

Markscheme

November 2016

History route 2

Higher level and standard level

Paper 2

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Paper 2 markbands: The following bands provide a précis of the full markbands for paper 2 published in the History guide (2008) on pages 71–74. They are intended to assist marking but must be used in conjunction with the full markbands found in the guide. **For the attention of all examiners: if you are uncertain about the content/accuracy of a candidate’s work please contact your team leader.**

16–20:	Answers are clearly structured and focused, have full awareness of the demands of the question, and, if appropriate, may challenge it. Detailed specific knowledge is used as evidence to support assertions and arguments. Historical processes such as comparison and contrast, placing events in context and evaluating different interpretations are used appropriately and effectively.
13–15:	Answers are clearly focused on the demands of the question. Specific knowledge is applied as evidence, and analysis or critical commentary are used appropriately to produce a specific argument. Events are placed in context and there is sound understanding of historical processes and comparison and contrast. Evaluation of different approaches may be used to substantiate arguments presented.
10–12:	Answers indicate that the question is understood but not all implications considered. Knowledge is largely accurate. Critical commentary may be present. Events are generally placed in context and understanding of historical processes, such as comparison and contrast are present. There may be awareness of different approaches and interpretations but they are not based on relevant historical knowledge. There is a clear attempt at a structured approach.
8–9:	The demands of the question are generally understood. Historical knowledge is present but is not fully or accurately detailed. Knowledge is narrative or descriptive in nature. There may be limited argument that requires further substantiation. Critical commentary may be present. There is an attempt to place events in historical context and show an understanding of historical processes. An attempt at a structured approach, either chronological or thematic has been made.
6–7:	Answers indicate some understanding of the question but historical knowledge is limited in quality and quantity. Historical context may be present as will understanding of historical processes but underdeveloped. The question is only partially addressed.
4–5:	There is little understanding of the question. Historical details are present but are mainly inaccurate and/or of marginal relevance. Historical context or processes are barely understood and there is minimal focus on the task.
1–3:	Answers do not meet the demands of the question and show little or no evidence of appropriate structure. There are no more than vague, unsupported assertions.
0:	Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks.

Examiners and moderators are reminded of the need to apply the markbands that provide the **“best fit”** to the responses given by candidates and to **award credit wherever it is possible to do so**. If an answer indicates that the demands of the question are understood and addressed but that **not all implications are considered (eg, compare or contrast; reasons or significance; methods or success)**, then examiners should not be afraid of using the full range of marks allowed for by the markscheme: *ie*, responses that offer good coverage of some of the criteria should be rewarded accordingly.

Topic 1 Causes, practices and effects of wars

1. Examine the reasons why some 20th-century wars ended with a peace treaty while others did not.

Candidates are required to consider the factors that made peace treaties possible in some cases, but prevented peace treaties being signed in others. Answers may be organized around common factors, or candidates may examine wars separately. For an answer to be effective it is essential that there is at least one example of a war that finished without a treaty, and another of a war that finished with one. Candidates may also approach this question by referring to several wars as long as the focus remains on the demands of the question.

Indicative content

- Victorious powers did not always wish to make a peace treaty, regarded their victory as vindication of their cause and saw compromise as a betrayal of those who had fought.
- Some wars ended with a victory so crushing that there was no defeated party left with which to negotiate a treaty.
- In some cases UN Security Council resolutions took the place of peace treaties; or the presence of peacekeeping forces made a stalemate more acceptable.
- The issues that caused the war may have been intractable.
- In the case of the First World War the victorious powers were motivated by a desire to prevent such huge suffering in the future and a perceived need to revise European borders. There was sufficient common ground between the victors to make a series of peace treaties possible.
- In the case of the Second World War full peace treaties proved impossible as the victorious powers could not agree about key issues such as the treatment of Germany and the governance of Eastern Europe.

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2. Examine the role of economic factors in causing **two** wars, each chosen from a different region.

Candidates should focus primarily on economic causes of wars, which could have taken a number of forms. In the course of examining economic causes, candidates may make a judgment on the seriousness of economic issues, or they may consider these in relation to other causes.

Indicative content

- Countries may have engaged in wars in order to retain or obtain resources and/or territory vital to the national interest.
- A country may have been in economic difficulty and war was a way of diverting attention from domestic problems.
- Adverse economic circumstances could have contributed to the emergence of aggressive and/or expansionist leaders.
- In the case of civil wars, sections of the population may have been suffering economically.

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3. “Technological developments were **not** significant to the outcome of 20th century wars.”
Discuss with reference to **two** wars.

Candidates are required to offer a considered and balanced review of the contributions that technological developments made to the outcome of two wars. They may adopt a comparative approach and discuss the importance of technological developments in each war, or they may choose to identify and rank a range of alternative factors. However, there is no prescribed response.

Note: The Cold War is not an admissible example.

Indicative content

- Candidates may analyse the impact of weaponry such as machine guns, tanks, flame-throwers, poison gas, atom and incendiary bombs, precision bombing missiles and napalm.
- Developments in transport, mobilization and weapon delivery such as railways, helicopters, aircraft carriers, rockets and submarines may be discussed.
- There may be assessment of the role of defensive and detection systems such as radar, sonar and anti-aircraft and anti-missile systems.
- Other factors may include strategies and tactics, numerical superiority, economic strength and fighting spirit.

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4. To what extent did guerrilla tactics determine the outcome of **either** the Algerian War (1954–1962) **or** the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949)?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that guerrilla tactics were a determining factor in one of the named wars. In order to justify or refute the claim that guerrilla tactics were the most important factor other reasons for the war's outcome are likely to be assessed and a clear conclusion reached.

