

Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option E

**E2 A World Divided:
Superpower Relations, 1944–
90**

**SOURCES
ACCOMPANYING
SECTION B**

SOURCE 1 *From Ken Booth, Statecraft and Security: the Cold War and Beyond*

The extraordinary role of Mikhail Gorbachev in taking the lead to bring the Cold War requires analysis. The ‘new political thinking’ that Gorbachev embraced had been developing for a long time within the Soviet system as the discrepancies between Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the reality became more obvious. What was new was that Gorbachev was the first leader prepared to acknowledge these discrepancies, to challenge authoritative doctrine, and above all to bring about necessary changes in policy.

SOURCE 2 *From Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Rafferty, Introduction to Global Politics*

As the Soviet economy became more complex, ‘man power’ – the key to earlier economic growth – became less important, and access to high technology became critical. The Soviet economy was afflicted by technological backwardness, low productivity, and scarcity of consumer goods, and GNP growth virtually halted in the early 1980s. In short, the Soviet economy was no longer able to support large-scale defence spending or adventures around the world.

SOURCE 3 *From Gil Troy, The Reagan Revolution*

Many forces triggered the Soviet Union’s collapse as the Cold War ended surprisingly peacefully. Still, Ronald Reagan was not just in the right place at the right time. He was the right man in the right place at the right time. His radical openness to summit-level diplomacy and to eliminating all nuclear weapons, tempered by his insistence on rebuilding America’s military, seeking effective missile defence, worked. Reagan accelerated the talks process, making Mikhail Gorbachev relaxed enough not to mobilize forces or unleash violence to prop up the ailing Soviet regime.

Examiner's Specific Advice

Unit 3 essays require a series of skills. These include focusing on the specific requirements of the question, selecting appropriate and detailed historical knowledge, and analysis and evaluation.

First, it is important to understand what the question is asking. For example, does the question implicitly or explicitly refer to a specific time period? You also need to consider the topic that the question is addressing, and the 'key concept' raised by the question. The key concept could be causation, consequence, continuity, change or significance.

Second, you will need to make a series of points supported by detailed historical knowledge. It is important that this knowledge is relevant to the question.

Third, you must avoid telling the story of the events you are covering. A better approach is to break down, or analyse, the events. This could be done by arranging your information thematically rather than chronologically.

Finally, it is important to deal correctly with the 'key concept'. For example, in a question addressing causation, you need to explain explicitly how the factors you have discussed caused the event in question. In a question regarding significance, on the other hand, you need to weigh the different factors and reach an overall judgement.

Exemplar Question

How far do you agree that the Cuban Missile Crisis was the major reason for the introduction of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963?

(30 marks)

Planning Your Response

In order to evaluate the importance of the Cuban Missile Crisis for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, it is necessary to consider a variety of possible causes of the Treaty and to evaluate the impact of each one. At the end of the essay, you must reach a judgement about the significance of the Cuban

Missile Crisis compared to these other factors. It is important that this judgement considers the extent of this significance rather than concluding only that it was the most significant.

Plan

One possible way of structuring an answer to this question would be:

- Introduction: list the factors you are going to discuss and provide a brief answer to the question
- The Cuban Missile Crisis
- The arms race
- The Soviet economy
- Conclusion

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was the most important flashpoint in the Cold War as it brought the world to the brink of nuclear oblivion. It was caused by many factors. For example, Cuba was important to both superpowers. For America, Cuba had traditionally been an ally and President Kennedy – who had become President in 1961, just a year before the Cuban Missile Crisis – was very concerned when the revolution occurred because it meant that Cuba was now a communist country well within the American sphere of influence. For Russia, Cuba was a new ally and proof that Western countries were not happy with American dominance. The Cuban Missile Crisis took place over thirteen days during which there could have been a nuclear war at any time (1).

The Cuban Missile Crisis was undoubtedly the major reason for the Test Ban Treaty. The treaty, which was signed in July 1963, was an agreement between the USA and the USSR which banned the testing of weapons in any area above the ground, including the oceans and space. Below-ground testing was still permitted. However, the Test Ban Treaty was not the only consequence of the Cuban Missile Crisis, which also introduced the 'hot line', also known as the 'red telephone', which allowed the leaders of the two superpowers to communicate in emergencies (2).

Another reason which explains the introduction of the Test Ban Treaty was the threat of nuclear

(1) This introduction sets out a number of factors that will be discussed in the essay. In addition, there is a clear link to the question. However, the introduction does not list all the factors that will be discussed in the essay, and does not clearly state the argument of the essay.

(2) This paragraph deals with the role of personalities in the ending of the Cold War. Importantly, while the sources do mention personalities, none of the sources suggests that personalities were the major factor. Instead, sources such as Source 1 and Source 3 mention the role of individuals not personalities in general. In this sense, the paragraph ignores the interpretations offered by

holocaust. Since the introduction of nuclear weapons, many people had been very worried about the consequences of an all-out nuclear war. It was widely recognised that a nuclear war would be a massive catastrophe, and although some people said we would be better 'dead than red', many other people feared the threat of a nuclear war.

