radical by leaving the League ~~which~~ ~~source~~ ~~was~~ which is why the difference of ideology within Germany can be considered to be the cause of the ~~war~~ outbreak of war - this is supported by source ~~three~~ <sup>Six</sup> as it states "Germany holds full responsibility". However, source three also states ~~"Britain's~~ "Britain's determination to honour its Polish commitment". This shows Britain

(Section B continued) ~~at~~ selfish ideology as they wanted to 'honor' Poland ~~to~~ as they wanted them to act as a corridor to Soviet Russia. This clashed with Germany's ideology 'creating a 'divorce' of political spheres between Britain and Germany' <sup>(source 6)</sup> as Germany, within 1933, ~~and~~ before the outbreak of war wanted to undo the treaty of Versailles and that meant invading Poland.

~~Therefore~~ The treaty of Versailles ~~was one way in which~~ could be argued to make war inevitable right from the moment it was created. The terms of the treaty were harsh and brutal as Germany was given full responsibility of war guilt and were given 6.600 Billion ~~rep~~ reparation sum. This caused resentment within Germany and this was caused by 'the failings of British government and its French allies' <sup>(source 5)</sup>. This is due to ~~the~~ Britain and France basing the treaty of Versailles ~~on~~ on the 'interests of the empires they guided' <sup>(source 4)</sup>. The treaty of Versailles caused massive resentment within Germany which caused radical leaders ~~to~~ be able to manipulate Germany to come into power and give ~~their~~ demands to the League because of how

(Section B continued) Unlike the Treaty of Versailles was.

Source 5 supports this interpretation as it states -

'The Treaty of Versailles had given Hitler the basis for posing demands, accelerating drastically in 1938-9.' It can be argued Hitler was the main cause of the outbreak of the European war in 1939 as he wanted to undo the Treaty of Versailles which other powers didn't want,

~~to~~ However if they weren't so harsh in the first place Hitler may not have come to power and wouldn't want to undo them. Source six supports this interpretation.

Another factor in which can be argued to have caused the outbreak of war is the effects of the Wall Street Crash in 1929. ~~As source 4~~

~~explicitly implies~~ the countries were more isolated and looking to expand imperially in order to re-establish their economies. Source ~~5~~<sup>6</sup> it explicitly

supports this interpretation as it states 'the conflict at the end of the 1930's was about national rivalry and great-power'. This is certainly true

~~as~~ This can certainly be argued to be true as countries had an isolated attitude ~~due~~ due to them trying to build up their economy again as ~~as~~ a defect of the Wall Street Crash. This

(Section B continued) caused tensions to rise which can be argued to be the cause of the outbreak of war in 1939.

In conclusion, ~~the~~ the differences in ideology did to some extent caused the outbreak of the European war in 1939 as this caused disarmament to fail and caused tensions over imperialism, this interpretation supported by sources 4 and 5. ~~However the war~~ The effects of the Wall Street crash also could be argued to be the most significant factor in causing the war as it created 'national rivalry' (source 5) and created ~~which~~ which is shown in the Munich crisis. However I feel the most important factor in causing the outbreak of war in 1939 was the formation of the Treaty of Versailles as it was harsh and brutal and bred resentment within Germany and made it inevitable that a <sup>radical</sup> leader such as Hitler was going to come into power and work to reverse it which would cause war as other powers wouldn't want this due to selfish aims ~~(supported by source 6)~~. (supported implicitly by source 6).



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Here, the candidate has produced a Level 3 answer by taking some information from the sources and attempting to integrate a moderate amount of own knowledge to develop the argument. There is scope to offer more of both, and to cross reference the sources in a more systematic way.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

During the planning stage, after you have identified the key issues raised by the sources, add your own knowledge to these points. That way you'll find it easier to integrate the two elements in the actual essay.

## Question 7

Most candidates found this question accessible. Overall, the sources were used effectively and appropriate own knowledge was included to develop the argument. Having said this, candidates were generally more confident when discussing the role of specific individuals such as Stalin, and ideology, and less confident when assessing the impact of superpower misjudgement and misperception. Stronger responses offered a sustained analysis based on the cross-referencing of the extracts and the integration of source material and own knowledge. Low-scoring candidates tended to exhibit two main weaknesses of: (1) relying on a memorised perspectives essay (covering the orthodox, revisionist and post-revisionist interpretations) which was inadequately linked to the sources provided; (2) poor or non-existent integration of source material and own knowledge.

