Class:



For Marker's Use	

NAN CHIAU HIGH SCHOOL

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2024 SECONDARY FOUR

HISTORY

Paper 2

2174/02

22 August 2024, Thursday

1 hour 50 minutes

Additional Material: Writing paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, class and index number on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen. Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer all parts of Question 1.

Section B

Answer **two** questions. Please start your answer for Section B on a fresh page.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work for Sections A and B separately.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question. The total marks for this paper is 50.

This paper consists of **6** printed pages including the cover page.

Section A: Source-based Case Study

Question 1 is for all candidates.

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources you are told to use. In answering the questions, you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 (a) Study Source A.

What is the message of the cartoonist? Explain your answer using details from the source and your contextual knowledge. [5]

(b) Study Source B.

Is Source B useful as evidence about how the Cold War started? Explain your answer. [5]

(c) Study Source C.

Does Source C prove that the Marshall Plan was unjustified? Explain your answer. [6]

(d) Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D make you surprised by Source E? Explain your answer. [6]

(e) Study all the sources.

"The Marshall Plan was to blame for starting the Cold War in Europe." How far do these sources support this view? Use the sources and your knowledge to support your answer. [8]

Was the Marshall Plan to blame for starting the Cold War?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Read this carefully. It may help you answer some of the questions.

The Marshall Plan, officially known as the European Recovery Programme, was an American initiative to aid Europe following the devastation of World War II. It was announced by George C. Marshall on 5 June 1947. The first of American credits was disbursed in April 1948 to Western European countries. Initially, the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania considered participating in the programme. However, due to Soviet suspicions of American motives, these countries eventually rejected participation in the Marshall Plan.

Given this outcome, can the Marshall Plan be seen as starting the Cold War?

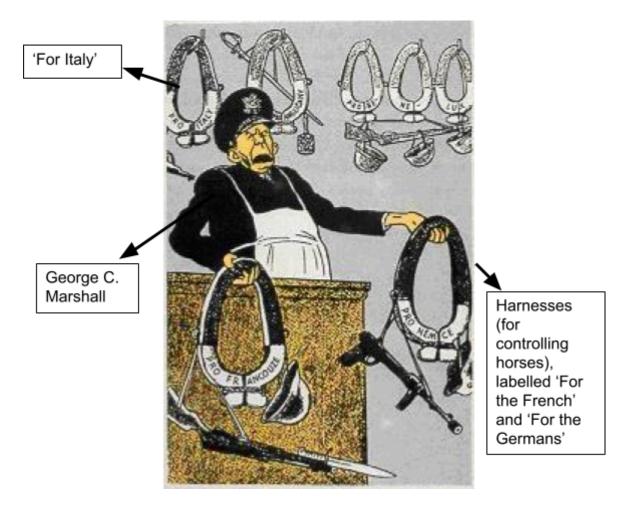
Source A: A British cartoon depicting the Eastern European countries' reaction towards the Marshall Plan, 1948. The first woman in the line is Stalin.



Source B: Adapted from a monthly news bulletin by a left-wing magazine in the United States, October 1947.

Stalin seized Eastern Europe and the Balkans, using these lands to recoup his war losses. The Russians took whole factories, machinery, rolling stock, raw materials, agricultural commodities, livestock and personal articles looted by their victorious soldiers. The creation of puppet states and their occupation by Russian troops created an immense defensive territorial ring around Russia, long before the Marshall Plan. Indeed, the Marshall Plan was to halt the Stalinist drive in Europe, but with the \$22 billion, the Western European nations go deeper into debt to American capitalism, and now rely chiefly on the United States. Thus, we observe a conflict between two exploitive systems—two hostile powers fighting for Europe. They have created a stand-off. Economic and political unity of Europe cannot be accomplished.

Source C: A Russian cartoon, translated to Czech and re-published in Czechoslovakia, 1949. It is titled 'Marshall's Plan in practice'.



Source D: Adapted from George C. Marshall's speech, 5 June 1947. Marshall was the United States Secretary of State, the chief foreign policy advisor.

The United States should do whatever it can to assist the world back to normal economic health, in order for political stability and assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Any government, political parties, or groups which seek to block the recovery of other countries or to perpetuate human misery for political profit will encounter the opposition of the United States. Our role should be to aid in the drafting of a European program, which should be agreed by a number, if not all European nations. Political prejudice should have no part.

Source E: Adapted from V.M Molotov's memoirs, published in 1979. Molotov was the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1939 to 1949.

At the beginning, we in the foreign ministry wanted to propose that all socialist countries participate in the Marshall Plan. But we quickly realized that such a decision would be incorrect. The United States had hoped to attract us into their coalition, but it would have been a subordinated coalition. We would have become dependent on them, but we wouldn't really have received anything. This dependence would have been even more serious for the Czechs and Poles, who were in a very difficult economic position.

Source F: Adapted from an article on the Cold War, on a history website.

By the time of the Marshall Plan's final year, 1952, economic growth in the countries that had received funds had surpassed pre-war levels, a strong indicator of the program's positive economic impact. Politically, however, the initiative reinforced divisions that were already taking root on the continent. It's worth noting that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the secret service agency of the United States, received 5 percent of the funds allocated under the Marshall Plan. The CIA used these funds to establish front* businesses in several European countries that were designed to further U.S. interests in the region. The Marshall Plan is also considered a key catalyst for the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949.

*fake/deceptive

Section B: Essays

Answer **two** questions.