Another reason for the introduction of the Test Ban Treaty was the fact that following the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy signalled his commitment to working with the USSR on areas of 'common interest'. He said this in a speech given in June 1963 and the Test Ban Treaty was signed a month later, which shows the significance of the speech for the signing of the treaty (3).

Finally, the Test Ban Treaty was also in Khrushchev's interest. Khrushchev repeatedly claimed that the USSR was ahead in the arms race. In 1956, during the Suez Crisis, he threatened to launch a full-scale nuclear attack on Britain, France and Israel. He also repeatedly threatened to use nuclear weapons during his 'nuclear diplomacy' with Kennedy at the Geneva Conference of 1961. Khrushchev said that the USSR could produce nuclear missiles like it produced sausages. Many in the West believed this was true and the successful launch of Sputnik – the world's first artificial satellite – in 1957, and Vostok 1, which made Yuri Gagarin the first man in space, seemed to prove that the USSR was winning the technological race. However, most of this was bluff and bluster (4).

Overall, there were many reasons for the signing of the Test Ban Treaty. The most important reason was the fear of nuclear war (5).

Examiner Assessment

This essay shows some understanding of the focus of the question, and therefore should be awarded a mark within Level 3. However, the supporting information is often vague or only partially relevant to the question. It therefore deserves a Low Level 3.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

The Test Ban Treaty that was signed by the USA and the USSR in July 1963 banned the testing of

the sources and therefore does not fully meet the requirements of the exam.

(3) This paragraph, and that before it, contain relevant own knowledge and reference to the sources. However, reference to the sources is brief, and does not drive the analysis.

(4) This paragraph discusses a factor relevant to the question, but makes no reference to the sources. This is a dangerous strategy in an essay where so many marks are awarded for source work.

(5) This conclusion is extremely brief and assertive rather than analytical.

nuclear weapons in the air, in the sea or in space. Essentially, it was signed for three main reasons. In the short term the Cuban Missile Crisis focused the minds of the leaders of the World's two superpowers and quickly led to the treaty. Longer term factors included the arms race, which started in 1945 and continued throughout the Cold War. The final long-term factor was the Russian economy, which, unlike the American economy, struggled to produce nuclear weapons as well as consumer goods. In this sense, any treaty which limited the progress of the arms race was good for the USSR as it would, in turn, free up resources for consumer goods, which were of great significance for Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders (6).

The Cuban Missile Crisis was undoubtedly one of the main reasons for the Test Ban Treaty. During the 'Thirteen Days' at the heart of the crisis it seemed that a nuclear war was inevitable. Khrushchev had sent Soviet boats to Cuba containing the materials necessary to build missile bases on the island. Kennedy responded by setting up a five-hundred-mile quarantine zone in which American ships would stop and search any Russia ship. This raised a real possibility of war between the two superpowers as any small conflict between the two countries over the naval blockade could escalate into a full-scale nuclear confrontation. A second problem was that American spy planes flying over Cuba came under attack from Cuban anti-missile weapons. Again, any Cuban attack on American planes could escalate and lead to nuclear war. In this way, the Cuban Missile Crisis showed how precarious world peace was and therefore forced Soviet and American leaders to try and make the situation more stable by signing the Test Ban Treaty (7).

However, the Cuban Missile Crisis was only the short-term catalyst, as the dangers of a nuclear war had been recognised for many years. America began the arms race in 1945 after it successfully detonated 'Fat Man' and 'Little Boy', the first atomic weapons, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Four years later the USSR caught up and tested its first nuclear weapon 'Joe 1'. America went further, developing the hydrogen bomb in 1952. Russia caught up in 1953 with 'layer cake', its first hydrogen bomb. Hydrogen bombs were more than ten times more powerful than the first generation of atomic weapons. More worrying still was that

(6) This introduction accurately summarises the interpretations of all three sources, and uses these arguments in combination to answer the question set.

(7) This paragraph addresses the interpretation mentioned in the question, using the sources and own knowledge in combination to explore Gorbachev's role in ending the Cold War.

(8) Again, this paragraph explores the interpretation offered in Source 1, integrating both information from the other sources and own knowledge.

Khrushchev threatened to use his nuclear weapons against Britain and France during the 1957 Suez Crisis; Eisenhower deployed nuclear weapons during the 1959 Taiwan Strait incident; and both the USSR and the USA came close to war during the Berlin Crisis of 1960–61. In this sense, the instability of the Cold War and the potential for a nuclear war was evident before the Cuban Missile Crisis and therefore the signing of the Test Ban Treaty was the result of pressure which had been building for many years (8).

Finally, the condition of the Russian economy gave Khrushchev a good reason for signing the treaty, as it limited the arms race and therefore removed a significant financial burden on the Soviet economy. The USA had the largest economy in the world, but following the Second World War the USSR had the fastest growing economy. However, by 1960 the Soviet economy's rate of growth was slowing and it still showed no sign of catching up with America. This was a big problem for Khrushchev, who wanted to have a nuclear arsenal as large as America's and have 'goulash socialism', that is to say a socialist society with a high standard of living and plenty of consumer goods. Essentially, the Soviet economy was unable to produce both. The Test Ban Treaty placed a limit on the future of the arms race. For example, the ban on nuclear tests in space meant that Khrushchev would not have to spend his scarce resources on making space-based nuclear weapons. Clearly, the state of the Soviet economy was one of the reasons that Khrushchev signed the Test Ban Treaty, but it is not as important as the other reasons because it only explains why the USSR was in favour of the treaty (9).