Indicative content

Algerian War (1954–1962)

- Candidates should be able to assess the impact of guerrilla campaigns, notably the 1954 maquisard attacks and the guerrilla war of 1956 to 1957, and French counter-measures, which were militarily effective.
- There may be analysis of French methods, which included sophisticated counter-insurgency tactics such as search-and-destroy missions, helicopters and promotion of divisions among nationalist forces. This limited the effectiveness of guerrilla tactics.
- There may be assessment of guerrilla tactics used by the *Front de Libération Nationale*, FLN (National Liberation Front), such as terrorism, for example bombings during the Battle of Algiers and torture.
- The role of foreign support (that of Nasser for example) may be argued as having contributed to the outcome.
- It may be argued that the brutality of the French campaign alienated domestic and international opinion.
- By 1958, when de Gaulle took power, the political climate had changed. French domestic opinion was ready to support Algerian self-rule, the military effort needed to retain control over Algeria had become unsustainable and unpopular with NATO allies, and pressure was mounting from the United Nations.
- A summative argument could be that guerrilla tactics provoked fierce French repression, which alienated moderate opinion and led to the French decision to grant independence.

Chinese Civil War (1946–1949)

- Guerrilla tactics could be considered especially important in the early stages of the war, when Nationalist forces were vastly superior in numbers and weaponry.
- It may be argued that victory was secured in conventional pitched battles such as the 31-day battle at Mukden/Shenyang.
- There may be consideration of other reasons for Communist victory, for example Nationalist tactical errors such as the Manchurian campaign, which overstretched Nationalist supply lines and isolated Nationalist forces in PLA-controlled territory.
- The erosion of Nationalist support because of the ill-treatment of Nationalist troops led to the high desertion rate.
- Nationalist mismanagement of the economy (hyperinflation) and a failure to improve the lot of the peasantry were unpopular.
- The Communist message was focused on land reform and improved educational opportunity; peasant support was vital to communist success.
- Communist leadership was strong, there was a clear ideological message and Mao trusted his generals.
- There may be some assessment of the role of foreign support, for example, the withdrawal of US funding for the Nationalists in 1948.

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5. With reference to Pakistan's defeat in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, discuss the political consequences for Pakistan.

Candidates are required to consider how Pakistan's defeat in 1971 affected its political scene, both during and after conflict. A possible approach may be to explain immediate, short-term and long-term results; however, no set response is required.

Indicative content

- The decisive Indian victory resulted in the independence of Bangladesh. The Pakistanis signed the Simla Agreement (1972), implicitly recognising East Pakistani independence and agreeing to procedures for resolving Indo-Pakistani disagreements peacefully. Since 1971 there has not been a war.
- As a result of defeat, Yahya Khan stood down in favour of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the first civilian leader of a smaller Pakistan.
- The Bangladeshi state, led by Mujibur Rahman, swiftly gained international recognition—Bangladesh joined the UN in 1974.
- Defeat may also have prompted Bhutto to embark on his secret nuclear programme in order to compensate for the imbalance in conventional forces.
- Some believe that a long-term consequence was Pakistani support for Islamist forces in Afghanistan and Kashmir, with a view to entrapping India in a lengthy struggle in disputed Kashmir.

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6. Discuss the causes of **either** the Falklands/Malvinas War (1982) **or** the Gulf War (1991).

Candidates are expected to offer a considered and balanced review of a range of factors, which could be long and short term. These could include religious, economic, strategic and political themes. Candidates may weigh up causes against each other to determine those that were the most significant.

Indicative content

Falklands/Malvinas War (1982)

- The Argentines underestimated the resolve of the British government to retain control of the Islands, as closure of the British base on South Georgia had been announced, as had the withdrawal of the South Atlantic research vessel HMS Endurance.
- The trigger for the war was Argentine landings on South Georgia and the Falklands Islands/Islas Malvinas.
- A fundamental cause was the disputed title to the Falklands/Malvinas. The Argentines argued that the British case rested on colonial ideology, while the British claimed that Argentine actions were in violation of international law.
- US and UN mediation between the UK and Argentina failed; the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, was unwilling to compromise, while the Argentines believed that the British would find it very difficult to fight a war at such a huge distance.
- There may be discussion of the influence of the leading personalities: Thatcher and General Galtieri, both of whom arguably wanted a quick victory to improve popularity and divert attention from domestic problems.

Gulf War (1991)

- Kuwait had been part of Basra province during the period of the British mandate, and Iraqis regarded it as rightfully theirs.
- The war with Iran had left Iraq heavily indebted to Kuwait. Iraq became increasingly angry at Kuwaiti overproduction of oil, leading to depressed prices and difficulties in paying off Iraqi debt.
- Iraq had protested against Kuwaiti exploitation of the Rumaila oilfield, claiming that Kuwaiti drilling was under Iraqi territory. The dispute over compensation was the trigger for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.
- There had been long-term friction between the US and Iraq during the Cold War. Iraq had been in the Soviet camp, and its support for the Palestinians was unacceptable to the US.
- In the years leading up to the Gulf War, there was increasing friction between Iraq and its neighbours leading to fear of encirclement. Iraqi isolation meant the US was able to form a coalition that included Arab states.
- It may be argued that the West would not have become involved had it not been for their dependence on Middle East oil, the supply of which was threatened by Saddam's aggression.

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Topic 2 Democratic states—challenges and responses

7. “Democratic electoral systems led to stable governments.” Discuss with reference to **two** post-1945 states.

Responses will offer a considered and balanced review of the electoral systems in the candidates’ chosen states, focusing on how democracy led (or failed to lead) to stable governments. Candidates may refer to different types of democratic electoral systems such as proportional representation, electoral colleges and majority rule.