- 2 'The end of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia was brought about by the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.
 [10]
- 3 'The Korean War was a success for the United States.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.
 [10]
- 4 'Reagan was to be credited for the easing of tensions between the United States and Soviet Union.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.[10]

End of Paper

Copyright Acknowledgements

- Source B https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol13/no08/notm1.htm#top
- Source C https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016683506/

Source A <u>https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon by illingworth on the ussr s position regarding the marshall plan</u> _23_march_1948-en-2f252b43-2093-4434-b51e-87a94b478921.html

Source D <u>https://www.oecd.org/general/themarshallplanspeechatharvarduniversity5june1947.htm</u>

Source E https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/ACFB73.pdf

Source F https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/marshall-plan-1

Suggested Marking Scheme for Teachers

General comments for SBCS

- Students demonstrated familiarity with the different source handling skills
- Students were generally able to attempt all questions
- Students source analysis tends to be too lengthy (over-writing)
- Be familiar with <u>political geography</u> Eastern Europe vs Western Europe as these sometimes made your arguments confusing.
 - Eastern Europe: generally refers to places like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany etc
 - Eastern **bloc**: refers to the Soviet / communist bloc as a whole (EE + Soviet Union)
 - Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania (but they were incorporated into and part of Soviet Union after WW2)
 - **Soviet Union/USSR**: made up of 15 different republics (Russia, Georgia, Ukraine etc)
- 1(a) Study Source A. What is the message of the source?

[5]

- Message Qn don't need intended outcome (over writing)
- Need to use contextual knowledge to explain the context/issue at the time 1948
- Most students generally able to get 3-4m for this qn
- Some students gave very <u>unrealistic</u> message that does not make sense
 - Time period is 1948. Eastern European countries and Soviets <u>already</u> rejected the aid. So the message won't be about convincing Eastern European countries to accept aid or to 'go against' Stalin.
- Understand the core topic of the cartoon what is the TOPIC about?
 - If it's about the Marshall Plan as it is stated then the message of the source should be related to the Marshall Plan. Some students gave messages that were unrelated to the Marshall Plan, e.g. Stalin was controlling / evil / incapable

Level	Descriptor	Mark
1	Answers based on descriptions / misinterpretations / Inferences unrelated Marshall Plan	1
	e.g. The message was to show that Stalin was influential over Eastern Europe.	
2	Sub-messages related to Marshall Plan Higher mark with supporting evidence	2-3
	e.g. The message of the cartoonist was that the Marshall Plan led to mixed reactions.	
	e.g. The message of the cartoonist was that the Marshall Plan was attractive and good for Europe.	
3	Answers based on main message, in context Higher mark for good explanation of historical context underpinning the cartoon	4-5
	Message: to mock / criticise Stalin for denying the Eastern European countries from obtaining much needed assistance / benefits / help via the Marshall Plan.	

(*Central idea – communist bloc pressured by Soviet Union / missing out / being denied on the benefits of M.P.)	
The message of the cartoonist was to mock / criticise Stalin for pressuring the Eastern European countries into rejecting the Marshall Plan. It depicts the Marshall Plan as a very attractive and trendy dress on display in a shop manned by Truman and Marshall. A row of women are walking past, with those at the back of the line being particularly tempted by the dress, yet they were being led away by a stern-looking Stalin. Hence the source highlights that Soviet pressure was causing Eastern European countries to miss out on the potential economic benefits that the Marshall Plan would bring. This was in the context of the Marshall Plan being disbursed only to Western European countries in 1948, as the Soviet Union had been suspicious about American intentions and feared that US aid would come with strings attached. He thus forbade the Eastern European countries from accepting the Marshall	
Plan aid (context). The cartoonist was thus mocking the Soviet bloc.	
 Also accepted Marshall Plan failed in Eastern Europe due to Stalin's influence / pressure 	

1(b) Study Source B.

Is Source B useful as evidence about how the Cold War started?

[5]

Markers' Report

- Many students understood the approach for a utility question, and could score L3
- Take note that this utility question has a <u>question focus</u>. Your analysis must be about <u>how</u> the Cold War started (i.e. discuss a REASON for the Cold War)

To improve

- If using CR to CK → CK should give <u>specific eg OR added/new information supporting</u> <u>the source's claim</u> (see sample answer below for different ways to use CK)
- Read the provenance in its entirety, not cherry picking
 - Students either picked up only the portion on *American magazine* or only the portion on *left-wing* and hence could not do a developed provenance analysis.

Level	Descriptor	Mark
1	Usefulness based on undeveloped provenance	1
	e.g. The source is useful as it is by a left-wing magazine and hence would be informed on politics at the time.	
2	Usefulness based on what it tells about how the Cold War started	2-3
	Award 3m if supported with evidence	
	e.g. The source is useful in showing that the <u>Cold War started due to the</u> tit-for-tat actions of both the Soviet Union and the United States. It	
	highlighted that both parties are responsible for escalating tensions in	
	Europe, as Soviet Union had 'seized Eastern Europe and the Balkans' and 'created an immense defensive territorial ring around Russia', which then	