In conclusion, the Cuban Missile Crisis was the short-term catalyst that brought about the Test Ban Treaty. However, that is not the whole story. Pressure had been building for an international agreement to control nuclear weapons since the late 1950s due to their enormous destructive power and the instability of superpower relations. The Soviet economy was also a factor, but it was of less significance. Certainly, the treaty was one way in which Khrushchev could limit Soviet defence spending, but this is the least important reason as it tells us nothing about America's motives, and the treaty was signed by both superpowers (10).

(9) Finally, this paragraph uses the interpretation given in Source 3 to examine the significance of the arguments set out in Sources 1 and 2.

(10) The conclusion reaches a clear judgement, which reflects the argument set out in the rest of the essay.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

<p>Examiner’s Assessment</p> <p>This is a focused, detailed and analytical answer, which considers the relative importance of a range of factors. This would achieve a mark within Level 5.</p>	
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option E

**E2 A World Divided:
Superpower Relations, 1944–
90**

**Mark Scheme
for Section A**

How far do you agree that the Cuban Missile Crisis was the major reason for the introduction of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963?

(30 marks)

Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%) (30 marks)

The essay questions in Section A will have an analytical focus, requiring candidates to reach a substantiated judgement on a historical issue or problem.

Level 1	<p>Candidates will produce a series of statements, some of which may be simplified. The statements will be supported by factual material which has some accuracy and relevance although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. The writing may have some coherence and it will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 5–6 marks</p>	(1–6)
----------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.	
Level 2	<p>Candidates will produce statements with some development in the form of mostly accurate and relevant factual material. There will be some analysis, but focus on the analytical demand of the question will be largely implicit. Candidates will attempt to make links between the statements and the material is unlikely to be developed very far. The writing will show elements of coherence but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. The range of skills needed to produce a convincing essay is likely to be limited. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 11–12 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	(7–12)
Level 3	<p>Candidates' answers will be broadly analytical and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They may, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus in places. Factual material will be accurate, but it may not consistently display depth and/or relevance. The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes will not normally be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate some of the skills needed to produce a convincing essay, but there may be passages which show deficiencies in organisation. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</p> <p>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less</p>	(13–18)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	<p>convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 17–18 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	
Level 4	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it, with some evaluation of argument. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material, which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places. The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce a convincing and cogent essay will be mostly in place.</p> <p>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 23–24 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	(19–24)
Level 5	<p>Candidates offer a sustained analysis which directly addresses the focus of the question. They demonstrate explicit understanding of the key issues raised by the question, evaluating arguments and – as appropriate – interpretations. The analysis will be supported by an appropriate range and depth of accurate and well-selected factual material. The answer will be cogent and lucid in exposition. Occasional syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but they will not impede coherent deployment of the material and argument. Overall, the answer will show mastery of essay-writing skills.</p> <p>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks</p>	

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	<p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 29–30 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	
--	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

**Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option E**

**E2 A World Divided:
Superpower Relations, 1944–
90**

SECTION B

Examiner’s Specific Advice

The Unit 3 Section B essay requires you to demonstrate the following skills.

- You need to comprehend the sources and understand the ways in which they support or challenge the view advanced in the question.
- You must evaluate the interpretations of the sources in the light of your own knowledge.
- You are expected to select information from the sources in order to make an argument that addresses the question.
- You must use your own knowledge to either develop or contradict the interpretations offered by the sources.
- You should treat the sources as a package rather than as separate entities. In practice, this means cross-referencing.

When approaching a Section B question, it is important to identify the debate that the question concerns. In this option, there are two possible debates. The first concerns the origins of the Cold War, from the conferences between Russia, America and Britain towards the end of the Second World War, and the extent to which rivalry, aggression and ideology were important in the emergence of superpower conflict. The second debate concerns the reasons why the Cold War ended in the late 1980s, including the impact of personalities, the relative economic success and failure of the superpowers, and the perceived ideological failure of Marxism-Leninism.

Having recognised the debate, read the sources and identify which source(s) support(s) the proposition in the question, and which source(s) challenge(s) it. Note that some sources will not have a marked opinion and could be used to support either side of the debate.

Exemplar Question

How far do you agree with the view that Mikhail Gorbachev played an 'extraordinary role' in bringing about the end of the Cold War?

(40 marks)

Planning Your Response

This question relates to the second debate: the reasons for the end of the Cold War. The question contains a small quote from Source 1, which enjoys some support from the other two sources. Nonetheless, other factors are also suggested by the sources. Source 1 refers to the failure of Marxism-Leninism. Source 2 attributes the end of the Cold War to problems with the Soviet economy. Source 3, however, states that the Cold War ended because of the role played by Ronald Reagan.

