

Option B: Twentieth century topic**HOW FAR WAS THE TENSION BETWEEN THE USA AND THE USSR AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR CAUSED BY IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES?**

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

Background Information

Clearly, there were fundamental ideological differences between the USA and the USSR. The USA was a liberal democracy and capitalist. The USSR was communist. Both countries believed that the opposing beliefs and ideas threatened their very existence. However, it can be argued that the tension between the USA and the USSR was simply about power – each wanted more influence, power and territory and wanted to be the dominant force in the world.

How far was the tension between the USA and the USSR about ideology?

SOURCE A

Starting in the 1970s, the study of the Cold War began to move beyond the simple application of blame and responsibility. Scholars started to view the conflict as a result of a complex interaction between all the parties involved. Historians explained it as a process in which the imbalance of military and economic power, and numerous other factors, contributed to the East–West tension.

In the 1990s there was a shift in the emphasis of the study of the Cold War: if scholars had previously relied heavily on massive amounts of American evidence, they now rushed to use the newly-available former Soviet materials. These revealed the general point that ideology and perceptions mattered inside the Soviet bloc. While ideology had been viewed by many as simply a convenient mask of 'real interests', it was, in fact, a 'fundamental interest'. This made the Cold War a unique confrontation: ideas, values, and belief systems were at the heart of the struggle.

This is not to say that political, economic, or military assessments of the Cold War are irrelevant. Quite the contrary. Without taking into account the interests of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe or the real economic power of the United States and its nuclear weapons, it is impossible to understand the Cold War. At the same time, if one ignores the existence of a deep-seated ideological conflict, one can hardly understand why, for example, the Soviet determination to protect its political interests in Eastern Europe would have mattered as much as it did to the United States.

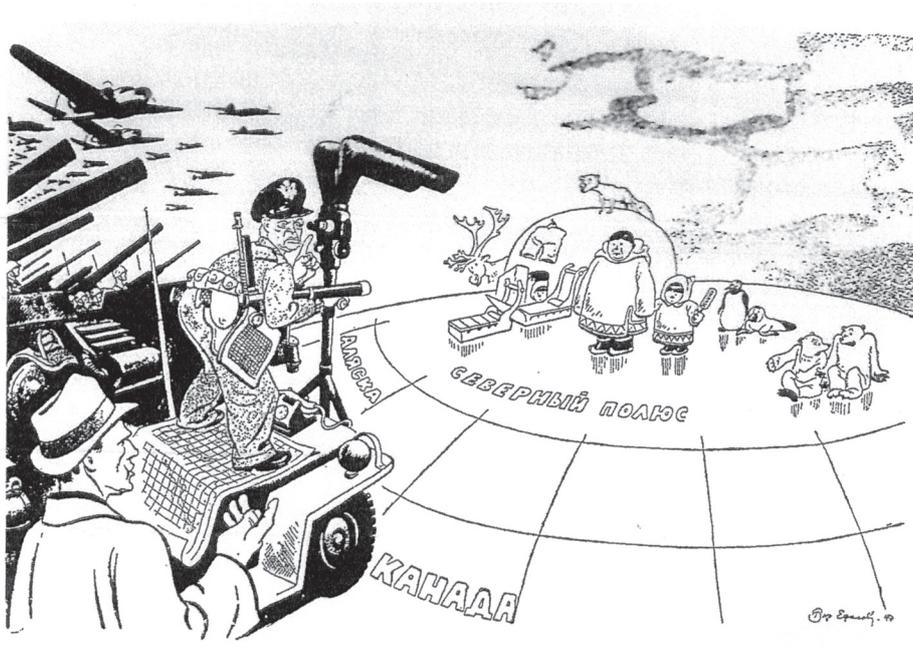
From a history book published in 2003.

SOURCE B

The prime cause of the conflict opening up between the Russians and the Americans was the ideology of the Soviet leaders, and their inability to make permanent arrangements with the leaders of capitalist states. This was stated by Litvinov in June 1946. When asked what would happen if the West were to concede to Russia all its aims in foreign policy, he replied, 'It would lead to the West being faced, in a more or less short time, with the next series of demands.' The second cause was the Soviet desire for security against another German invasion, which could be obtained only by lack of independence of its neighbours. This security would prevent Poland being used as 'a corridor' for another German attack; it ensured that the same country could be used as a Russian corridor to the West.

Did the policies of the United States play any part? It seems unlikely that these policies did any more than confirm Stalin in his suspicions. When American statesmen realised that the Russians could not accept their vision of an open world, they moved towards supposing that the Russians were bent on immediate world conquest. Stalin's probing could easily seem like the first steps of a revolutionary drive to the military conquest of the world; and it might have become that, had it not been resisted.

From a history book published in Britain in 1986.

SOURCE C

A cartoon published in the Soviet Union in 1947. A member of the American public is asking General Eisenhower why there was so much American military activity in the area. Eisenhower replies, 'Can't you see the enormous concentration of enemy forces right here?'

SOURCE D

The USSR sees itself living in a threatening 'capitalist encirclement' with which there can be no peaceful coexistence. From this it has concluded that everything must be done to advance the relative strength of the USSR. Its effort, and those of Russia's friends abroad, must be directed at deepening the differences between capitalistic powers.

Marxism justifies the USSR's fear of the outside world and the dictatorship with which it rules. This is why Soviet purposes are nearly always expressed in Marxist terms and is why no one should underestimate the importance of Marxist ideas in Soviet affairs.

It believes that there can be no agreement with the USA if Soviet power is to be secure. Measured against the Western world, the Soviets are still by far the weaker force. Their success will depend on the degree of firmness the Western world can muster. We must put forward to other nations a positive picture of the sort of world we would like to see.

A telegram from George Kennan to the American government, 22 February 1946. This is often known as 'the Long Telegram'. Kennan was an official in the US embassy in Moscow.

SOURCE E

The foreign policy of the United States, which reflects the imperialist tendencies of American capitalism, is characterised by a striving for world domination. The real meaning of the many statements by President Truman is that the United States has the right to lead the world. All the forces of American diplomacy, the Army, Navy and Air Force, industry and science, are being used to support this policy. Broad plans for expansion have been developed to be implemented through a system of military bases, an arms race and the creation of newer and newer types of weapons.

A telegram from Nikolai Novikov to the Soviet government, 27 September 1946. Novikov was Soviet Ambassador to the USA.

SOURCE F

Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products – mainly from America – are so much greater than its ability to pay that it must have additional help, or face economic, social and political deterioration. The United States should do whatever it can to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to allow the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

From a speech by George Marshall, June 1947. Marshall was a leading member of the US government.

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in the Soviet Union in 1949. The word on the ladder is 'NATO'.

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which 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 Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this cartoon published in the Soviet Union at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source D.

How useful is this source as evidence about the causes of the Cold War? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources E and F.

How far does Source E make Source F surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the tension between the USA and the USSR was caused by ideological differences? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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