	 led to the US deciding to implement the Marshall Plan to contain communism – 'to halt the Stalinist drive in Europe'. It was both their actions that led to 'a stand-off', highlighting how both sides were equally 'exploitative' and 'hostile'. It thus indicates the mutual responsibility of both sides. <u>Other arguments</u> e.g. The source is useful in showing that the Cold War started due to Soviet Union's aggression/expansionism/setting up of satellite states in Eastern Europe. e.g. The source is useful in showing that the Cold War started due to containment policy of United States e.g. The source is not useful as evidence about how the Cold War started as it only highlights the actions of the superpowers without giving much information of the motives behind their actions, hence is limited in information (2m). 	
3	Usefulness based on critical evaluation of the source by cross-reference or evaluation of provenance in context Tone (balanced, reliable/objective) / CR to sources / weak CK - 4m CR to CK or developed analysis of provenance - 5m <u>Provenance</u> e.g. L2 + Moreover this is useful as it provides a balanced account of the origins of the Cold War by looking at the actions of both the US and Soviet Union. Although it was a left-wing magazine and expected to be leaning more towards socialism/communism, it did not automatically take the side of the Soviets but was able to see how Soviet actions were exploitative and created tensions. Likewise, although it was based in the US, it did not solely blame the Soviets despite the emerging Cold War, and was able to recognise that US actions in providing economic assistance was also made strategically to have influence and hold over Western Europe. This makes the source reliable as it is unbiased & also comprehensive, and hence useful.	4-5
	 e.g. L2 + This is reliable and hence useful as I know each side played a role in contributing to a climate of distrust. For instance, Soviet Union, given its extensive damages in World War 2, its huge sacrifices in the loss of lives, and having been twice invaded through its Eastern borders perceived itself as vulnerable and hence sought to buttress its security, leading to it creating satellite states (CK adds to source by showing the reason behind Soviet actions). However, this was interpreted as an act of aggression by the US and Western powers, who saw the Soviet Union as fundamentally aggressive, thus reacting with containment, which was conversely also regarded with suspicion by Stalin (CK adds to source by showing the reason behind US perspectives). Hence, both sides did take steps that contributed to the breakdown of relations. Note: Accept CK showing actions by both sides to contribute to climate of distrust, such as Stalin breaking the agreement at Yalta for free elections in 	

Japan rais	rigging the elections, or USA's use of atomic weapons against sing suspicions amongst Soviets (CK gives specific e.g. of the laim that both sides had mutual responsibility)
(accept if inferences	student CR to other sources, e.g. Source F to support their s in L2)

1(c) Study Source C. Does Source C prove that the <u>Marshall Plan was unjustified</u>?

[6]

- Students were generally able to make inferences that were related to the claim MP unjustified
 - E.g. It was selfish / manipulative hence unjustified
 - E.g. It was aggressive / not genuinely intended to help European countries hence unjustified
- Students generally able to CR to other sources to back up the claim, hence scoring L3
- Some students misread the source, e.g. the items at the back means that other countries like Italy less important
- Analysis of provenance and purpose was weak
 - Avoid generic purpose analysis that can apply to any Cold War source (e.g. It is Soviet cartoon so it will be critical as it was during the Cold War, and try to paint US in a bad light, hence unreliable) → Suggests lack of critical thinking
 - This source is specific to Marshall Plan, and is specifically translated to Czech, targeting a Czech audience \rightarrow analysis should reflect this!
 - **Be sensitive to date/context** \rightarrow 1949
 - Outcomes like "so that Czechoslovakians will not accept the American aid" are invalid → already rejected / prevented from taking the aid in 1947!
 - 1949 → Western countries already receiving Marshall Plan aid since early 1948, Eastern bloc may be unhappy / jealous when seeing their recovery → hence need to continue justifying the Soviet position

Level	Descriptor	Mark
1	Prove / Does not prove, based on undeveloped provenance	1
	Source C does not prove that the Marshall Plan was unjustified because it is a Russian cartoon and hence will be biased.	
2	Prove / Does not prove, based on contentAward higher mark for Prove arguments	2-3
	Does Not Prove E.g. Source D does not prove that the Marshall Plan was unjustified as <u>it lacks sufficient information on the outcomes of the Marshall Plan as well as how it was received by Europeans. It only shows the US handing out harnesses and weapons, implying that the Plan did not really provide much economic benefits. However, there is little other information available, making the information limited. (2m)</u>	
	Prove	

expression, implying that US motives were insincere. Hence it suggests that the Marshall Plan would only subject the Europeans to American control & hence unjustified. (3m) 3 Prove AND Does not prove, based on content 4 4 Prove / Does not prove, based on cross-reference to reliable source or contextual knowledge 5 Prove E.g. L2 + This is supported by Source B which shows "the Western European nations go deeper into debt to American capitalism, and now rely chiefly on the United States", showing that the Marshall Plan did indeed create dependence on US which would lead Europeans to be subjected to American control and influence. As B supports C, it makes C reliable and hence does prove that Marshall Plan was unjustified. *Can CR to CK on political motives of US, e.g. economic aid was a way to prevent communism from taking root. US also gave more aid to its closest allies and withheld aid from countries whose political leanings were unclear, e.g. Italy did not receive aid until a non-communist government took power in 1948 & left-wing elements were defeated. *Can CR to Source F (second half of source on funding for CIA and catalysing NATO formation □ i.e. motives of US extends beyond economic.) Does not prove E.g. L2 + This is opposed by Source F which shows that while the US did have other motives in the Marshall Plan, it did still benefit European countries economically and hence was justified. This is seen in "By1952, economic growth in the countries that had received funds had surpassed pre-war levels, a strong indicator of the program's positive impact, at least economically.'' This suggests that the Marshall Plan was unjustified. *Can CR to Source D □	
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suggests that the <u>Marshall Plan would only subject the Europeans</u> to American control & hence unjustified. (3m)	
E.g. Source C proves that the Marshall Plan was unjustified as it shows that the <u>Marshall Plan was not truly intended to help the</u> <u>European economy</u> . It shows that Marshall is handing out harnesses to Western European countries and these harnesses were also decked with weapons such as guns and helmets. This implies that the Marshall Plan was not intended as economic assistance but was instead <u>meant to militarise Europe</u> . Moreover, the harnesses are for controlling horses, implying that the <u>US would end up controlling</u> <u>the Europeans</u> . Marshall is also seen with a sinister and evil	

L2 + However, this source does not prove that the Marshall Plan was unjustified as it has an ulterior motive and is unreliable. It is a Russian cartoon published in Czechoslovakia hence representing Soviet perspectives. It seeks to undermine the Marshall Plan by criticising and questioning American motives as insincere and framing the Marshall Plan as an attempt by the US to manipulate and control Europeans. This is so that the Czechoslovakians, who were in the Eastern Bloc and forbidden by Stalin from accepting Marshall Plan aid, would look on the Marshall Plan less favourably / view it with suspicion and hence continue to support the Soviet position in spite of non-participation.