Plan

One possible way of structuring an answer to this question would be:

- Introduction: agrees with the view stated in the question and sets out the different interpretations and the different themes the essay will discuss
- The role played by President Gorbachev
- The problems within the Soviet economy
- The role played by President Reagan
- The failure of Marxism-Leninism
- Conclusion

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

Using the sources and my own knowledge, I agree that it was the 'extraordinary role' of Mikhail Gorbachev that ended the Cold War in the late 1980s. However, I also think that other factors were important. For example, President Ronald Reagan, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the problems in the Soviet economy (1).

Personalities played an extremely important role in the ending of the Cold War. A good example of this is the relationship between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, leaders of Britain and America respectively. The media called the relationship between the two leaders 'the Reagan-Thatcher love-in'. They were united in their belief that communism was evil and that capitalism was the best economic policy. For this reason, they worked together against the 'evil empire' of Soviet Russia, and it was the victory of these two remarkable personalities that ended the Cold War. President Gorbachev also played a key role. Margaret Thatcher described him as 'a man I can do business with' and he said she was the 'iron lady'.

(1) This introduction sets out a number of factors that will be discussed. In addition, there is a clear link to the question. However, the introduction does not list all the factors that will be discussed in the essay, and does not clearly state the argument of the essay.

(2) This paragraph deals with the role of personalities in the ending of the Cold War. Importantly, while the sources do mention personalities, none of the sources suggests that

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

Gorbachev's personality helped to end the Cold War because he was a reformer who introduced *glasnost* and *perestroika* and in so doing undermined the Soviet system and ended the Soviet empire. Two of the sources agree with this interpretation. Source 1 says that Gorbachev played a 'remarkable role'. Additionally, Source 3 says that Ronald Reagan was 'the right man in the right place at the right time'. Therefore, these two sources and my own knowledge agree that personalities played a major role in ending the Cold War (2).

Another reason for the ending of the Cold War was problems with the Soviet economy. At the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet economy was the fastest growing economy in the world. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, economic growth slowed down and, by the early 1980s, the Soviet economy was beginning to shrink. The industrial production rate had declined since 1975 and, technologically, the Soviet economy lagged far behind Western economies. What is more, the USSR was suffering from 'global overstretch' which meant it was fighting an expensive war in Afghanistan, it was financing left-wing regimes in Angola and the Horn of Africa, and it was committed to keeping pace with American spending on nuclear weapons. Source 2 clearly supports this view, saying that 'as the Soviet economy became more complex, "man power" became less important and access to high technology became critical.' For this reason, Gorbachev was unable to keep up with America and ended the Cold War so that Russia could benefit from Western investment and technology (3).

A final reason for the ending of the Cold War was America's SDI – or 'Star Wars' – programme. Ronald Reagan was committed to defending America and proposed a 'nuclear umbrella' made up of satellites which could shoot down Soviet missiles before they entered American airspace. This idea was based on American superiority in the space race. In 1969, they beat the Russians to the moon and, in the early 1980s, they launched the first space shuttle. 'Star Wars' threatened to make Soviet nuclear weapons redundant and confirmed the superiority of America's military might. This links to the weaknesses of the Soviet economy because the USSR could not keep up with American defence plans or with superior American space technology. Therefore, the Cold War ended because SDI confirmed America's position as the dominant

personalities were the major factor. Instead, sources such as Source 1 and Source 3 mention the role of individuals not personalities in general. In this sense, the paragraph ignores the interpretations offered by the sources and therefore does not fully meet the requirements of the exam.

(3) This paragraph, and that before it, contain relevant own knowledge and reference to the sources. However, reference to the sources is brief, and does not drive the analysis.

(4) This paragraph discusses a factor relevant to the question, but makes no reference to the sources. This

world power and the USSR was unable to keep up economically or technologically (4).

In conclusion, it is clear from the sources and my own knowledge that President Gorbachev did play an 'extraordinary role' in bringing about the end of the Cold War (5).

Examiner's Assessment

This essay does focus on the question but it is much stronger in terms of own knowledge than in terms of source work. This is problematic because only 16 marks are available for own knowledge, whereas 24 marks are available for source work. Therefore, this essay is awarded Level 4 for AO1 and High Level 2 for AO2.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

It is certainly true that Mikhail Gorbachev played an 'extraordinary role' in bringing about the end of the Cold War. This is very much the interpretation given in Source 1, which links the reforming drive of Gorbachev's personality with the decline in Marxism-Leninism, the ideology which underpinned Soviet communism. Source 2, on the other hand, focuses on economic and technical problems in the Soviet Union rather than personalities or ideas. Source 3 shifts the focus to America, arguing that it was a combination of Ronald Reagan's personal skills and his vision of a nuclear-free world which brought the Cold War to an end. In truth, the end of the Cold War was brought about by extraordinary efforts on both sides. Gorbachev recognised the ideological and economic problems facing the Soviet Union, and Reagan created an environment in which it was possible for Gorbachev to compromise without appearing weak (6).

Gorbachev's 'extraordinary role' is emphasised in Source 1. Historian Ken Booth argues that Gorbachev was the first Soviet leader to publicly recognise the fact that there were 'discrepancies between Marxist-Leninist doctrine and reality'. Part of the problem facing Gorbachev is highlighted in Source 2. Here, Mansbach and Rafferty argue that the most important problem facing the Soviet Union was its technological backwardness, 'low productivity and scarcity of consumer goods'. Gorbachev's reform agenda, known as *perestroika*, aimed to move the Soviet economy away from the central planning that was strangling enterprise,

is a dangerous strategy in an essay where so many marks are awarded for source work.