Sources 7, 8 and 9 suggest that it is no illusion that the Cold War had many contributing factors, however ultimately it was the USA's own economic and national interests rather than Stalin's errors that were mainly to blame, though acts and policies such as the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine in 1947. Sources 8 and 9 both provide evidence to support this view, whilst source 7 gives the impression that it was in fact Stalin's errors that contributed most. As well as these two factors, conflicting ideologies also played a slight role in igniting the Cold War, as ~~stated in~~ implied in source 8. Nevertheless, it was fundamentally the USA's own economic and national interests that was mainly to blame for the start of the Cold War 1945-49.

After the devastation of the second world war, Europe lay in disarray. The USA saw this as an opportunity to assert their authority in the region.



(Section B continued) and prosper themselves, economically. Source 9 provides evidence for this as it states "The liberal Capitalist US economy needed ever-increasing trade and investment opportunities," and furthermore "The Marshall Plan was designed to implant an informal American Empire in Europe." These two quotes are both suggesting that America took advantage of Europe's struggling situation after WW2, in order to seize upon investment opportunities, but more importantly increase its influence in the region with the aim of creating an 'informal empire' ~~as well as~~ and therefore in doing so, providing hostility towards the other ~~super~~ superpower in Europe, the USSR. Source 8 also provides some evidence to support this suggestion by quoting "the illusion of being all powerful, fostered by American economic strength," implying that the ~~the~~ US government were naive in deciding to influence Europe, especially with the Soviet sphere of influence, merely on the basis that they were economically stronger. There is also many key events of note that ~~support~~ supports the evidence given in sources 8 and 9, none more so than the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan issued in 1947. A crucial aspect in establishing why it was ~~economic~~ US economic interests that

(Section B continued)

Started the Cold War, is assessing why the Marshall Plan was put into action. At the end of WW2, Great Britain owed £300m of debts to various countries, and thus could not afford to provide more economic aid to a struggling Greece. America saw this as an opportunity to satisfy ~~national interests~~ both economic circumstances and national interests by offering Greece aid and thus preventing it from falling into the Soviet sphere of influence. This initiated the Marshall Plan in 1947 which promised to offer aid to any country in Europe who needed it after the economy - shattering second world war. The fundamental aspect of the Marshall Plan in offering \$17b of aid to Europe however, was that in return, US companies were allowed to take a share and invest in European companies, thus proving that the USA may have entered Europe with the motif of ~~gaining~~ seeking to, gain economically or seize on investment opportunities as stated in source 9. This helped to start the Cold War as it provided tension between the USA and the USSR as Stalin believed that America was attempting to benefit from entering Europe, labelling their actions as 'dollar imperialism'. Because of these factors and the evidence given in sources 8 and 9, it was not Stalin's own



(Section B continued) The West had labelled him as the 'enemy' through introducing a new currency, the Deutschmark and way of life. Stalin made a crucial error of retaliating to the West by introducing the 'Berlin Blockade' on 24th June 1948. All roads, train lines and canals were blocked from the ~~the~~ East to the West, in an attempt by Stalin to prove to the West that the East were just as strong and independent. This was a crucial Stalin error as it increased tensions between the USSR and the West, not only in Berlin, but across Europe also. This was because the West now had to airlift many of their supplies into Berlin - a very expensive process. This links to the evidence given in source 7 as the Berlin Blockade can be seen as a very confrontational tactic as ~~it~~ it created a physical divide between the two sides, implying that any former alliance was now over. This helped to start the Cold War as Stalin errors had proved to the West that their former alliance was now over and increased tensions across Europe. Although Stalin's confrontation errors played a huge role in starting the Cold War, they were not as fundamental as US economic interests as the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ USA began to strike gear into the USSR by having such a crucial

(Section B continued) role in ~~the~~ Europe and therefore produced more hostility than the mere division of Berlin, coupled with the rest of Stalin's errors.

Conflicting ideology also played a small role in developing the Cold War. Both the Communists and the Capitalists believed that the downfall of the other was a certainty. Source 8 provides evidence for the role of conflicting ideology as it states that one of the main external factors of starting the Cold War for the USSR was "the role of ideology" and that a reason for the USA was "fear of Communism." ~~The~~ Here, source 8 is implying that both superpowers had conflicting ideologies and that they were both wary of the other's interests and capabilities.