Indicative content

- Assessment of stability may include the longevity of administrations and their ability to tackle political, social and economic challenges.
- Candidates may analyse the outcomes of elections to assess the importance of decisive mandates that may have contributed to stability.
- There may be consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of, for example, coalition governments and how far these may have more accurately reflected political opinion but may have been less stable.
- There may be consideration of the electoral system in a constitutional context: for example, for the US, the relationship between presidential, Senate and Congressional elections, and how that affected the stability of the government could be mentioned.
- To challenge the statement, candidates may argue that democratic systems are too dependent on short-term support and that leaders are less likely to introduce unpopular but, perhaps, necessary policies to address, for example, economic crises or the conservation of resources.
- Furthermore, candidates may argue that the ideology of democracy itself promotes governmental stability because of the belief that change occurs via the ballot box.

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8. To what extent were the methods used by 20th-century political parties similar to those used by pressure (interest/lobby) groups?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that the methods used by political parties were comparable with those used by pressure groups. Arguments will be supported by a range of appropriate examples.

Indicative content

Similarities

- Both political parties and pressure groups relied on attracting members and financial support, although some pressure groups, such as trade unions, represented the interests of specific groups closed to the general public.
- In some cases, political parties, like pressure groups, focused on a narrow range of issues, for example the Green Parties who focused on environmental issues.
- Both political parties and pressure groups used methods such as rallies, advertisements and poster campaigns.
- Both may have offered financial support to political candidates.

Differences

- Political parties normally worked within the political system and aimed to gain direct representation inside elected assemblies: pressure groups relied more on lobbying these political parties.
- Pressure groups commonly focused on a narrow issue or range of issues whereas political parties tended to look more broadly at a wide range of issues.
- Political parties had to develop a programme for government if they wanted to be credible as a governing party whereas pressure groups did not.
- Political parties rarely took direct action such as civil disobedience campaigns although these could quite commonly have been used by pressure groups.

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9. Evaluate the ways in which **two** 20th-century democratic states responded to the challenges posed by **either** ethnic **or** religious groups.

Candidates are required to consider the ways in which two democracies approached challenges that arose from the presence of different ethnic or religious groups within the state. The groups may represent a majority or a minority of the population and the ways in which the democracies addressed the challenges may be both positive and negative.

Indicative content

Ethnicity

- In some countries, for example post-imperial or post-colonial countries, ethnic diversity may have challenged the legitimacy of the state that may have been established according to the principle of self-determination based upon a homogenous national group.
- In others states, the immigration of ethnic groups may have caused destabilization and inter-ethnic conflict.
- Ethnic groups may have suffered discrimination and disadvantage, due to being under-represented in a democratic system that favoured the majority.
- The ways in which the state responded to such challenges may have included: ensuring the political representation of ethnic groups; legislation to protect and promote ethnic languages and culture; legislation that outlawed racial/ethnic discrimination; educational policies that encouraged the recognition of a country's ethnic diversity.

Religion

- In some countries, there were clashes between the state and religious bodies over particular issues such as divorce, abortion and gay rights.
- In some countries, religious belief had an impact on political debate with the religion of politicians having a significant impact on electoral success. There may even have been the adoption of a state religion.
- Alternatively, some democracies were clear and determined in their secularism. Candidates may consider the reasons for this, and the degree of success achieved.

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10. Evaluate the effectiveness of economic policies in **either** Weimar Germany (1919–1933) **or** Argentina under Alfonsín (1983–1989)

Candidates are required to appraise the effectiveness of the economic policies pursued in their chosen country. Successes and failures should be identified and explained. Candidates may also consider the impact of economic policies upon society in general in order to assess effectiveness.

Indicative content

Weimar Germany

- Following the end of the First World War Weimar Germany was faced with significant inflation, unemployment, and the need to meet increased welfare bills to help support the widows, orphans and casualties of war. It may be argued that, in the early years of the republic, the government was reluctant to reform the economy as this would be seen as facilitating reparation payments.
- The Ruhr Crisis of 1923 resulted in the printing of money to meet government expenditure and this led to hyperinflation. There may be analysis of the highly effective measures taken by Gustav Stresemann (Chancellor from August to November 1923) and Hjalmar Schacht in revaluing the currency. The Dawes Plan may also be mentioned and linked to the boost that US loans gave to the faltering economy.
- During the “Golden years” (1924–1928) the German economy appeared to prosper and expenditure on public housing schemes, for example, increased significantly, but there was a dependency on US loans.
- Following the Wall Street Crash of 1929, problems arose as foreign loans were recalled, banks failed and unemployment soared to at least 6 million (although there was no inflation at this time). Reluctant to introduce austerity measures, Chancellor Müller resigned in 1930 and his successor, Brüning earned the sobriquet “The Hunger Chancellor” for his willingness to cut benefits and impose deflationary policies.
- Candidates may argue that it was the upturn in the world economy rather than government policies that resulted in the slight falls in unemployment by late 1932.

Alfonsín

- Candidates should focus on the struggles of the administration to address inflation, budget deficit and foreign debt. Meanwhile, tax evasion and the unprofitability of state enterprises compounded the problems. Alfonsín inherited a foreign debt of over US\$40,000,000,000 with inflation running at over 400 per cent.
- Policies included printing money to tackle the deficit, the Austral Plan (which introduced a new currency and imposed strict controls on wages and prices), cutting military spending and attempts at privatization.
- Candidates may suggest that external factors also had an impact on the economy. These included falling commodity prices, climate extremes such as droughts and floods, which affected agricultural production, and the collapse of share prices in 1987.
- Candidates may argue that although Alfonsín achieved some success in his economic policies, as by the end of 1985, inflation and the government deficit had fallen dramatically, it was only temporary.
- By 1989 the economy was once again in recession, inflation was rampant, and foreign debt repayments were overdue. It was this economic crisis that led him to hand over power to his successor before his term was over.

- Candidates may argue that that Alfonsin’s priority was the establishment of democracy and his economic policies foundered on a failure both to confront vested interests and conduct fundamental reforms.

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11. Evaluate the success of social policies in **either** India (1947–1964) **or** South Africa (1991–2000).

