AMERICAN HISTORY
Paper 1  The Making of a Nation 1754–2000
SPECIMEN MARK SCHEME

MAXIMUM MARK: 60
Notes

- The full mark range will be used as a matter of course. Marking must be positive. Marks must not be deducted for inaccurate or irrelevant material. Half-marks will not be used.
- Levels of response criteria are used for questions where a hierarchy of answers is possible. Each answer is to be placed in the level that best reflects its qualities. It is not necessary to work through the levels.
- In all levels, provisionally award the highest mark and then moderate according to the qualities of the individual answer.
- Arguments need to be supported with evidence. Lots of facts/dates are not required.
- No set answer is looked for to any question. The examples given in the marking scheme are indicative only and are not intended to be exhaustive or prescriptive. They are given only as examples of some responses/approaches that may be seen by an examiner.
Section A: Government and People 1754–2000

1 (a) How was the Constitution of the U.S.A. created?

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]

e.g. “People produced some rules about how America should be governed.”

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

e.g. “During the Revolution some States wrote constitutions to govern their own affairs. An example was Pennsylvania's constitution of 1776. Such constitutions formed the basis for a national constitution.”

(e.g. “In 1787 in Philadelphia a convention of state representatives was held to frame a national constitution. The Constitutional Convention was made up of 55 delegates. There was much debate over how the Constitution would be linked to the Articles of Federation. On September 17, 1787, the final draft of the Constitution was approved.”

(b) Explain why President Jackson made political reforms from 1828 to 1836.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]

e.g. “Political reforms were made because the president wasn’t happy with the system of government.”

Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]

e.g. “Jackson made political reforms because he was unhappy about the level of corruption.”

(e.g. “Jackson did not like legislation which restricted individual liberty and so he introduced reforms.”


(e.g. “Jackson wanted to prevent rich people from dominating the government. He argued that the patronage system should be used in a more official way and introduced the Spoils System to allow for rotation in office so no one could become too dominant.”

(e.g. “Jackson was against corruption and was critical of politicians who appeared to be corrupt. He prevented the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States in 1832 because he felt it held too much power which had not been agreed in the Constitution.”

(c) “The Union fell apart because of the election of Lincoln as president.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: Unsupported assertions [1]

(e.g. “The Union fell apart because Lincoln supported the North.”)
Level 2: Identifies reasons/issues [2–3]

e.g. “The Union fell apart because southerners were afraid that Lincoln would abolish slavery.”
e.g. “The Union fell apart because of increased violence between North and South. In 1860 there were mob attacks by southerners against suspected abolitionists and northern manufacturers.”
e.g. “The Union fell apart because the North was more advanced economically than the South.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement [4–5]

e.g. “The Union fell apart due to the issue of slavery, not Lincoln’s election. Republicans in the North found slavery to be immoral whereas those in the South saw it as necessary for economic stability. Lincoln knew he had to tackle the slavery issue if the Union was to be kept intact. He said ‘What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because it helps save this Union.’ So he planned to emancipate the slaves.”
e.g. “The Union did fall apart because of Lincoln’s election. Confidence had grown in the South that it could survive alone without the help of the North. This confidence was based on the wealth generated by ‘King Cotton’ and on the result of the Dred Scott Case which in effect made the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. So Lincoln’s election threatened the South and many of the southern states decided to separate from the Union and control their own affairs.”

Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement [6–7]

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far …?” [8]

e.g. “The Union did not fall apart because of Lincoln’s election because this did not necessarily threaten the South. Lincoln had stated that he did not intend to end slavery in the South – in fact he would have found this difficult when he was elected as the Republicans did not control Congress or the Supreme Court. However, this did not stop the Southern states from reacting strongly to his election and this is what caused the Union to crumble. By the beginning of 1861 (before Lincoln had even been inaugurated) seven states had seceded from the Union, forming the Confederacy in February of that year.”

2 (a) What was the impact of the New Deal on the power of the presidency?

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]

e.g. “The power of the president grew because he was able to pass new laws.”

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

e.g. “At first the power of the president seemed to grow because of the New Deal. Roosevelt used the Trading with the Enemy Act to be able to pass new laws very quickly. Laws which cut across the powers of the States and big business were introduced. For instance the National Industrial Recovery Act was introduced to control working conditions which had been previously run by employers and the Social Security Act provided for the elderly on a national basis. However, the power of the presidency was also threatened as the Supreme Court decided that Roosevelt had exceeded his powers and declared some of his legislation to be unconstitutional.”
(b) Explain why reform programs were introduced in the 1960s.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]
e.g. “Reforms were introduced because the presidents were unhappy with the state of society.”

Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]
e.g. “Johnson introduced reforms because he thought the elderly needed better healthcare.”
e.g. “Kennedy was concerned about civil rights.”
e.g. “A book called The other America: Poverty in the US was published which showed how unequal U.S. society was and this inspired Kennedy and Johnson.”

e.g. “Kennedy was aware that issues such as civil rights, urban decline and declining world status were threatening to divide the U.S.A. He launched his idea of a New Frontier in order to address these issues. For instance he became convinced that something should be done to improve the civil rights of African Americans, many of whom were not able to vote and did not have equal access to education. He put forward a Civil Rights Bill to Congress although this was not enacted until after his assassination.”
e.g. “In January 1964, Johnson announced in his Union address that he wanted to declare war on poverty in the U.S.A. and launched his plan of reforms for a ‘Great Society’. He recognised that there were areas of the U.S.A. which were neglected and suffering from unemployment and wanted to see a situation where the government took greater responsibility for healthcare, education and to improve the chances of disadvantaged groups. As a result of this he passed legislation such as the Medical Care Act and the Minimum Wage Act.”

(c) “Between 1970 and 1990 Congress gained power while the presidency lost power.”
How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: Unsupported assertions [1]
e.g. “The presidency got weaker and so Congress gained power.”

Level 2: Identifies reasons/issues [2–3]
e.g. “Scandals such as Watergate meant that the office of president lost respect. This meant that Congress gained power.”
e.g. “Reagan had a strong foreign policy and this made him seem very powerful.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement [4–5]
e.g. “Congress gained power at the expense of President Carter in the 1970s. Carter introduced the Department of Energy and tried to impose heavy fines on organisations which wasted energy. Congress refused to pass legislation based on this plan. When there was an oil crisis in 1979, the public blamed Carter and his popularity reached an all time low.”
e.g. “In the 1980s the relationship between Congress and President Reagan was less strained. Reagan was able to pass legislation which reduced taxes and reduced federal spending. He was less successful in terms of his foreign policy when Congress refused to give him financial support for his policy towards El Salvador.”
Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far …?”

e.g. “The relationship between Congress and the presidency changed throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Sometimes the president seemed to have the upper hand, for instance President Ford vetoed 66 bills which Congress wanted passed to reduce taxation. President Reagan might have been more harshly dealt with by Congress over the Iran-Contra affair had he not been so popular with the public. This shows that Congress did not have it all their own way.”
Section B: Who are Americans 1754–2000?

3 (a) Describe the work of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union up to 1900.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]
e.g. “This organization was founded to encourage people to be Christian and not to drink alcohol.”

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]
e.g. “The W.C.T.U. was founded in Ohio in the 1870s. The group saw alcohol as the root cause of social problems such as poverty and they campaigned outside saloons to try to encourage people not to drink. The second president of the movement was Frances Willard and she established a wider agenda, beginning to campaign on other issues including poor housing, long working hours and bad conditions, Americanization of immigrants and the extension of the right to vote.”

(b) Explain the importance of the Seneca Falls Convention.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]
e.g. “Seneca Falls was a meeting organized by women.”

Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]
e.g. “Seneca Falls represents the start of the movement for women’s rights in the U.S.A.”
e.g. “This meeting was important because it raised awareness of the fact that women were not being treated equally in the U.S.A.”

e.g. “The Seneca Falls meeting represented the start of an organized campaign for women’s rights in the U.S.A. It inspired other, similar meetings and within two years women’s rights conventions were called in Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania.”
e.g. “The meeting at Seneca Falls was reported in the newspapers and a discussion about the position of women in U.S. society was begun. Although not all the reports of the meeting were positive it attracted comment from across the U.S.A.”

(c) “It was divisions within the suffrage movement that stopped women getting the vote before 1900.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: Unsupported assertions [1]
e.g. “Women didn’t get the vote because men wouldn’t let them.”
4 (a) Describe the Great Migration.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]

e.g. “A lot of people moved from the South to the North.”

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

e.g. “The Great Migration took place between 1910 and 1970. In these years around six million African Americans moved from Southern States to the North. The northern cities were more industrial and many people were attracted to cities such as Detroit where the car industry developed. In 1910, 89% of African Americans lived in the South – by 1970 this had fallen to 53%.”