1(d) Study Sources D and E. Does Source D make you surprised by Source E? [6]

Markers' Report

Reliability =/= surprise

- The core concept **expected or unexpected** → if this was not clearly articulated, you will not be credited.
- Some students jumped straight to comparing of the provenance/purpose.
 - Note that it is risky to do this
 - If you do jump to provenance/purpose, you must still be very clear as to what the difference in content/opinion between the two sources is, and reflect that clearly in your analysis

To improve

- CR stand → Several students confused themselves when they CR to a 3rd source. Take note of the correct stand. Assuming D and E are different and:
 - Source X supports D, opposes $E \rightarrow even more surprised by Source E$
 - \circ Source X supports E, opposes D \rightarrow not surprised by Source E despite difference from D
- Provenance and purpose
 - Some students didn't realise that Marshall was the creator of Marshall Plan, or that the speech was THE <u>announcement of the plan itself</u>
 - Some students didn't realise that Molotov was part of the Soviet leadership that rejected the Marshall Plan aid for Eastern European countries!
 - Students were generally able to see that due to American vs Russian perspective, they would naturally oppose/differ. But to score, need to articulate their vested interest / purposes at the time. ⇒ Sensitivity to time period!

Level	Descriptor	Mark
1	Surprised/Not surprised based on uncritical use of provenance	1
	D does not make me surprised by E as the latter is by Molotov and hence would oppose whatever Marshall said.	
2	Surprised/Not Surprised based on content	2-4

,		
	Unsupported comparisons / Focusing on only one source - 2m Supported Comparisons - 3m Both S and NS - 4m <u>Surprised</u> E.g. D makes me surprised by E as the sources share differing perspectives on the intentions of the Marshall Plan. D implies that the Marshall Plan was well-intentioned to support European recovery, while E implies that the Marshall Plan was ill-intentioned, to support American political influence. D states that "our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy" This implies that US was primarily concerned with alleviating the human suffering and negative consequence that would emerge from failing economies and thus the Plan was well-intentioned. However, E shows "the United States had hoped to attract us into their coalition, but it would have been a subordinated coalitionwe wouldn't really have received anything", which implies that the Marshall Plan would not yield much economic benefits but instead create an unfair and unequal relationship with the Americans.	
	Not Surprised E.g. D does not make me surprised by E as the sources show that the Marshall Plan was initially open to all European nations. Source D states "Our role should be to aid in the drafting of a European program, which should be agreed by a number, if not all European nations. Political prejudice should have no part". This implies that the Marshall Plan was something that all European nations, regardless of political ideology, could hope to participate in. Likewise, Source E states "At the beginning we in the foreign ministry wanted to propose that all socialist countries participate in the Marshall Plan", which suggests that the Marshall Plan was not exclusive to democratic nations or allies of the US, since the Soviet Foreign Minister himself was enthusiastic about it at first. Hence I am not surprised.	
3	Surprised/Not Surprised based on cross-reference to another source / contextual knowledge	4
	E.g. Moreover, based on contextual knowledge, the Marshall Plan put US\$13 billion into helping European economies recover, with food, machinery, animals and other items shipped to countries as wide-ranging as Britain, France, Greece, Turkey, West Germany, Netherlands and more. It had led to benefits such as the rebuilding of the French electric power system, the revival of the Greek fishing industry, amongst other benefits. Hence this <u>supports Source D</u> on the intentions of the Marshall Plan to promote economic recovery. It <u>opposes Source E</u> on the ill-intentions and lack of benefits for participating economies, <u>making me further surprised by Source E</u> .	
	*Can also CR to Source F (first part), supporting D and opposing E	

4	Not surprised based on differing perspectives / purposes of sources	5-6
	5m - students who analyse EITHER D or E / Weaker analysis of Both D and E	
	6m - Analysis of BOTH D and E	
	E.g. L2 + However, Source D does not make me surprised by Source E despite their difference, as it is entirely expected that both sources would view the Marshall Plan from opposing lenses .	
	Source D is by Marshall himself, who had been instructed by Truman to design the plan in order to ensure that Europe would continue to	
	feel good about capitalism, to raise the morale of Europeans and ultimately to reduce the attractiveness of communism. It was thus	
	expected and necessary for Marshall to justify the plan by asserting the necessity of US economic assistance for Europe and	
	highlighting that US only had good intentions and was not motivated	
	by "political prejudice" in order to ensure more European countries would be receptive to American aid (5m). Likewise, Source F, being	
	by Molotov, is expected to highlight that the Marshall Plan was not as benign or well-intentioned. As then-Foreign Minister, it had been his	
	decision together with Stalin to isolate the Eastern European	
	economies and to deny their participation in the Marshall Plan. He would thus want to justify his decision back in 1947 as the correct	
	one by highlighting the negative outcomes that would have emerged, even asserting that it would have been "even more serious for the	
	Czechs and Poles". This would be crucial to ensuring that the Soviet government continued to be viewed in positive light	
	within Soviet Union & Eastern Europe, particularly in the 1970s	
	where the Soviet & Eastern European economies were clearly backward in comparison.	

1(e) Study all sources.

"<u>The Marshall Plan was to blame</u> for starting the Cold War in Europe." How far do these sources support this view?

Markers' Report

Qn interpretation

- Starting the Cold War = must highlight concepts like greater tension/distrust /animosity /rivalry /competition/bipolarity/division in Europe
- Yes = Marshall Plan had some role in starting the Cold War
- No = Marshall Plan was not what started the Cold War, but <u>another factor</u>. In some cases, candidates analysed why the Marshall Plan was not to blame, but didn't explicitly state the other factor(s) → Weak.