Ideology played a ~~key~~ ~~role~~ significant role in developing the Cold War, particularly ~~across~~ ~~Europe~~ by the USSR across Europe. Initially, the ~~USA~~ <sup>west</sup> feared the spread of Communism after ~~the~~ the beginning of Soviet Expansion, ~~as~~ seen by Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech denouncing Communism, claiming that it must be stopped. This created tensions as Stalin believed that he only ~~needed~~ wanted to expand as a 'buffer zone' against future attacks. He labelled Churchill a 'warmonger' and thus

(Section B continued) ideology played a huge role in creating tensions. Also, the Czechoslovakian Crisis of 1948 ~~proved~~ ~~to be~~ shocked the West by proving the powers of Communism in Eastern Europe. In 1948, the Czech Communists were predicted to do badly in elections, so the Communists held a 'coup d'état' where non-Communist Party members were arrested, and a new government set up under Benes. ~~This proved~~ This evidence supports that given in source 7 as it proves that ideological differences had a ~~large~~ large role in developing the Cold War as the East certainly struck fear into the West by proving that Communism was growing, even without the intervention of the USSR, seen in the Czechoslovakian Crisis in 1948. Despite this, ~~the~~ ideological differences did not provide confrontation to the extent of the USA's own interests in developing the Cold War as ~~the~~ through the introduction of the Marshall Plan, Europe was effectively split - East and West.

In conclusion, sources 7, 8 and 9 highlight the main causes of the Cold War, however ultimately agree that it was not Stalin's own errors that was the main reason, however instead the USA's own national and economic interests. This is

(Section B continued) because the USA looked to increase opportunity in foreign markets, however in doing so, caused a division in Europe through their acts such as the Marshall Plan. There is a sense of as long as they gain economically, they couldn't care about the tensions that they were creating across Europe which is why they are fundamentally at fault through economic interests. Stalin's own errors did nevertheless play a crucial role in developing the Cold War, his errors including the Berlin Blockade which labelled the West as 'the enemy' through dividing Berlin. Conflicting ideologies also played a ~~big~~ small role as it stuck gear into both superpowers, an example being the Godesbaken Crisis in 1948, into reacting. All of these factors contributed to developing the Cold War, however it was US national and economic interests that was the most important.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This low Level 5 response possesses several strengths. The candidate uses the sources provided, together with own knowledge to assess the relative importance of a range of factors - Stalin's own errors, US economic interests and ideological differences. This integrated approach is then rounded off with a clear judgement in the conclusion.

## Question 8

This proved to be a highly popular question. Many candidates made good use of the sources and their own knowledge to develop a confident line of argument about the relative importance of Soviet economic and technological inferiority in bringing the Cold War to an end. The strongest candidates offered a sustained source-led analysis with impressive range and depth. Many in this category provided extensive cross-referencing of the sources to emphasise, for example, how economic and technological issues influenced the actions of Reagan, Gorbachev and East Europeans in the 1980s. Weaker candidates tended to produce: (1) a memorised 'end of Cold war' essay (often surveying the triumphalist, ideationist etc. perspectives) which was inadequately linked to the sources provided; (2) a 'potted' source by source commentary with little or no cross-referencing which prevented the development of a support/challenge approach.

Plan: Intro : def ~ why it's hard ~ FL ~ **ARGUE GOVT**

find own way

Gov: <sup>New generation of leaders</sup> - Source 12  
 - Perestroika / Glasnost / Democ.

1.7 Atagan  
 2.7 INF & START  
 3.7 End Bre Doc

gaily march

People power: - Speed of change

H  
T  
T

- Tri: Reagan & Thatcher: SDI  
 ↳ Source 11

Must be public rhetoric  
 Nuclear arms  
 Trade restrictions  
 The Eisen doctrine

CO  
A

Source 10.  
 - Economic - Could not produce consumer goods / tech  
 - Over reliance on oil - Str. of exports  
 ↳ Arms race hit by downturn  
 ↳ could not keep up.

Con: Gov



(Section B continued)

The Cold War was a state of military and political tension between the USA and members of NATO and the USSR and members of the Warsaw Pact. There has been much debate surrounding the end of the Cold War and we are unable to draw causal claims. Attitudes and views are often moulded by the Cold War as the events are <sup>fairly</sup> quite recent and we may not be able to ~~have~~ <sup>gain</sup> full access to government archives as they are still of interest to each country. Sources 10, 11 and 12 outline key arguments in the debate, each representing a different interpretation. Source 10 argues it was economic factors which ended the Cold War, factors such as a costly empire and dominance in out-dated areas, heavy industry for example. Source 11 offers an alternative interpretation, stating it was pressure from Reagan and the arms race which the Soviets realised they could not compete. This is known as the Triumphalist Triumphalist approach. Source 12 argues it was Gorbachev's New Political Thinking that caused the end of the Cold War, arguable this is the most significant factor as it was Gorbachev's reforms that led to the end of the Cold War. Collectively, the three sources identify central elements in the historical debate and argue it was a culmination of ~~fact~~ factors that led to the end of the Cold War, however it was Gorbachev's policies such as perestroika, glasnost and the ending of the Brezhnev Doctrine that were the most significant.