(b) Explain the importance of the Harlem Renaissance to the development of American culture before 1945.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]

e.g. “It provided new kinds of music.”
Level 2: Identifies why

e.g. “Harlem became a center for African American literature.”
e.g. “Harlem became the center for jazz music.”
e.g. “Writers from Harlem showed how literature could be used to express radical political views.”

Level 3: Explains why

e.g. “The Harlem Renaissance was very important because it revealed a distinct African American culture. African American writers such as Claude McKay and Langston Hughes showed that African Americans could produce work of the same quality as anyone else.”

(c) “The legal ending of the Jim Crow laws meant that African Americans had achieved equality.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question

Level 1: Unsupported assertions

e.g. “Yes – this is true because it stopped discrimination.”

Level 2: Identifies why

e.g. “The 1964 Civil Rights Act brought an end to the Jim Crow laws in the South.”
e.g. “Segregation was no longer legal and people were allowed equal job opportunities and access to education.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement

e.g. “Ending the Jim Crow laws offered equality to African Americans. As a result of the 1964 Civil Rights Act they were able to have better work opportunities because discrimination was brought to an end. Schools and colleges were no longer allowed to be segregated so this meant that African Americans were able to become better educated and escape from poverty.”
e.g. “Ending the Jim Crow laws did not give equality to African Americans. Although the law was changed in 1965 to allow African Americans to vote they did not always do so. In 1968 only 23% of those African Americans eligible to vote in Alabama had registered to do so.”

Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far …?”

e.g. “Ending the Jim Crow laws was important as this removed some of the legal obstacles which prevented African Americans from playing an equal role in society and having equal opportunities. However, it took much longer to change attitudes. Although segregation was illegal it still existed in the ghettos of the northern cities which generally had poorer housing, fewer schools and were less well-provided with facilities such as medical centers.”
Section C: Economic and Social Change 1754–2000

5 (a) Describe the industrialization of New England in the 1800s.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]

e.g. “The cotton industry started there.”

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

e.g. “New England was important for textile manufacturing. It had good transport links to Britain (where industrialization had begun) and factories were established like those in England. The area was quite densely populated by the standards of the time and this meant there was a potential workforce and market for goods. In 1793, Eli Whitney, who was from New England, invented the cotton gin.”

(b) Explain how legal and political changes influenced the market revolution.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]

e.g. “Political and legal changes made it easier for industries to produce more goods.”

Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]

e.g. “Supreme Court rulings such as McCulloch v. Maryland in 1819 resulted in Congress being given the authority to charter a national bank. In turn this allowed more investment in industry.”


e.g. “In 1824 a Supreme Court judgment ruled that Thomas Gibbons should be allowed to operate a steamboat service from New York to New Jersey as he had a federal license to do so. A competitor, Aaron Ogden, had challenged Gibbons, arguing that he had exclusive rights to run a similar steamboat service under a state license. Thus, this was a very important ruling as it gave the federal government the right to control trade on interstate waterways. The implication was that federal government could influence transport efficiency and transport costs providing further stimulus to the market revolution.”

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(c) “Industrialization brought benefits to working people in the U.S.A. in the nineteenth century.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question  

Level 1: Unsupported assertions  

e.g. “Industrialization was good because it brought more jobs.”

Level 2: Identifies reasons/issues  

e.g. “There were many more opportunities for different sorts of jobs whereas most people only worked on farms before.”

e.g. “Living conditions got worse and there were outbreaks of disease caused by polluted water and overcrowding.”

e.g. “Many of the new industries were not regulated and this meant people worked very long hours in quite dangerous conditions.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement  

e.g. “Industrialization brought benefits to working people. They were able to go and live in towns and experience a different way of life. Also there was lots of work and so people were able to change jobs if they wanted. Many more goods were produced and this meant there was more choice. Developments in transport meant people could travel more widely and take vacations.”

e.g. “Industrialization created many problems for people in the nineteenth century. Often workers rushed to towns to take up positions in factories and found there was insufficient housing for them. This meant that what housing there was became overcrowded and unhealthy. There were outbreaks of disease, such as yellow fever in Memphis in 1870 for example, and these killed thousands. Also many people worked for twelve hours a day, six days a week. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century one in five children between the ages of 10 and 16 were employed in industry.”

Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement  

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far …?”  

e.g. “Industrialization brought many problems such as overcrowding, disease and bad working conditions. However, once these problems were addressed, the impact of industrialization was generally positive. The U.S.A. became wealthier and Americans enjoyed the best standard of living in the world.”

6 (a) Describe the consumer boom of the 1920s.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question  

Level 1: General answer  

e.g. “People’s wages increased after 1920 so they had more money to spend on consumer goods such as fridges.”
Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

e.g. “Average wages rose by over 25% in the 1920s. Advertising, the availability of credit, and lower costs resulted in consumers buying more goods. Such goods included refrigerators and washing machines. The purchase of these in turn led to a rise in the demand for electricity. Also, the number of cars registered rose by over 15 million in the 1920s. By 1929 over 60% of all the cars sold were purchased using an instalment plan.”

(b) Explain why there was a Great Crash in October 1929.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]
e.g. “Investors had become greedy.”

Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]
e.g. “There was a lot of speculation on the market and people bought shares ‘on the margin.’”
e.g. “The U.S. market was saturated and therefore companies began to lose their value.”
e.g. “On Black Thursday, U.S. share prices collapsed as millions of shares were sold.”

e.g. “By the late 1920s the U.S. economy was stagnating. The demand for cars had dropped, exports were declining and house building had slowed down. This meant that shares in the companies selling these commodities were no longer as valuable as they seemed. By lowering interest rates in October 1929, the Bank of England encouraged U.S. investors to sell shares on the U.S. New York Stock Exchange and switch their investments to Britain. Share prices in the U.S.A. fell and shareholders started to sell their stocks. By the end of Black Thursday, share values had fallen by about $4 billion.”

(c) “The New Deal was a failure.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: Unsupported assertions [1]
e.g. “The New Deal failed to solve unemployment.”

Level 2: Identifies reasons/issues [2–3]
e.g. “From 1933 to 1938, Roosevelt set up ‘alphabet agencies’ to help the economy recover.”
e.g. “The 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act put people back to work.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement [4–5]
e.g. “The New Deal was successful. It resulted in the creation of many jobs and a fall in poverty. The Civilian Conservation Corps, for example, employed millions of young people on work projects such as planting trees and other conservation work.”
e.g. “The New Deal failed to address the problems that the U.S.A. was facing. Its measures only softened the impact of the crisis. Unemployment remained at 15%–20% for most of the late 1930s. Some of the neediest groups in society were neglected. For instance the
sharecroppers were badly hit by the depression in agriculture and the Agricultural Adjustment Act made conditions worse for them.”

**Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement** [6–7]

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

**Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far ...?”** [8]

e.g. “Although the New Deal failed to solve unemployment completely and didn’t address the needs of groups such as the sharecroppers and domestic workers, who were mainly African American women, it did show a clear change in direction from the government. A welfare state, albeit limited in scope, was established for the first time. It was important that the government took responsibility for providing unemployment relief and support in old age.”
Section D: America and the World 1754–2000

7  (a) Describe the main military events of the Revolutionary War.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]

 e.g. "There were a number of sieges and battles where many colonists and British soldiers were killed."

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

 e.g. "The Revolutionary War started with the Battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775. One of the most important events of the war was the siege of Boston from April 1775 to March 1776. In March 1776 the British were forced to hand over Boston to the Patriots. The Americans were able to get help from the French through the signing of the Treaty of Alliance in February 1778."

(b) Explain why France was important in shaping the borders of the U.S.A.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]

 e.g. "The U.S.A. gained territory from France."

Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]

 e.g. "The Revolutionary War took away the French threat to the 13 colonies."
 e.g. "America bought Louisiana from France in 1803."


 e.g. "French influence was evident from the 1750s onwards. The French and Indian War started in 1754. It involved the British and their American colonists entering into a conflict with the French and Native Americans. The war ended in 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Britain gained New France east of the Mississippi River (but not New Orleans which was given to Spain). This treaty quite obviously shaped American borders."
 e.g. "In 1803 the U.S.A. bought Louisiana from the French. This was important for their borders because it roughly doubled the size of their territory beyond the Appalachian mountains and made it seem much more likely that the U.S.A. would eventually stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