A wide range of answers were accepted - and some sources lend themselves to analysis on EITHER side. As long as logical, they were credited.

Source C

• Speech by Marshall saying how his plan is actually to help Europe recover, no ulterior motive, not politically motivated. So? This alone is not sufficient to explain why MP is not to be blamed.

 Not to be blamed because <u>it was not targetted at communism / Eastern Europe /</u> Soviet Union specifically (i.e. not meant to raise tensions → implies that <u>it was</u> really Soviet Union to be blamed for being so paranoid)

Source F

- Although Source F does state the benefits of the Marshall Plan in terms of helping Europe recover (same as C), the overall stand of Source F is clearly pointing to the role of the Marshall Plan in <u>worsening relations and escalating tensions</u> → YES argument is clear
- Only accepted as a No, if you highlight the lines "reinforced divisions that were already taking root" to highlight that even though Marshall Plan solidified tensions, the Cold War was well underway even before the MP due to **pre-existing misunderstandings / distrust / ideological divisions**

Bonus mark route

- For history, getting bonus marks <u>always</u> requires you to use contextual knowledge.
 - Even if you do a purpose analysis to say the source is reliable/unreliable, it has to have a little bit of CK!

Level	Descriptor	Mark
1	Writes about the hypothesis, no valid source use	1
2	Yes OR No, supported by valid source use	2-4
	Award additional 1m for each source use up to max of 4m	
3	Yes AND No, supported by valid source use	5-8
	Award 5m for 1Y1N, and additional mark for each valid source use, up to max of 7m	
	Bonus of two marks (i.e. +1, +1) for <mark>use of contextual knowledge</mark> to evaluate a source in relation to its reliability, sufficiency, etc, but total for the question must not exceed 8.	
	<u>Yes (Source C, E, F)</u>	
	Source C supports that the Marshall Plan was to blame for starting the Cold War, as it shows that it had led to <u>increased tensions in</u> <u>Europe</u> . This is seen in Marshall giving out harnesses and weapons only to selected countries, suggesting that the <u>Americans</u> were building alliances within Europe, and in particular using the <u>Marshall Plan to arm and militarise its allies</u> , thus increasing tensions and creating a state of divide/conflict.	
	Source E supports that the Marshall Plan was to blame for starting the Cold War as it solidified divisions in Europe . It stated that Soviet Union had changed their minds on wanting "all socialist countries" to participate in the Plan as "we quickly realised that such a decision would be incorrect". It suggests that the <u>negotiations and terms of the Marshall Plan had raised much fears</u> in the Soviet Union and only resulted in the Soviets withdrawing any support for it wholesale, deepening the ideological differences.	

• Moral of the story: just use $CK \rightarrow$ more straightforward!

Source F supports that the Marshall Plan was to blame for starting the Cold War, as it led to the **escalation of tensions and a more bipolar Europe**. This is seen from "reinforced divisions that were already taking root" and "key catalyst for the formation of the NATO in 1949". This shows that the Marshall Plan marked a turning point where <u>mistrust became hardened lines of division, and it led to concrete actions taken against the communist bloc.</u>

(+1): E.g. Source F is reliable; Marshall Plan turned anti-communism from an attitude to concrete action, shaping American containment policy in Europe. It directly escalated tensions by causing Stalin to retaliate with the formation of Cominform, and later Comecon. Two mutually exclusive spheres of influence were thus visible from the Marshall Plan onwards as Stalin sought to coordinate the activities of the communist states, orientating them towards the Soviet Union and away from Western Europe and the US.

No (Source A, B, D)

Source A does not support that Marshall Plan was to blame for starting the Cold War, but rather suggests that it was <u>Stalin's</u> <u>paranoia and suspicion</u> that started the Cold War. He is seen leading Eastern European "ladies" away from the shop window manned by Truman, highlighting that <u>Stalin's stubbornness and</u> <u>desire to control the actions of the Eastern Europe created a</u> <u>distinct split between East and West, preventing the Eastern</u> <u>Europeans from integrating and interacting with US or the Western</u> <u>European economies, hence causing the Cold War.</u>

Source B does not support the statement as it instead blames <u>Soviet Union's actions in Eastern Europe for creating distrust and</u> <u>competition</u>. This is seen in "Stalin seized Eastern Europe and the Balkans, using these lands to recoup his war losses. The Russians took whole factories, machinery, rolling stock...created an immense defensive ring around Russia, long before the Marshall Plan". This highlights that the Soviet actions immediately after WW2 had started the Cold War, since <u>it had already **drawn the Eastern European nations into its sphere of influence** and thus kickstarted conflict with the Americans, being the root cause of a more **divided Europe**.</u>

(+1) E.g. Source B is reliable. Stalin employed salami tactics in Eastern Europe and also reneged on promises at post-war conferences, e.g. did not hold free elections in Poland as promised. It had sowed the seeds of distrust and created much unhappiness with Americans. (Can also use any other Eastern European example of violent tactics, e.g. in Czechoslovakia or elaborate on Soviet reasons/motivations)

Source D does not support that statement as it shows that <u>it was</u> not Marshall Plan that was to blame for the Cold War but rather the <u>Soviet Union</u>, as it states 'political prejudice should have no part' and 'any government, political parties or groups which seek to block the recovery of other countries...will encounter the opposition of the United States'. This suggests that the Marshall Plan was

meant to help Europe without any biases, <u>but it was the communist</u> <u>bloc that was uncooperative and unwilling to participate in the</u> <u>Marshall Plan and hence ultimately created tension.</u> (+1) E.g. However, Source D is insufficient as proof that Marshall Plan was not to blame, since I know from contextual knowledge that this speech itself contributed to mistrust. As it was strongly worded to show US might and power and a veiled critique of Soviet Union, it made Stalin upset and raised the tensions and suspicions in Europe.	
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Section B: Essay Questions