Responses should offer an appraisal of the successes and failures of social policy in their chosen country. They may focus on policies towards women and education, coupled with social policies that were distinctive to either India or South Africa, such as the caste system or apartheid.

Indicative content

India

- Nehru’s educational policies saw the establishment of key educational institutions, such as the Institutes of Medical Sciences, Technology and Management, and the extension of primary, secondary and adult education.
- ‘Untouchability’ was abolished by Article 17 of the Indian constitution and outlawed in 1955, but it may be argued that the law failed to produce the desired change.
- Laws were passed that promoted monogamy, women’s right to divorce and to inherit land and wealth although it may be argued that attempts to improve the rights of women met with limited success.
- A land reform programme was attempted in order to reduce the concentration of land ownership among the wealthy but its application was limited.
- Attempts were made to promote Hindi as the national language, although resistance from non-Hindu speakers as well as the universality of English meant that it was not completely successful.
- Some answers may question Nehru’s top-down approach to reform and propose that a focus on the grass roots may have produced better results. The placing of so much responsibility on state governments to enforce legislation may also be seen as a reason for limited success.

South Africa

- With regard to education, attempts were made to integrate schools and to provide a better standard of education, although these attempts had only limited impact on improvements in teaching and attainment for the black majority.
- Public health policy was intended to direct investment towards primary and community care. The success of this policy was affected, however, by the closure of nursing colleges and the reduction of doctor’s salaries as this reduced the numbers of trained medical staff. The existence of an AIDS epidemic also the increased pressure on health care facilities (as well as other social programmes).
- Discrimination on the grounds of gender was prohibited by the constitution, and new laws were passed to promote women’s rights. There were significant barriers to success in this field, however, and progress was limited.

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12. Discuss the reasons why Johnson was more successful than Eisenhower and Kennedy in securing the passage of civil rights legislation.

This question focuses on the reasons why more was achieved by Johnson than his two predecessors. Candidates may compare the political climate in which the presidents operated, the presidents' motivation and commitment to civil rights and their ability to enact legislation, which was often influenced by the level of support in Congress.

Indicative content

- Eisenhower continued the desegregation of the military and some progress was made in the desegregation of education, for example, Little Rock, 1957. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were both passed during his administration although he had little to do with these. Kennedy attempted to facilitate the voting rights of people in the South and to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1963 but was assassinated before significant change could be achieved. Johnson, however, was able to build on Kennedy's actions and utilize changing public attitudes to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and gain approval of the 24th Amendment, which eliminated poll taxes.
- With regard to political position, Eisenhower, despite victories in 1952 and 1956, had control over Congress for only two years while Kennedy had a very narrow victory in 1960 and had no command over Congress. Johnson had a landslide victory in 1964 and enjoyed a great deal of support in Congress and so was much better placed to pass legislation.
- With reference to their commitment to the cause, Eisenhower did not prioritize civil rights, Kennedy was preoccupied with foreign affairs and Johnson made social change, including civil rights, a priority.
- Public attitudes changed over time and events such as the Freedom Riders, the March on Washington, the Selma March the influence of leaders such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, made the nation more aware of inequality and discrimination and more likely, by 1964, to support desegregation.

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Topic 3 Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states

13. To what extent did popular support for the aims and ideology of **one** authoritarian/single-party leader contribute to the rise to power of that leader?

Candidates are required to consider the importance of aims and ideology in the rise to power of a leader but also other factors that may have been less, more or equally important. Candidates may discuss aims and ideology separately or together. Aims could be interpreted as the method for gaining public support because they may have been a more accessible way to communicate ideology.

Indicative content

Aims and ideology

- Candidates may begin by outlining the main aspects of the aims and ideology of the chosen leader and how this contributed to popular support.
- In some cases, it may be relevant to consider such factors as ultra-nationalism, economic reform or territorial ambitions in gaining support.
- Aims may include calls for the abandonment of unpopular governmental policies or diplomatic agreements. Similarly, some leaders called for specific changes to the economic structure of a state to alleviate hardship or the recovery of territory lost through war or the need to acquire new territory. These aims may have gained popular support or, alternatively, failed to resonate.

Other factors

- The use of force and intimidation may also have reduced opposition or created a climate of fear that encouraged support for a strong leader.
- Propaganda and the media may have been used to vilify opponents as well as to gain support.
- Circumstances such as poor economic conditions or weak government may have made aims and ideology more appealing.

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14. Compare and contrast the conditions that led to the rise to power of **two** authoritarian/single-party leaders.

“Conditions” refer to the circumstances that prevailed during the rise to power of a leader and, although the methods used by the leader may be of relevance to illustrate the importance of certain conditions, these would not be the main focus of the response. Candidates are required to give an account of the similarities and differences in the conditions that were relevant to the rise to power of the chosen leaders in order to demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question.

Indicative content

- Economic hardship as a result of high unemployment or high inflation may have influenced the appeal of a strong leader who promised to address these problems.
- The failure of current governments to ameliorate the impact of crises on the population may have resulted in frustration and the search for alternative leadership.
- The perceived weakness of a government associated with defeat in war may have provided opportunities for a would-be leader to rally support by calling for a resurgence in militarism and revanchism.
- A promise to rescind government policies perceived as prejudiced against minorities or, alternatively, giving undue support for minorities may have increased support for a leader.
- When ignored by incumbent governments, a leader’s promise to address demands for increased workers’ rights and/or the re-distribution of wealth or land may have garnered support.
- The leader of a political movement may have received support from external powers to assist with the overthrow of a government.
- Promises to address/reverse social change brought about by war or a shift in economic wealth may have provided opportunities for leaders to appeal to more conservative elements in the population.

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15. Evaluate the treatment of religious groups and minorities in **two** authoritarian/single-party states, each chosen from a different region.

Candidates are required to appraise the treatment of religious groups and minorities in two states, chosen from different regions. Candidates may elect to adopt a comparative approach; however, this is not a requirement. Nevertheless, a reasoned conclusion is expected.