(5) This conclusion is extremely brief and assertive rather than analytical.

(6) This introduction accurately summarises the interpretations of all three sources, and uses these arguments in combination to answer the question set.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

towards a more market-based system. This required a major investment from the West, which in turn necessitated reaching an agreement with America. In this sense, Gorbachev's 'extraordinary role' was to recognise that change was necessary and to start talking to the West, initiating a process that would lead to the end of the Cold War (7).

The problems with Marxism-Leninism, mentioned in Source 1, were not purely economic. Indeed, Gorbachev's 'new political thinking' also encompassed *glasnost* (openness). Gorbachev was committed to greater openness within the Soviet Union. This included a free press and greater democracy within the Communist system. This, as Source 1 suggests, was a major problem for Marxism-Leninism which affirmed that the Communist Party alone should play the leading political role and that the Communists should decide what the public were and were not allowed to know. Gorbachev's *glasnost* was in part a response to Western criticism from President Reagan, who confronted Gorbachev about the lack of democracy in the Russian system during the summit meetings mentioned in Source 3. Gorbachev's openness about the problems with Marxism-Leninism weakened the authority of the Soviet system, which had traditionally been based on the idea that Marxism-Leninism was superior to capitalism and democracy. This destabilised the Soviet system, thus leading to the end of the Cold War (8).

Source 3 emphasises the role that Ronald Reagan played, describing him as 'the right man in the right place at the right time'. Significantly, Reagan was committed to disarmament and even spoke of a nuclear-free world. This was highly attractive to Gorbachev who hoped to revive the Soviet economy by disarming, because, as Source 2 comments, it was 'no longer able to support large-scale defence spending'. Reagan was also important because he helped Gorbachev to play his 'extraordinary role'. In contrast to Source 2, which suggests that Gorbachev had no choice but to reform, Source 3 agrees with Source 1 that Gorbachev chose the path of reform. Source 3 goes further, pointing to the fact that Reagan created conditions in which Gorbachev felt 'relaxed enough' to reform. By this, Troy means that Reagan showed clear commitment to ending the arms race and withdrawing medium-range nuclear missiles from Western Europe. In this way, Reagan was the 'right man in the right place at the right time' because he enabled Gorbachev to

(7) This paragraph addresses the interpretation mentioned in the question, using the sources and own knowledge in combination to explore Gorbachev's role in ending the Cold War.

(8) Again, this paragraph explores the interpretation offered in Source 1, integrating both information from the other sources and own knowledge.

(9) This paragraph uses the interpretation given in Source 3 to examine the significance of the arguments set out in

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

<p><u>reform and therefore to bring about the end of the Cold War (9).</u></p> <p><u>In conclusion, Mikhail Gorbachev certainly played an 'extraordinary role' due to his commitment to political and economic reform in the USSR and negotiating an end to the arms race with the West. Nonetheless, this role would not have been possible unless Ronald Reagan had been equally committed to ending hostilities between the world's two superpowers. Indeed, while Source 1 and Source 2 are correct to see Gorbachev as the central figure in the ending of the Cold War, it is Source 3 which correctly points out that it was Reagan's 'radical openness to summit-level diplomacy' and willingness to compromise on nuclear weapons that created the conditions in which Gorbachev could implement reforms whilst still remaining strong in the eyes of his people and the world (10).</u></p> <p>Examiner's Assessment</p> <p>This excellent essay takes the interpretations offered by the three sources as a starting point from which to construct an argument which directly answers the question, integrating not only the sources but also own knowledge. For this reason, this essay achieves Level 5 in both AO1 and AO2.</p>	<p>Sources 1 and 2.</p> <p>(10) The conclusion reaches a clear judgement, which reflects the argument set out in the rest of the essay.</p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option E**

**E2 A World Divided:
Superpower Relations, 1944–
90**

**Mark Scheme
for Section B**

How far do you agree with the view that Mikhail Gorbachev played an 'extraordinary role' in bringing about the end of the Cold War?

(40 marks)

Target: AO1a and AO1b (16 marks); AO2b (24 marks) (Total 40 marks)

The question will require candidates to compare the provided source material in the process of exploring an issue of historical debate and reaching substantiated judgements in the light of their own knowledge and understanding of the issues of interpretation and controversy. Students must attempt the controversy question that is embedded within the period context.