2. 'The end of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia was brought about by the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? [10]

- Few students did this <u>easy</u> question, suggesting that students had patchy revision
- Popular counter-arguments used by students was the role of the Japanese Occupation itself in encouraging nationalism note that if you paragraph is so vague such that it can also apply to British Malaya, you will not be credited strongly

Level	Descriptor	Marks
1	Identifies/Describes reasons why the end of Dutch colonialism was possible	1-3
	Award 1m for identifying one reason, 2m for identifying 2 or more. Award 2m for describing one reason, 3m for describing 2 or more.	
	 Possible reasons Cold War context – pressure by the United States / role of communists Strengths of nationalists – e.g. in terms of their unity/popular support, in terms of the ability of the PNI to deal with the communist threat, in terms of the fierce resistance Dutch financial weakness – dependence on American aid International public opinion against the Dutch The role of the Japanese in promoting anti-colonialism 	
2	Explains how the Cold War led to the end of Dutch colonial rule OR	4-5
	explains how other reason(s) did so Award 4m for an explanation of how the Cold War ended colonial rule OR how other reason(s) did so, and an additional mark for additional reasons or further supporting detail, to a maximum of 5 marks	
3	Explains how the Cold War led to the end of colonial rule AND other reason(s) did so	6-8
	Award 6m for an explanation of how the Cold War AND another reason that led to the end of colonial rule, and an additional mark for further supporting detail or reason, to a maximum of 8 marks	

Given Factor e.g. The Cold War brought about the end of Dutch colonial rule, as it led the Americans to put pressure on the Dutch to transfer power to the Republican government in Indonesia. The Cold War was emerging in Europe and globally and communism was therefore a key concern for the Americans by 1948. At this time, the USSR had begun the Berlin Blockade in Germany, while the communists had seized power in Czechoslovakia. In Asia, there were communist insurgencies in Malaya, Burma and the Philippines, while the Chinese Communist Party was gaining the upper hand in the Chinese Civil War. Thus, the Americans were anxious for strong, anti-communist allies in Southeast Asia as they were convinced that the Cold War had gone global. Within Indonesia, the communist faction of the Republican army had seized control of the city of Madiun in East Java with the support of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Republican leaders like Sukarno and Hatta dismissed the coup as illegal and launched a plea over radio calling on Indonesians to defend the Revolution. Pro-government groups responded and successfully retook Madiun. Subsequently, the Republican government also arrested thousands of communists throughout Java for their role in the Madiun Affair. This strong victory and actions against the PKI greatly impressed the United States, who now saw the Republican government as worthy of their support. They became more invested in the outcome of the Revolution and put pressure on the Dutch to end colonial rule, even cutting off Marshall Plan aid to the Dutch in Dec 1948 as a signal of their condemnation. Hence, due to the rising fears of communism and the domino theory, the US helped to speed up the pace of Indonesian decolonisation in an effort to ensure that there would be a strong anti-communist bulwark in Southeast Asia.

Other Factors

e.g. Another factor that helped to end Dutch colonialism in Indonesia was the strength of the local nationalists, which allowed them to unite the people to resist the Dutch. The Indonesian Republican government, led by Sukarno, were firm in its demands for independence and actively sought to gain mass support for the Revolution, pushing the message of independence. Sukarno was a charismatic force for unity, helping to rally the Indonesians against the Dutch by touring the archipelago and making impressive speeches that won over groups like the Javanese farmers, making them more politically conscious. To unite the diverse territory, he promoted the ideology of Pancasila which was influential in reassuring minority groups. For instance, under Pancasila, Bahasa Indonesia and not Javanese would be the national language. The Revolution thus had popular support and proved to be resilient despite Dutch attacks. Moreover, despite constant territorial losses, the Republican government refused to surrender. For instance, in the Second Police Action, the Republicans lost their capital of Yogyakarta, but the leaders Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahir refused to flee and allowed themselves to be taken as prisoners. This only spurred the revolution further, and guerrilla warfare continued from Republican forces and the militia. The Dutch found themselves unable to control the rural areas despite capturing the capital. Hence, the persistence of the nationalists took a heavy toll on the Netherlands financially, and the Dutch found themselves unable to destroy the morale of the Revolution. They thus eventually succumbed to international pressure from the UN and US, and declared a ceasefire in 1949 and agreed to hold talks for independence in Hague.

Other possible angles could be from the perspective of other revolutionary groups - E.g. pemuda movement's commitment / participation in armed struggle. (TB204-207) - E.g. cultural leadership that helped to generate mass support for the revolution (TB211-212)	
e.g. However, another reason for the end of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia was <u>the weakness of the Dutch</u> . Although they wanted to reimpose their authority on Indonesia, they were unable to do so due to the huge financial costs of maintaining a large military in Indonesia, especially after World War II. The Dutch were also weak diplomatically, being unable to gain support from the United Nations or United States in expanding their control, with their actions being seen as illegitimate especially by the United States who was opposed to colonialism. The Police Actions only served to upset the United States and the international community as it appeared that the Dutch were insincere about the decolonisation of Indonesia. UN members like Australia, India and the USSR also supported the Republic and felt that the Dutch had taken too hard-line and violent an approach towards Indonesia. Hence, the Dutch Police Actions, despite winning the Dutch some territory, were diplomatic disasters. The Dutch found that they were faced with	
international condemnation for their actions, to the extent that the US had suspended the Marshall Plan assistance. Yet, because they were financially weak and dependent on American assistance, they had no choice but to succumb to US pressure and concede to negotiations.	
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 international condemnation for their actions, to the extent that the US had suspended the Marshall Plan assistance. Yet, because they were financially weak and dependent on American assistance, they had no choice but to succumb to US pressure and concede to negotiations. Award an additional 2 marks (to a maximum of 10 marks) for a balanced conclusion based on an explicit consideration of the relative importance	