Indicative content

Positive actions by the state

- Laws may have been passed to prevent discrimination.
- Financial aid may have been given to help establish, or preserve, places of worship or housing for minorities.
- Facilities may have been provided to allow for separate education for the children of minorities/religious groups (although this could also be seen in a negative light).

Negative actions by the state

- Laws may have been passed to impose restrictions on the religious practices of certain groups, or on their right to worship freely.
- Laws may have been passed to deny rights to minorities.
- Education in their own language may have been denied to minorities.
- Genocide may have been attempted, or carried out, against groups in certain states.
- Financial penalties may have been imposed by the state, for example, through the application of additional taxation.

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16. To what extent did the structure and organization of government in Germany between 1933 and 1939 contribute to Hitler's maintenance of power?

Candidates are required to consider whether the structure and organization of the government assisted Hitler in his maintenance of power up to 1939. Other factors that may have been as, or more, important may also be identified.

Indicative content

The structure and organisation of government

- The Enabling Law (March 1933) allowed Hitler to rule without the Reichstag, which still existed but rarely met. There was also a Cabinet, but this, too, met only infrequently.
- In 1933, Hitler replaced all the governors of the *Länder* with Nazis and, in theory, this gave him control over different regions.
- As Chancellor, Hitler had five offices that directly represented him and so confusion over duties and control over the implementation of policies was commonplace.
- The nature of the *Führerprinzip* meant that all authority devolved from Hitler who, alone, had the ultimate say on all policy making.
- The hierarchy within the government of the Third Reich was not clear and this led to internal rivalry (for example, Heinrich Himmler and Ernst Rohm in 1934) and this can be seen as inhibiting cooperation and efficiency.
- “Working towards the Führer” became the key phrase to describe how subordinates would offer ideas and policies that would be in line with Nazi ideology but that could also be viewed as spontaneous and not necessarily part of an overall plan.
- Such factors may be seen as weakening Hitler's control over the Reich or, alternatively, as helping him to maintain power by not being directly responsible for policy-making.

Other factors

- Hitler's apparently successful economic policies that, for example, reduced unemployment and increased production.
- A strong ideology with concepts such as *Gleichschaltung* and *Volksgemeinschaft* that promoted social cohesion.
- The use of scapegoats such as the Jews and the Roma, as well as campaigns to rid Germany of people who were deemed unfit or unable to contribute to the well-being of the state.
- Propaganda and the creation of various organizations to unite workers, the youth and/or women.
- In 1934, the army swore an oath of loyalty to Hitler and so brought this institution under his control and its support was further enhanced by a drive for rearmament and a successful foreign policy that renounced many of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles (although for Topic 3, foreign policy need not be mentioned).

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17. Examine the role of education and propaganda in the maintenance of power in Mao's China.

Candidates are required to consider the role of education and propaganda and how it was used to help maintain power in China during Mao's rule.

Indicative content

Education

- Literacy campaigns were carried out in the early years of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to enable the population to read party propaganda and to become familiar with party ideology.
- Mao's personality cult was strongly linked to his writings and, during the Cultural Revolution, to the "Thoughts of Chairman Mao". Familiarity with his writing and "thoughts" was an important aspect of political and social control.
- Children were exposed to Maoist teachings throughout their education and this was intended to make them devotees of Mao and so impose conformity of ideology; The Young Pioneer youth movement ensured that children from primary school onwards were familiar with Mao's teaching.
- The Red Guards were the vanguard of the Cultural Revolution, but it may be argued that this was the antithesis of education as Mao was very critical of how it had remained the preserve of the bourgeoisie.
- Candidates may argue that Mao took charge of education at this time and turned it into his own preserve. This could then be linked to politics as it assisted Mao to recover his authority over the state and so to maintain power following the failure of the Great Leap Forward.

Propaganda

- The use of popular campaigns involved the whole population in carrying out policies aimed at ending corruption (3-Antis and 5-Antis), this gave a sense of everyone being part of the revolution and affirmed the authority of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).
- The Speak Bitterness Campaign rallied support in the countryside for the state and against landlords.
- The Hundred Flowers Campaign was followed swiftly by the Anti-Rightist campaign with perceived opponents being sent to thought-reform camps. This helped to consolidate Party control over the population.
- The Great Leap Forward and all the propaganda associated with it attempted to revolutionize family life, suppressing individualism and emphasizing the collective as a social unit that, also, was more easily controlled.
- During the Cultural Revolution, the distribution of the Little Red Book meant that everyone had to learn the Thoughts of Chairman Mao consolidating Mao's personality cult and his control over the Party and the state.

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18. With reference to Castro (Cuba) **or** Nasser (Egypt), to what extent did the use of force contribute to his maintenance of power?

Candidates are required to consider how far the use of force contributed to the maintenance of power by the chosen leader.

Indicative content

Castro

- Show trials were used to punish opponents.
- CDR (Committees for the Defense of the Revolution), an important form of public surveillance, were used to prevent counter-revolutionary activity.
- Labour camps were used to “re-educate”, although these were closed in 1968.
- The Mariel boatlift and other forms of emigration could also be mentioned.
- Other factors may include: the use of propaganda; populist policies; attempts to improve education and health care; economic support from the USSR; US attempts to destabilize his regime that gave Castro a scapegoat for Cuba’s problems and an external enemy to unite the people.

Nasser

- The military was fundamental to Nasser’s rule and provided a base for state security.
- Prisons were used to hold Communists and members of the Muslim Brotherhood, in particular, and opponents in general.
- A large security apparatus was used to remove political rivals or opponents.
- Other factors may include: the cult of personality that flourished especially as Nasser was both charismatic and a strong orator; the strong appeal of nationalism and Pan-Arabism; the use of external enemies to unite the population; widespread use of propaganda, especially the radio station, “The Voice of the Arabs” that broadcast Nasser’s speeches in Egypt and elsewhere; anti-imperialist policies such as the nationalization of the Suez Canal; the building of the Aswan Dam and his support, in general, for the fellahin. The apparent benevolence of Nasser, as seen in a description of Egypt as “a dictatorship without a dictator”.