(Section B continued) The economic argument is reflected in Source 10 where economic realities in the 'information age' led to the demise of the Soviet Union, ending the Cold War. Indeed, the Soviet Union were behind in the producing consumer goods and they ~~relied~~ relied heavily on Western technology which came from the Helsinki Accords. It was the failure in Soviet policy that did not train or teach workers how to produce better quality goods which meant they lacked the 'knowledge' and 'skills' that the global economy ~~was~~ advocated. In the 1980's microchips and computers had begun to be ~~manufacturing~~ <sup>manufactured</sup> but to the Soviets this technology seemed ~~bewildering~~ <sup>'bewildering'</sup> and it 'became clear that Soviet and other communist leaders were facing a crisis'. Source 10 also states economic worries were heightened due to the Soviets maintaining Comran countries. 'High levels of hard-currency' debt plagued countries in the Soviet bloc and in fact 3/4 of Soviet hard currency went toward maintaining these countries. Source 10 outlines the reasons why subsidies were given to countries but they 'were really close to bankruptcy'. Furthermore the Soviet economy was over-reliant on oil and heavy industry as a source of exports, ~~81%~~ 54% of exports was heavy industry, coupled with the fact lower prices were given to satellite states and the downturn in energy prices, the Soviet economy was in crisis. Source 10 agrees with the view given in the question, arguing it was economic and

(Section B continued) Technological inferiority that led to the end of the Cold War. Maintaining a communist regime was incredibly costly and they also had to maintain their place in the arms race, demonstrated in Sarell. However, economic problems had plagued the Soviet Union since World War II, they were never able to produce enough consumer goods for the growing population and the arguments outlined in Sarell to ~~lead to the end of the Cold War~~ were not uncommon, Gorbachev was the first leader to see reform and reform would not take place without reinvigorating the 'Soviet system'.

We must also consider the Triumphant Approach which argues it was Reagan's hard line 'Militarised Counter Revolution' that caused the end of the Cold War, advocated by Sarell II. Soviet concessions, one argued, driven by 'pressure from outside'. Reagan's policy comprised of SDI which rendered mutually assured destruction outdated, coupled with the Reagan Doctrine, attaining a bigger influence in the Middle East and trade restrictions as the cause of the end of the Cold War. This can be related to Soviet technology inferiority as stated in the question as it demonstrates the need for Western technology, but after Reagan curbed trade restrictions, economic incentives would increase. The 'Center-Reagan' build up and US obsession with 'space-based defense' highlights Soviet technological inferiority.

(Section B continued) as they had nothing to compete with SDI, thus playing a key role in 'unravelling' Soviet domestic policy. Sources 10 and 11 can both agree with the interpretation given in the question by outlining factors in Soviet domestic economic policy and technological inferiority relating to the arms race. Source 11 builds upon this point by stating Gorbachev realised an end to disarmament talks was 'inevitable', he would have to reform Soviet 'security policy in Central and Eastern Europe.' This highlights Gorbachev's role in the end of the Cold War, he ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> have been influenced by economic factors which crumbled due to the moral bankruptcy of communism but it was his reform that led to the end of the Cold War. The Triumphantist interpretation outlined in Source 11 can be criticised as the Soviets never planned on withdrawing the arms race in fact one general was fired for suggesting to do so. As outlined in Source 12, Gorbachev set out deliberately to end the cold war, suggesting reform to Reagan on numerous occasions. Success from Reagan only came in the INF Treaty and START START agreement when he realised Gorbachev was serious about reform. This reinforces the point point it was Gorbachev that ended the Cold War, influenced by factors such as economic and technological inferiority, as outlined in the question.

Gorbachev represented 'a new generation of Soviet leaders' as outlined in Source 12. A generation of

(Section B continued) leaders that were not cast out of the same mould as previous Soviet ~~led~~ leaders. Arguably, the Cold War had started as the Soviets felt the need to establish a buffer zone in Eastern Europe, but Gorbachev saw utility in Cold War conflict, he was not influenced by a heavy loss in World War II. Some 12 states it was not 'geopolitical containment' or 'military deterrence' but an understanding from Soviet ~~led~~ leaders that the system ~~was~~ at home and their policies abroad had failed. Gorbachev set out to end the Cold War and looked to seek 'mutual political accommodation' through his policies perestroika (economic reform), glasnost (political reform) and democratisation, which aimed to give the public a greater voice in ~~run~~ the Soviet Union. Perhaps his most significant policy was the ending of the Brezhnev Doctrine and insistence Eastern Europe should 'find their own way to socialism'. These conclusions and 'subsequent Soviet actions' would bring the Cold War to an end. # Gorbachev withdrew from Afghanistan and at the Washington Summit finalised the INF Treaty and START Agreement. This was significant as it highlighted nuclear reduction <sup>over</sup> limitations. Gorbachev's New Political Thinking changed the 'defining core of the Soviet Union's relationship with the rest of the world.' First it encouraged the dismantling of Eastern European communist regimes and second, convinced Reagan and Thatcher she was serious about reform.