3. 'The Korean War was a success for the United States.' How far do you agree with this
statement?Explainyouranswer.[10]

Markers' Comments

- Unnecessary background information pertaining to how Korea was divided along the 38th parallel and the sequential order of the war should be avoided as they do not answer the question

- Need to define more clearly what / why is was a 'success' ie. explain 'success' need to explain 'success' in terms of the impact of the war
- Most students show adequate knowledge of the KW and are able to provide valid perspective for both sides of the answer (ie. prevented SK from becoming communist vs NK continued to remained communist)

Level	Descriptor	Marks
1	Identifies/Describes reasons for why the war could be seen as successful/unsuccessful for the US	1-3
	Award 1m for identifying one reason, 2m for identifying 2 or more. Award 2m for describing one reason, 3m for describing 2 or more.	
	 Possible reasons Success because they were able to rally the international community to help prevent South Korea from falling to the invasion 	
	 Success because of military gains under American leadership/command (Incheon landings etc) Failure because of escalated tensions (bringing in China) Failure of North Korea remaining communist and Korea staying 	
2	divided Explains reasons why the war could be seen as successful for the US OR Explains reasons why the war could be seen as unsuccessful for the US	4-5
	Award 4m for an explanation of one reason why the US could be seen as successful/unsuccessful, and an additional mark for additional reasons or further supporting detail, to a maximum of 5 marks	
3	Explains reasons why the war could be seen as successful for the US AND Explains reasons why the war could be seen as unsuccessful for the US	6-8
	Award 6m for an explanation of one reason why the US could be seen as successful AND one reason why it could be seen as unsuccessful, and an additional mark for additional reasons or further supporting detail, to a maximum of 8 marks	
	<u>Success</u> The Korean War can be seen as a success for the United States as it proved US capability to protect South Korea . When the Korean War broke out with the North invading the South on 25 th June, Truman was able to quickly send advisors, supplies and warships to the waters around Korea. He was also able to build international support for South Korea, by getting the United Nations Security Council to condemn the North Koreans' actions. The UNSC quickly passed two resolutions on Korea in the subsequent days, allowing for its member forces to drive North Korean troops out of South Korea. The US	
	became the largest contributor of troops to the UN forces, fighting alongside South Korean troops and countries like Turkey, the Philippines, India and Thailand. Moreover, the UN troops were led by General MacArthur, an American general. Thus, the Korean War can be seen as a success for it showed American leadership and	

capability to build an international coalition to support its ally, South Korea, highlighting its global influence and status as a superpower.	
 Students can also come from the angle of success of American leadership in pushing the Northern invaders back up the Korean peninsula (Incheon Landings) □ Success as it helped South Korea maintain its territorial integrity / sovereignty 	
<u>Failure</u> However, the Korean War can be seen as unsuccessful for the US, for <u>American leadership had only escalated tensions unnecessarily</u> . UN forces had actually achieved its objective of removing North Korean troops from the South by September 1950. However, due to the American general MacArthur's own zealous anti-communist leanings, he was keen to take advantage of the retreating forces to eradicate communism entirely. Despite Truman's wariness of limiting operations north of the 38 th parallel, MacArthur continued to advance further North and close to the Yalu River. China had issued a warning that it would intervene, but this fell on deaf ears. MacArthur continued to defy orders and even threatened to use the atomic bomb against China. This led to China participating in the conflict, sending up to 200,000 Chinese troops to North Korea, equipped with Soviet tanks and aircraft. UN forces ended up being pushed back into South Korea. Hence, this can be seen as a failure for the Americans, as the reckless behavior of MacArthur had <u>made the conflict more</u> dangerous and prolonged, drawing in an additional combatant while also affecting American and UN credibility. Moreover, this escalation was unnecessary, given that there was little strategic difference as two more years of stalemate resulted, with Korea remaining divided in spite of the commitment of American troops.	
 Award an additional 2 marks (to a maximum of 10 marks) for a balanced conclusion based on an explicit consideration of the relative importance of different reasons.	
The total marks to be awarded for the response will be based on marks obtained at L3+2 bonus marks, i.e. L3/6+2; L3/7+2; L3/8+2.	
e.g. Overall, I believe that the war was unsuccessful for the United States in the long-term . While the US was able to lead UN forces into liberating the South and also achieved several tactical victories, they were unable to bring peace to the peninsula as Korea remained divided until today despite the hefty loss of life . The conflict had been escalated to involve China and therefore more personnel and weapons, with little difference made to the overall situation in Korea. In fact, the Korean War had only served to escalate tensions between the communist and anti-communist bloc, contributing to greater militarization in the region.	

4. 'Reagan was to be credited for the easing of tensions between the United States and Soviet Union.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

- **Question Analysis** This question is a <u>factor/causal question</u>, as a <u>factor</u> (Reagan) and an <u>event</u> (easing of tensions) have been identified.
 - So, you are required to find <u>other factors that eased the tensions between US and</u> <u>Soviet Union</u>
- Students need to understand that this question is from the chapter on the <u>end of the Cold</u> <u>War, and use content from that chapter</u>.
- Many students gave content that were out of the time period of the end of the Cold War, e.g. talking about how other factors such as Vietnam War eased tensions by creating a period of detente.
 - Some even talked about Jimmy Carter and Nixon \rightarrow these were from the non-examinable segments of the chapter
- <u>Given Factor</u>: Reagan to be credited for easing tensions
 - Students were often vague in their examples, for instance saying that Reagan attended talks and summits which then improved relationship with USSR. But what talks? and what did these talks lead to? What were the contents of these talks? If too vague → L1
 - TWO REAGAN'S his change in approach to dealing with the USSR is crucial
 - Easier to write about 'second', more cooperative Reagan
 - Harder to draw the link between the 'first', more aggressive Reagan, because of the nature of the question
- <u>Other Factor</u>: Gorbachev's reforms were the most common alternative factor
 - The way the Qn is phrased means that it is **most logical and easiest to explain Gorbachev's foreign policy reforms as opposed to his domestic reforms**
 - Nonetheless, if students mentioned glasnost and perestroika, and were able to link it to how it encouraged US to view Soviet Union more positively and made Reagan more keen to engage with Soviet Union, it would have been accepted.