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Topic 4 Nationalist and independence movements in Africa and Asia and post-1945 Central and Eastern European states

19. With reference to Africa **and/or** Asia, to what extent did political ideology contribute to the rise of independence movements in **two** colonial territories?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that ideology was a key contributor to the rise of independence movements. Other factors may also be considered in order to present a balanced view. Arguments should be supported with relevant and accurate evidence.

Indicative content

Political ideology

- Political ideologies may have provided a programme of aims and beliefs that formed a basis for political action.
- Ideology may have provided links to similar movements in other countries that may have provided support and financial and/or military aid.
- Ideology also may have been explained to the people through the use of propaganda and this may have helped to win support.
- Ideology may have provided justification for political and/or economic change or it may have been used to justify armed rebellion.

Other factors

- Economic hardship, regardless of ideology, may have motivated demands for independence.
- Charismatic leadership, regardless of ideology, may have gathered support
- The granting of independence by the colonial power may have made political ideology less relevant.
- Tribal identity, rather than political ideology may have provided the strongest bond among members of a movement.

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20. With reference to Africa **and/or** Asia, examine the impact of the Cold War on the success of **two** independence movements.

Candidates are required to consider the impact of the Cold War upon the development of independence movements in two states. These may be chosen from Asia alone, Africa alone or there may be one example from each continent. Responses may also consider other factors that led to independence in order to reach a judgment as to the impact of the Cold War.

Indicative content

- The appeal of the ideology of either the USSR or the US may have been important in providing the core belief of a nationalist movement. Communism may have appealed because of its anti-imperialist ideology, leading to the rise of anti-colonialism and to calls for independence. The ideology of democracy may also have given support to calls for self-determination and independence.
- Support may have been given by either (or sometimes both) superpower in the form of financial and/or military aid and so assisted in eventual victory.
- The success of independence movements in neighbouring states may have facilitated the spreading of ideology and, on a more practical level, financial assistance or shelter for guerrilla movements as well as access to resources.
- Independence movements may have resulted in armed struggle that, in turn, became proxy conflicts with superpower support that was maintained until independence was achieved.

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21. “Armed struggle was **not** the most important factor in the achievement of independence.” Discuss with reference to India **or** Indochina.

Responses are expected to provide a considered and balanced review of the suggestion that colonial power was not as effective as it had once been, and that it was this – rather than armed struggle – that paved the way for the independence of either India or Indochina.

Indicative content

India

Armed Struggle:

- An early revolutionary movement in 1906 led by Tilak called for an armed uprising was short-lived and not decisive.
- The Indian National Army (INA) led by Subhas Chandra Bose fought in Burma against the British to try and gain independence. At the end of the war thousands of INA soldiers were put on trial for treason. There was the threat of mutiny in the Indian Army and Navy and widespread popular support for the INA prisoners. It may be argued that this had a marked effect on the timing of the British retreat from India that may not have taken place as early as 1947 if not for the legacy of the INA.

Other factors:

- Candidates may argue that Britain emerged from the First World War with a weakened economy and with greater awareness of the growth of nationalism within its empire. This arguably, helped the passage of the Government of India Acts in 1919 and 1935.
- After the First World War, the ideology of imperialism lost ground and the League of Nations, for example, called for progress towards decolonization.
- The Second World War led to the further weakening of Britain’s role as an imperial power and lessened its resistance to granting Indian independence.
- The civil disobedience, non-cooperation and Quit India campaigns, led by Gandhi, helped to mobilize the population of India and to turn the call for independence into a mass movement.
- The legal methods used by the Congress Party were also significant in achieving independence.

Indochina

Armed Struggle:

- There was nationalist resistance to the Japanese occupation of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia during the Second World War but, especially in Vietnam and Cambodia, this increased with the return of the French in 1946. Candidates may argue that armed struggle was of greater importance in Vietnam, for example, than Laos and Cambodia.
- In Laos, the Communist Pathet Lao were supported by the Vietminh and fought alongside them to achieve independence that was granted in 1953.
- In Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk declared independence and resisted the encroachment of the Vietminh. In 1953, France granted independence to Cambodia.
- In Vietnam, the Communist Vietminh, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, declared independence but had to fight to prevent the resumption of colonial government. This led to the French-Indochinese War. Candidates may argue that the defeat of France by 1954, was crucial to the achievement of independence.
- France’s war against the Communist Vietminh became, to some extent, a Cold War conflict with the US supporting France with arms and money. This was insufficient, however, to prevent the defeat of France.

- The cost of the war damaged the French economy to the extent that even the Marshall Aid received by France was less than a third of the cost of the war. This made the conflict uneconomic and French withdrawal more likely. Candidates may argue that the armed struggle was so decisive that it greatly weakened France as a colonial power and so the two factors are very closely intertwined.

Other factors:

- The defeat of France by Nazi Germany in 1940 had damaged France's reputation and, despite France's desire to remain a strong Empire, it had lost considerable prestige, especially in its colonies.
- The Brazzaville Conference of 1944 indicated that France was ready to allow greater autonomy within its African empire.
- Despite US support for a continued French presence in Indochina, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the Korean War, France could no longer afford the cost of waging war.
- As with Britain, the post-war climate was critical of colonization and public opinion was less likely to support imperialism.

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22. Discuss the factors that led to the end of Soviet control in **two** states in Central/Eastern Europe.

Candidates are required to assess the strengths and limitations of the factors that led to the break-up of Soviet control in two states from Central and Eastern Europe. They may consider internal factors as well as external factors, including the impact of Gorbachev's policies.