AO1a and AO1b (16 marks)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

<p>Level 1</p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of statements, some of which may be simplified, on the basis of factual material which has some accuracy and relevance although not directed at the focus of the question. Links with the presented source material will be implicit at best. The factual material will be mostly generalised and there will be few, if any, links between the statements. The writing may have some coherence and it will be generally comprehensible but passages will lack clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 1: 1 mark</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 2 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 3 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(1–3)</p>
<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce statements deriving from their own knowledge and may attempt to link this with the presented source material. Knowledge will have some accuracy and relevance. There may be some analysis, but focus on the analytical demand of the question will be largely implicit. Candidates will attempt to make links between the statements and the material is unlikely to be developed very far. The writing will show elements of coherence but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. The range of skills needed to produce a convincing essay is likely to be limited. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 2: 4 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 5 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p>	<p>(4–6)</p>

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	<p>High Level 2: 6 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	
Level 3	<p>Candidates attempt a broadly analytical response from their own knowledge, which offers some support for the presented source material. Knowledge will be generally accurate and relevant. The answer will show some understanding of the focus of the question but may include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus in places. Attempts at analysis will be supported by generally accurate factual material which will lack balance in places. The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes will not normally be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate some of the skills needed to produce a convincing essay, but there may be passages which show deficiencies in organisation. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</p> <p>Low Level 3: 7 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 8–9 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 10 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	(7–10)
Level 4	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response from their own knowledge which supports analysis of presented source material and which attempts integration with it. Knowledge will be generally well selected and accurate and will have some range and depth. The selected material will address the focus of the question and show some understanding of the key issues contained in it with some evaluation of argument and – as appropriate – interpretation. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked although the selection of material may lack balance in places. The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce a convincing and cogent essay will be mostly in place.</p> <p>Low Level 4: 11 marks</p>	(11–13)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	<p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 12 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 13 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	
Level 5	<p>Candidates offer a sustained analysis from their own knowledge which both supports, and is integrated with, analysis of the presented source material. Knowledge will be well selected, accurate and of appropriate range and depth. The selected material directly addresses the focus of the question. Candidates demonstrate explicit understanding of the key issues raised by the question, evaluating arguments and – as appropriate – interpretations. The analysis will be supported by an appropriate range and depth of accurate and well-selected factual material. The answer will be cogent and lucid in exposition. Occasional syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but they will not impede coherent deployment of the material and argument. Overall, the answer will show mastery of essay-writing skills.</p> <p>Low Level 5: 14 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 15 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 16 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	(14–16)

AO2b (24 marks)

Level 1	Comprehends the surface features of sources and selects from them in order to identify points which support or differ from the	(1–4)
----------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	<p>view posed in the question. When reaching a decision in relation to the question, the sources will be used singly and in the form of a summary of their information. Own knowledge of the issue under debate will be presented as information but not integrated with the provided material.</p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 1: 3–4 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	
Level 2	<p>Comprehends the sources and notes points of challenge and support for the stated claim. Combines the information from the sources to illustrate points linked to the question. When supporting judgements made in relation to the question, relevant source content will be selected and summarised and relevant own knowledge of the issue will be added. The answer may lack balance but one aspect will be developed from the sources. Reaches an overall decision but with limited support.</p> <p>Low Level 2: 5–6 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 2: 7–9 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	(5–6)
Level 3	<p>Interprets the sources with confidence, showing the ability to analyse some key points of the arguments offered and to reason from the evidence of the sources. Develops points of challenge and support for the stated claim from the provided source material and deploys material gained from relevant reading and knowledge of the issues under discussion. Shows clear understanding that the issue is one of interpretation. Focuses directly on the question when structuring the response, although, in addressing the specific enquiry, there may be some lack of balance. Reaches a judgement in relation to the claim, supported by information and argument from the sources and from own knowledge of the issues under debate.</p> <p>Low Level 3: 10–11 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 3: 12–14 marks</p>	(10–14)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.	
Level 4	<p>Interprets the sources with confidence, showing the ability to understand the basis of the arguments offered by the authors and to relate these to wider knowledge of the issues under discussion. Discussion of the claim in the question proceeds from an exploration of the issues raised by the process of analysing the sources and the extension of these issues from other relevant reading and own knowledge of the points under debate. Presents an integrated response with developed reasoning and debating of the evidence in order to create judgements in relation to the stated claim, although not all the issues will be fully developed. Reaches and sustains a conclusion based on the discriminating use of the evidence.</p> <p>Low Level 4: 15–16 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 4: 17–19 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	(15–19)
Level 5	<p>Interprets the sources with confidence and discrimination, assimilating the authors' arguments and displaying independence of thought in the ability to assess the presented views in the light of own knowledge and reading. Treatment of argument and discussion of evidence will show that the full demands of the question have been appreciated and addressed. Presents a sustained evaluative argument and reaches fully substantiated conclusions demonstrating an understanding of the nature of historical debate.</p> <p>Low Level 5: 20–21 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 5: 22–24 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	(20–24)

Chronology: Key Events in *A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90*