(Section B continued) and committed to ending 'the global confrontation of the Cold War.' Economic factors do play their part in the end of the cold war, explaining the speed of the ~~demise~~ occurrences across Eastern Europe but it was Gorbachev that actually sought to end the cold war through his domestic and economic policies.

We must also consider ~~pe~~ people protest & which helped end the Cold War, events in Poland, Solidarity and the role of John Paul II. The velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia highlighted the 'gorbys-nomic' as his policies sweep across Eastern Europe and also empowered the public. Ultimately, this was encouraged by Gorbachev's reform and without his insistence on not making anything Soviet influence in areas that were a formal driver and political endorsement, these changes would never ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> occurred.

In conclusion, I do not agree with the view stated in the ~~question~~ question as it was Gorbachev's reforms, based on economic ~~main~~ <sup>main</sup> worries highlighted in ~~Save 10~~ that would end the Cold War. Technically, inferiority is a significant factor as it relates to the Soviets unable to produce consumer goods and maintain the arms race, but a more significant factor was Gorbachev's ~~insist~~ ~~insistence~~ <sup>insistence</sup> on reform which ~~stemed~~ <sup>stemed</sup> from representing a <sup>new</sup> generation of leaders that felt compelled to

(Section B continued) rebuilding the Soviet economy through domestic and foreign reform. This is highlighted in Source 13 and states it was Gorbachev's policy from the start. We must also consider Source 11 and Gorbachev had the policy, including SDI but arguably this did ~~nothing~~ nothing more than prolong the end of the cold war by squandering whatever Gorbachev pushed for reform. He was influenced by economic factors and so ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> were the people of Eastern Europe, it showing the <sup>speed</sup> of change, but ultimately it would be Gorbachev that would bring the cold war to an end by recognising policies at home and abroad had failed and a new new policy was needed.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This Level 4 response integrates source material and the candidate's own knowledge to good effect. The key arguments in the sources are identified, examined and extended (with own knowledge) to develop the argument. The conclusion also makes a clear judgement about the relative importance of Soviet economic and technological inferiority.

## Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

### In-Depth Study question

- Candidates must provide more factual details.
- Candidates need to ensure their subject knowledge conforms to the specification. Weaker responses usually lacked range and/or depth of analysis.
- Stay within the specific boundaries of the question – for example, some candidates explored issues outside of the relevant time periods.
- Candidates would benefit from planning their answers more effectively.
- Candidates need to offer an analysis not provide a descriptive or chronological account. However, many candidates produced answers which were focused and developed appropriately.
- Some candidates need to analyse key phrases and concepts more carefully.
- Some candidates could have explored links and the interaction between issues more effectively.

### Associated Historical Controversy question

- It is suggested that the students who perform best on Section B tended to be those who read the sources carefully, accurately and critically; recognised themes and issues arising from the sources, then used these to address the question.
- Some candidates potentially limited themselves by closing off potential areas of enquiry by seeking to make the evidence of the sources fit the contention in the question without full thought to the issues within the sources, or by using the sources to illustrate arguments without relating evidence to other sources or own knowledge.
- Candidates need to treat the sources as a package to facilitate cross-referencing and advance a convincing line of argument. Many weaker candidates resorted to 'potted' summaries of each source which failed to develop a support/challenge approach.
- Candidates need to integrate the source material and their own knowledge more effectively to substantiate a particular view. Weaker responses were frequently too reliant on the sources provided and little, or no, own knowledge was included.
- Candidates should avoid memorised 'perspectives' essays and base their responses on the issues raised by the sources instead. The Associated Historical Controversy question is an exercise in interpretation not historiography.
- That said, there were very few really weak responses. The impression was that the substance of the source at least enabled candidates offer some development and supporting evidence. In such cases though, candidates often struggled to extend issues with own knowledge, or really analyse the given views.
- There was also a correlation between those candidates who reviewed all sources in their opening paragraph and high performance. Whilst a telling introduction is not essential, the process of carefully studying the sources to ascertain how they relate to the statement in the question prior to writing the main analysis, allows candidates to clarify and structure their arguments.



## **Grade Boundaries**

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

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