Indicative content

- Economic problems contributed to discontent with the ruling party and this exacerbated existing tensions.
- Open discussion of events such as the Katyn Massacre (Poland), the Hungarian Revolution, the Prague Spring and the 1953 Riots in East Germany led to a re-examination of how Soviet control had been imposed.
- The spread of organized dissent through movements such as Solidarity and Charter 77 made opposition more organized and public.
- The role played by religious institutions such as the Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church was significant as it provided a space for alternative viewpoints, critical of the state, to be discussed.
- External influences such as Human Rights Watch Committees as well as Western governments, that linked up with different opposition groups, were important for lending support to domestic opposition groups.
- The impact of Gorbachev's policies and reforms in the Soviet Union encouraged the demand for similar reforms in the satellite states.
- Gorbachev declared the abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine and refused to send Soviet troops to prop up the governments of the satellite states.
- The refusal of some governments to carry out reforms made their demise more likely.
- In August 1989, events in Poland and Hungary and the opening of the Austrian border with Hungary sparked mass demonstrations in East Germany. The Berlin Wall fell in November 1989 and protests followed in other satellite states such as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania.

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23. Evaluate the role of **two** of the following in leading their countries to independence: Ben Bella (Algeria); Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam); Mugabe (Zimbabwe); Nkrumah (Ghana); Walesa (Poland); Havel (Czechoslovakia).

Candidates are required to appraise the strengths and limitations of the role of two of the leaders mentioned in leading their countries to independence.

Indicative content

- Charismatic leadership may have increased popular support for independence.
- Political or military experience may have provided expertise in leading independence movements.
- The ability to use propaganda effectively to explain and popularize the call for independence.
- An international profile may have provided access to influential support from outside the country.
- During the Cold War, ideological ties to the US, Soviet Union or China may have given access to support and assistance.
- The ability to take advantage of changing world opinion that was more likely to support calls for independence.
- A reputation for resistance to authority and, perhaps, a demonstrated willingness to suffer imprisonment or exile in order to achieve their aims.

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24. Discuss the impact of racial **and** separatist movements in India **or** Pakistan **or** Yugoslavia.

Responses will provide a considered and balanced review of the impact of racial and separatist movements on their chosen country. In many cases, regional movements were based on one or both of these factors and there may, where relevant, be links to linguistic and/or religious views.

Indicative content

India

- Possibly, the best known separatist movement was in Kashmir. Despite agreements about demarcation boundaries there were several conflicts. The impact on India was considerable both in terms of conflict and because it symbolized the deep divisions between India and Pakistan.
- In Punjab, the separatist movement of the majority Sikh population demanded autonomy soon after partition. There was a threat to the security of the state as the movement became more militant. The Indian Army entering the Golden Temple in 1984 had significant repercussions including the assassination of Indira Gandhi and subsequent killing of thousands of Sikhs.
- There are many other smaller groups who were vocal in their demands for autonomy such as the Naga people, the people of Tribura and in the Tamil-speaking region of southern India. In all cases, candidates should explain the impact these had on the state.

Pakistan

- Candidates may refer to the breaking away of East Pakistan in 1971 with the formation of Bangladesh and the impact this had upon what now became Pakistan. The implications were far reaching and affected internal politics with the emergence of Bhutto as a non-military leader, as well as Pakistan's relations with India and may be linked to Pakistan's determination to become a nuclear power.
- The Sindh separatist movement may be mentioned and its impact assessed as rather limited as its political support was quite small.
- The Balochi separatist movement, including supporters from Iranian Balochistan, had considerable impact on Pakistani politics.
- Similarly, the Pashtun on both sides of the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan demanded autonomy and/or political influence in both countries.

Yugoslavia

- After the death of Tito in 1980 there were calls for autonomy, especially in the northern republics that felt that the federal system was hindering their economic growth. Some republics also resisted Serb ambitions under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic.
- In the early 1980s, there was growing demand in Kosovo, where a significant percentage of the population was of Albanian descent, for autonomy from Serbia.
- There was also a breakaway movement in Montenegro that resisted closer ties with Serbia.
- Demands for autonomy grew in Croatia and Slovenia by the end of the 1980s.
- The calls for autonomy were also prompted by the dominance of Serbia in the Communist Party Congress and the difficulty of preventing this as Serbia had more representatives.
- Elections in the republics led to the ousting of Communist Parties in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia Herzegovina and Macedonia.
- The impact of separatist movements was the end of Communist control, except in Serbia and Montenegro, a series of conflicts and the break-up of Yugoslavia.

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Topic 5 The Cold War

25. To what extent did the Sovietization of Eastern and Central Europe contribute to the emergence of the Cold War between 1945 and 1949?

The term “Sovietization of Eastern Europe” refers to the expansion of Soviet influence over Eastern European countries by the end of 1949. Candidates are required to consider the merits, or otherwise, of the suggestion that Sovietization had an impact on the emergence of the Cold War during the given period. Other factors may be used for context and debate but the response must deal with the named issue and make a supported judgement on the importance of that issue.

Indicative content

- It may be argued that communist governments were established in contravention of the Declaration on Liberated Europe agreed at Yalta.
- There was US criticism of the use of “salami tactics” by the Soviet Union. These were carried out by the infiltration of rival political parties, the rigging of elections and abuse of power, often through interior and defence ministries.
- The US and Britain were particularly concerned about the fate of Poland. Pledges for free elections were not upheld and the Lublin Government was firmly in place before the elections were held in 1947. There was criticism of the USSR from both the US and Britain for this apparent failure to keep a promise.
- Candidates may argue that Sovietization was a response to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan with Cominform being resurrected in 1947 and COMECON set up in 1949.
- Events in Germany may be used to support arguments that there was a fear of Sovietization spreading into the Western zones and that this had contributed to the breakdown of the Allied Control Council in 1948. Conversely, it may be argued that the Berlin Blockade, for example, was Stalin’s response to Bi- and then Tri-zonia that hardened the line between the Soviet and the other zones of Germany.
- Other factors to be considered and assessed may include: fundamental ideological differences, Great Power rivalry, mistrust and suspicion, the roles of Truman and Stalin whose intransigence was apparent even at Potsdam.