Level	Descriptor	Marks
1	Identifies/Describes Reagan's or other factors' role in easing tensions between US and Soviet UnionAward 1m for identifying one reason, 2m for identifying 2 or more. Award 2m for describing one reason, 3m for describing 2 or more.Possible reasons Gorbachev• Gorbachev's New Thinking and foreign policy reforms	1-3
2	Explains how Reagan eased tensions between US and Soviet Union OR Explains how other reason(s) were responsible for the easing of tensionsAward 4m for an explanation of Reagan's role OR how other reason(s) were responsible, and an additional mark for additional reasons or further supporting detail, to a maximum of 5 marks	4-5
3	Explains reasons why the war could be seen as successful for the US AND Explains reasons why the war could be seen as unsuccessful for the US	6-8

· · · · ·	
Award 6m for an explanation of Reagan's role AND how other	
reason(s) were responsible, and an additional mark for additional	
reasons or further supporting detail, to a maximum of 8 marks	
Reagan to be credited	
Reagan was to be credited for the easing of tensions between the	
United States and Soviet Union, because he was flexible enough in	
his approach to the Soviet Union, shifting from 1983 towards a	
disarmament and to a more cooperative relationship. Previously,	
when he took office, he had adopted the stance that the Soviets were	
an 'evil empire' and actually escalated the arms race. However, in	
1983, the Able Archer incident where the Soviets had almost	
launched a nuclear strike against the US after a system malfunction	
led Reagan to realise how precarious the nuclear situation was. He	
became more keen to advance nuclear disarmament and tamp down	
the arms race. He also started to make overtures to Soviet leaders	
and engaged Gorbachev in negotiations with a shared commitment	
towards nuclear abolition. For instance, Reagan met Gorbachev in a the Geneva Summit in Nov 1985 which allowed them to establish a	
personal relationship. Subsequently, they commenced nuclear	
disarmament talks in the Reykjavit Summit in Iceland in 1986,	
discussing how to reduce nuclear weapons, eventually signing the	
Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1987 to remove mobile	
missiles deployed throughout Europe. He also declared that he no	
longer thought the USSR was an evil empire, significantly improving	
the relations between the US and USSR. Hence, his willingness to	
shift priorities and to strike up a personal friendship with	
Gorbachev made a key difference to reducing Cold War tensions.	
*Note, if students mention Reagan's domestic reforms, e.g.	
liberalization of economy, it is possible to accept from the angle that it led to US economic might, which put pressure on Gorbachev to adopt	
a more cooperative approach from position of weakness. <i>However, do</i>	
not accept if students only bring in Reagan's aggressive FP/SDI /	
escalation of arms since that <u>escalated</u> the tensions as opposed to	
reducing it.	
Gorbachev to be credited	
However, Gorbachev was to be credited too, for it was only under his	
leadership that tensions significantly eased thanks to his New	
Thinking ideas. In 1985, Gorbachev took power and was committed to transforming a stagnating USSR with new ideas and new thinking.	
Gorbachev believed that communist rule should make life better for	
the people and wanted to reform it radically. He thus pursued "New	
Thinking", and in foreign policy, it translated to a policy of pursuing	
international trust and cooperation. He was realistic that the Soviet	
Union could not keep up with the Americans, and hence showed his	
willingness to meet Reagan, resulting in the Reagan-Gorbachev	
summits where both powers worked towards cutting of arms	
spending, and removing most of their missiles from Europe. This	
effectively ended the arms race which had been a source of	
rivalry between the US and the USSR. Additionally, he also	
deideologised Soviet foreign policy, working to end all	
ideologically-driven engagements worldwide. This meant removing	
 Soviet troops from Afghanistan and Angola, as well as reversing the	

Brezhnev Doctrine—explicitly highlighting that the Soviet Union would not intervene in the Warsaw Pact countries. All of these actions meant a significant reduction in tensions and a withdrawal of the Soviet Union from competition with the Americans, warming the relations between both superpowers	
Award an additional 2 marks (to a maximum of 10 marks) for a balanced conclusion based on an explicit consideration of the relative importance of different reasons.	
The total marks to be awarded for the response will be based on marks obtained at L3+2 bonus marks, i.e. L3/6+2; L3/7+2; L3/8+2.	
e.g. Overall, I believe that Gorbachev should take the lion's share of the credit in reducing the tensions between US and USSR as it was Gorbachev's reforms that made Reagan believe that better relations with Soviet Union was possible. Reagan had watched how Gorbachev put in place domestic reforms like glasnost which gave more freedoms to the Soviet people, becoming convinced that Gorbachev shared similar perspectives to him and that Soviet Union was no longer an evil empire. Prior to Gorbachev, Reagan had continued to take a hardline stance and put on an aggressive front towards the Soviets which had raised tensions in the short-term. Hence Gorbachev's New Thinking marked the turning point that convinced Reagan that a new era was in place, and that he could take concrete actions to end the arms race and build better relationships with the Soviet Union.	