Year	Month	Event
1943	November	Tehran Conference
1944	June	Allied forces invade France
	July	Red Army enters Poland: National Liberation Committee set up
	August	Formation of coalition government in Romania
	September	Communist coup in Bulgaria
	October	Anglo-Soviet 'percentages agreement'
	December	British suppress Communist uprising in Greece
		Franco-Soviet Treaty
1945	February	Yalta Conference
	April	Liberation of Czechoslovakia
	May	Unconditional German surrender
	July	USA recognises Communist-dominated Polish Government of National Unity
		USA successfully tests an atom bomb
	July-August	Potsdam Conference
	August	USA drops an atom bomb on Hiroshima
		USA drops an atom bomb on Nagasaki
1946	March	Churchill's Iron Curtain speech
	April	Social Unity Party (SED) formed
	May	General Clay halts reparation payments from Soviet zone
1947	January	Anglo-American Bizonia formed
	February	Peace treaties signed with Italy, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary
	March	Truman Doctrine announced
	March-April	Council of Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Moscow
	May	Communists excluded from government in France and Italy
	June	Marshall Aid Programme announced
	July	US Congress passes the National Security Act
	October	Cominform founded
	December	Break-up of London Foreign Ministers' Conference
1948	February	Communist coup in Czechoslovakia
	March	Brussels Pact signed
	June	London Six Power Conference recommends calling of a West German Constituent Assembly
		Currency reform in Western zones
		Berlin Blockade begins
		Berlin airlift begins
	September	Parliamentary council meets in Bonn
1949	April	NATO set up
	May	USSR lifts Berlin Blockade
		Basic Law approved in FRG
		People's Congress approves GDR Constitution
	August	USSR successfully tests an atomic bomb

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	September	FRG established
	October	GDR set up
		People's Republic of China proclaimed
1950	February	Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship
	April	Publication of NSC 68 in USA
	June	Outbreak of Korean War
		UN Security Council votes in favour of sending forces to defend South Korea
	September	USA proposes FRG rearmament
	October	French Assembly approves Pleven Plan
		UN forces capture Pyongyang
	November	Chinese troops enter the Korean War
1951	April	European Coal and Steel Community (Schuman Plan) Treaty signed
		Truman relieves MacArthur of the command of UN forces in Korea
	June	Armistice talks begin
	September	Signature of ANZUS Pact
		USA signs peace treaty with Japan
1952	March	Stalin's note, proposing a neutral united Germany
	May	European Defence Community (EDC) Treaty signed in Paris
	November	USA tests first hydrogen bomb
1953	March	Death of Stalin
	June	Strikes and riots in the GDR
	July	Korean War ends
	August	Overthrow of the Iranian prime minister Muhammed Mossadeq
		USSR tests its hydrogen bomb
	December	Eisenhower proposes his 'Atoms for Peace' plan to the UN General Assembly
1954	January	Chinese communists bombard Nationalist islands of Quemoy and Matsu
	May	French forces are defeated by the Vietminh at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu
	June	CIA intervention in coup against Guatemala's President Guzman
	July	Geneva Accords temporarily partition Vietnam
	August	EDC rejected by the French Assembly
	September	SEATO treaty signed
1955	May	The FRG becomes a sovereign state and joins NATO
		Warsaw Pact signed
	September	USSR recognises sovereignty of GDR
	October	Geneva Summit
1956	February	Khrushchev attacks Stalin at 20th Party Congress
	June	Riots in Poland
	October-November	Hungarian uprising defeated
	November	Suez Crisis
1957	January	Announcement of the Eisenhower Doctrine
	March	Treaty of Rome signed

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

	October	Launch of <i>Sputnik</i>
	November	Mao attends Moscow Conference
1958	February	Rapacki Plan for a nuclear-free central Europe
	July	US forces land in Lebanon
		NASA set up
	July-August	Khrushchev meets Mao in Beijing
	August	People's Republic of China resumes bombardment of Nationalist offshore islands
	November	Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum
1959	January	Castro sets up a revolutionary government in Cuba
1960	May	US U2 spy plane shot down over USSR
		Paris Summit breaks down
	July	Soviet advisers withdrawn from PRC
1961	June	Kennedy and Khrushchev meet at the Vienna Summit
	August	Frontier between East and West Berlin closed
1962	July	USA and USSR sign agreement in Geneva respecting the neutrality of Laos
	September	USA warns USSR on installation of missiles in Cuba
	October-November	Cuban Missile Crisis
1963	June	USA and USSR agree to establish a 'hot line' from the White House to the Kremlin
		Mao attacks Soviet policy of coexistence with the West
	August	Test Ban Treaty
	November	President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam assassinated in an army coup
	November	President Kennedy assassinated in Dallas, Texas
1964	October	Fall of Khrushchev
1965	February	US bombing of North Vietnam begins
1967	June	China explodes its first hydrogen bomb
1968	August	Invasion of Czechoslovakia
	July	Non-proliferation Treaty
1969	September	Brandt becomes Chancellor of FRG
		Sino-Soviet relations reach their lowest level
1970	August	USSR-FRG Moscow Treaty
	December	Warsaw Treaty
1971	September	Four Power Treaty on Berlin
1972	February	President Nixon visits China
	May	SALT I
		Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty signed
	October	Beginning of the oil price crisis
	December	Basic Treaty between FRG and GDR
1974	March	End of the oil price crisis
	July	SALT II negotiations
1975	August	Helsinki Final Act
1979	May	Margaret Thatcher becomes Prime Minister
	December	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
1980	December	Martial law declared in Poland
1981	January	Inauguration of Ronald Reagan as US President
1982	November	Brezhnev succeeded by Andropov
1985	March	Gorbachev becomes USSR Party Leader