(c) “Diplomacy was more effective than warfare in helping the U.S.A. to gain territory in the years up to 1853.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: Unsupported assertions [1]

 e.g. “The U.S.A. gained more territory by diplomacy.”
Level 2: Identifies reasons/issues [2–3]

e.g. “The U.S.A. gained territory by diplomatic means. For instance the border with Canada was negotiated with Britain.”
e.g. “The U.S.A. gained territory by warfare. The Mexican Cession of 1848 gave them the lands they had fought for and won in the Mexican War.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement [4–5]

e.g. “Diplomacy was more important than warfare. Treaties with Spain, France and Britain all gave the U.S.A. extra territory. Although some of this land had to be bought, for instance Alaska was purchased from Russia and cost over $7 million, this was cheaper than the cost of fighting a war to gain the territory and avoided difficult relations with foreign powers.”
e.g. “Warfare was important in gaining territory. When the U.S.A. annexed Texas the Mexican government objected and war followed. Land gained as a result of this war was very important as it completed U.S. expansion to the West.”

Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement [6–7]

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far …?” [8]

e.g. “Both methods were important but the U.S.A. probably gained more territory by diplomatic means. Being able to back up diplomacy with the threat of war was useful but not generally necessary. The U.S.A. paid large sums of money for the territory they gained and this prevented legal problems in the future.”

8 (a) Describe the impact in the U.S.A. of its military involvement in Vietnam.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1–2]

e.g. “The U.S. people grew increasingly unhappy with the war in Vietnam.”

Level 2: Describes events [3–5]

e.g. “As the Vietnam War went on it became increasingly less popular. The war was not being won easily and disturbing images, such as children being bombed with napalm, were seen on the T.V. Soldiers returning home were often mentally scarred and disillusioned and this had a big impact. Many burned their draft cards in protest at conscription and public protests and demonstrations became more common. In October 1969, two million people demonstrated and demanded an end to war. In May 1970, four people were killed when the National Guard fired on protestors at Kent State University.”

(b) Explain why the U.S.A. adopted a policy of détente.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General answer [1]

e.g. “The U.S.A. adopted a policy of détente because it didn’t want to fight another war.”
Level 2: Identifies why [2–4]

e.g. “The U.S.A. adopted détente because it wanted to discourage the P.R.C. and U.S.S.R. from further expansion.”
e.g. “The U.S.A. wanted to limit the cost of the arms race as the American economy was struggling.”
e.g. “The U.S.A. adopted this policy because it was clear that they couldn’t win a nuclear war and wanted to reduce the threat of such a war.”


e.g. “The U.S.A. was worried that the U.S.S.R. was gaining strength. After problems in Egypt in the 1950s they had strengthened their conventional forces and after Cuba they built up their fleet. By the 1960s they were approaching nuclear parity.”

(c) “President Reagan was responsible for ending the Cold War.” How far do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: Unsupported assertions [1]
e.g. “No he was not – Gorbachev was responsible.”

Level 2: Identifies reasons/issues [2–3]
e.g. “Reagan was running for President in 1984 and was aware that a large proportion of Americans were worried by the continuing Cold War.”
e.g. “Reagan was in a position of strength because of the massive build-up of weapons in the U.S.A. and this meant he was in a powerful position to negotiate.”

Level 3: Explains agreement OR disagreement [4–5]
e.g. “Reagan was responsible for bringing the Cold War to an end. He knew that this would be popular with the American people and needed to gain face after some of his less popular foreign policy adventures (such as in El Salvador). He was also in a strong position to broker a deal with the U.S.S.R. as his Strategic Defence Initiative had seen a massive increase in weapons in the U.S.A.”
e.g. “Gorbachev was responsible for bringing the Cold War to an end as he suggested the first summit meeting between the U.S.A and U.S.S.R. in six years. This was held at Geneva in 1985. Gorbachev needed to cut military spending in the U.S.S.R. and revive the economy. Eventually he persuaded Reagan to give up his ‘Star Wars’ program and eliminate many short and medium range missiles. Gorbachev was flexible and prepared to give concessions and this meant he was mainly responsible for bringing the war to an end.”

Level 4: Explains agreement AND disagreement [6–7]

Identifies both sides of the arguments in Level 3.

Level 5: Explains with evaluative judgment of “How far …?” [8]
e.g. “Reagan was partly responsible for bringing the Cold War to an end. He got on well with Gorbachev and was eventually prepared to reduce U.S. weapons. However, for the process to work, it needed the leader of the U.S.S.R. to be equally interested in arms reduction and to be prepared to talk with the West. Therefore bringing the Cold War to an end was down to both these men.”