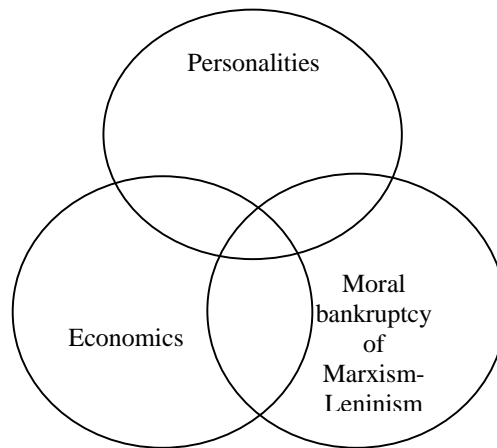
Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

1986	October	USSR-USA Summit at Reykjavik
1989	June	Elections in Poland
	September	Hungary allows GDR citizens through frontier to Austria
	November	Berlin Wall breached
1990	October	Germany reunified
1991	December	USSR formally dissolved

Teaching Activities

1. Reasons for the ending of the Cold War: Venn Diagram

As a class, students produce a list of reasons for the ending of the Cold War. Students are given an A3 copy of the following Venn diagram:



Students then place each factor onto the Venn diagram, showing the ways in which different factors relate to each other.

Hints

- Less able students could be given a list of reasons for the ending of the Cold War, which they then place on the diagram.
- The most able students could be encouraged to use different colours to emphasise the relative importance of the different factors. For example, factors which are most important could be red, and the least important could be blue. Once they have categorised reasons in order of relative importance, the students could be asked to write a paragraph explaining which factor was most important and why.

2. Make your own exam paper

Students should be shown a range of existing exam papers for this option. They then make a list of the key features of the exam papers; for example, they could note

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – E2 A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1944–90

that the paper is divided into two sections, and that the second section has three secondary sources accompanying the question.

Students should then use their own knowledge and a copy of the specification to design their own Section A question. This requires no sources, but does require an understanding of the 'question stems' used by Edexcel, and the range of content covered on the specification.

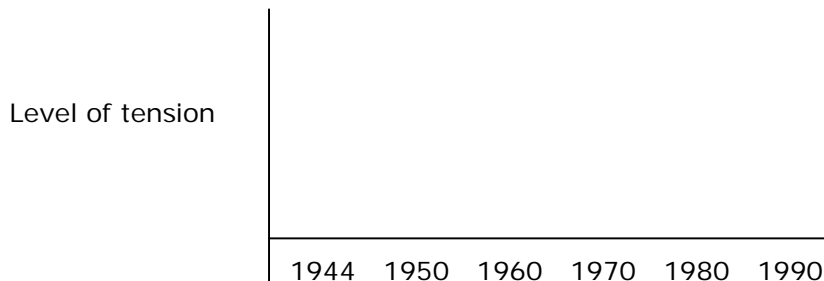
Next, students create a Section B question using either a range of books on the Cold War or an online library such as Google Books. Students select three extracts, from three different secondary sources, offering three different interpretations of either the causes of the Cold War or the reasons for its end. Having chosen the sources, students then write an appropriate question to accompany them.

Hints

- Once the exam papers have been designed, students could swap papers with a partner and plan their answers to the questions. They should return these to the person who designed the exam paper, who could mark them using the exam board mark scheme.
- Less able students could be given eight or nine sources from which to select their sources for Section B.

3. Graph of superpower relations

In small groups, students are given a large sheet of paper. They draw the following axes on the paper:



They are also given small cards on which are written the key events of the Cold War. Students place these small cards along the x-axis according to when the events occurred, and up the y-axis according to the level of tension between East and West at each point.

Hints

- As an opening activity, students could be given large versions of the small cards. Each student has one card, and students holding cards come to the front of the room and arrange themselves in chronological order from memory.
- Following the graph activity, students could bring the large cards to the front again and could arrange themselves in order of impact on superpower relations. A question-and-answer session could be used to ensure that students can justify their positions.

Additional Sample Questions

Section A

1. Why did the Cold War continue after the death of Stalin in 1953?
2. How far do you agree that Khrushchev's policy of 'peaceful co-existence' was motivated by his desire to reduce defence spending in the USSR?
3. How far do you agree that President Kennedy was primarily responsible for the peaceful resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis?
4. To what extent was there a 'balance of terror' in the arms race between the superpowers in the years 1949–63?
5. Why did Mao Zedong agree to sign the Soviet-Chinese Treaty in 1950?
6. How significant was 'ping-pong' diplomacy for the development of superpower relations in the years 1969–75?
7. How far was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the primary reason for the breakdown of détente in 1980?
8. Why was there a period of détente between 1969 and 1980?

Section B

1. How far do you agree with the view that the battle between capitalism and communism best explains the emergence of the Cold War in the years 1945–53?
2. How far do you agree with the view that the Cold War developed as a response to Stalin's 'naked aggression'?
3. How far do you agree with the view that the Cold War ended due to the failure of Gorbachev's reforms?
4. How far do you agree with the view that America won the Cold War because of the superiority of its economic system?

Resources

Melvyn P. Leffler and David S. Painter, *The Origins of the Cold War: An International History* (Routledge, 2005)

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War* (Penguin, 2007)

Martin McCauley, *Russia, America and the Cold War: 1949–1991* (Longman, 2008)

Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2003)

Mike Sewell, *The Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Martin Walker, *The Cold War and the Making of the Modern World* (Vintage, 1994)