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26. Evaluate the impact of the Cold War on the outbreak and development of **either** the Korean War **or** the Vietnam War.

There are two parts to the question, both of which need to be addressed. When evaluating, candidates should appraise rather than merely list the reasons for and types of impact. Responses should consider the impact of both Cold War and internal tensions on the outbreak of their chosen conflict. Similarly they should consider whether the Cold War factors contributed to the duration and outcome of either conflict.

Indicative content

Korea

- Border conflicts between the North and the South had been frequent since the withdrawal of occupying troops in 1948 (Soviet Union) and 1949 (US). Both Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee wanted to be leader of a reunited Korea.
- Kim Il Sung invaded South Korea in June 1950; he did so after receiving (after much persuasion) the approval of Stalin possibly because the US Defense Perimeter Speech suggested that the US had no interest in fighting to defend South Korea. Thus it could be argued that the initial conflict was an internal one about control of Korea and was not caused by Cold war tensions.
- The war rapidly became a Cold War conflict with the US calling a meeting of the UNSC and, due to the absence of the USSR, being able to pass a resolution condemning the invasion. Truman was concerned about the spread of communism in Asia and believed that Kim was acting on Stalin's orders.
- Truman persuaded an initially reluctant Congress to approve the recommendations of NSC 68, which led to American assumption of the dominant world role in containing the spread of communism. Truman was keen to demonstrate that he was not soft on Communism after the "loss" of China in 1949.
- The Cold War had a significant impact on the development of the war since the US provided the greatest number of troops in the UN forces commanded by US General MacArthur. When UN forces approached the Yalu River, Cold War tensions contributed to the Chinese decision to actively support North Korea with 300,000 "volunteers".
- Stalin's involvement was very limited as he had no wish for a direct conflict with the US but recent interpretations suggest he supported a proxy war, with China pitted against the US.
- Despite intensive fighting the conflict became a stalemate by 1951 Truman was now committed to a limited war in Korea. Eisenhower took a similar view although there was some worry that he might sanction the use of atomic weapon if peace talks which had begun in 1951 continued to stall. An armistice was signed in July 1953 with the division of Korea along the 38th parallel. Cold war tensions had prolonged the war and to some extent prevented a permanent peace.
- Candidates could argue that the Cold war was a significant factor in causing the conflict although many Koreans desired a reunified country. Recent interpretations place much emphasis on the actions of Kim Il Sung causing the conflict in order to extend his power to South Korea. They may also point out that the involvement of the US and the Chinese were very much a consequence of Cold War factors.

Vietnam

- The US had supported the French financially in fighting the Viet Minh, who had emerged victorious by 1954.
- Eisenhower's domino theory, a version of containment, committed the US to preventing the spread of communism. The US feared that Laos, Cambodia and Indonesia would fall to Communism.

- After the 1954 Geneva Conference, the Vietminh were persuaded to accept the temporary division until after elections in 1956. Elections were not held in the South and by 1959, there was active Viet Cong guerrilla warfare against the government of President Diem. North Vietnam wanted unification under Communism and worked to undermine Diem's corrupt, US-supported regime. This meant that concerns about superpower areas of influence were influential in the build up to the outbreak of war.
- Kennedy regarded Vietnam as vital to US security. US advisers were present in South Vietnam carrying out "search and destroy" missions. Kennedy's commitment was shaped by his stance as a "Cold Warrior" and US support prevented the collapse of the regime in South Vietnam.
- By 1965, it was clear that the South could not survive without direct US military assistance. Johnson used the Tonkin Gulf Incident in 1964, to escalate the number of US forces in Vietnam and to authorize bombing raids on the North. The North was supported by China and the Soviet Union and was able to continue the guerrilla war in the South.
- Changing Cold war alignments allowed Nixon to gain Soviet and Chinese support for peace talks on Vietnam with a ceasefire arranged for January 1973. By 1975 South Vietnam had been taken over by the North and Vietnam was reunited.
- It could be argued that Cold War issues led to US, Chinese and Soviet involvement prolonging the conflict. However, it could also be argued that improved relations between the US, China and the Soviet Union helped bring the war to an end.

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27. “The Cold War had a significant impact on the effectiveness of the United Nations between 1945 and 1989.” Discuss.

Candidates must review, in a considered and balanced way, how the UN was affected by the Cold War. The aims of the UN and the impact of the Cold War on the UN may be examined with reference to specific conflicts and issues, with a focus on how far the UN was able to act effectively to fulfil its aims during this period.

Indicative content

- Aims of the UN could include a commitment to peace and security, support for human rights and improved living standards.
- The veto powers of each of the permanent five members of the Security Council made it difficult to reach agreement. For example, when North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, the UN was able to condemn the aggression only because of the absence of the USSR from the crucial vote. Once the USSR returned to the Security Council the UN was paralysed. This impasse was alleviated by the adoption of the Uniting for Peace resolution.
- It may be argued that the UN was more under the influence of the US in the immediate post-war period but that decolonization during the 1950s shifted the balance more towards the USSR.
- The UN failed to prevent conflict in Vietnam and Afghanistan as well as genocide in Cambodia and Guatemala.
- It may be argued that superpower tension made UN intervention in the Congo more prolonged and less effective than it might have been.
- In 1956, for example, the Suez Crisis was referred to the UN General Assembly and, despite being Cold War allies, the US criticised both France and Britain.
- The UN installed a peacekeeping force in Sinai after both the 1967 and 1973 wars. Similarly, the UN had peacekeeping forces in Lebanon (UNIFL) from 1978 onwards.
- There may also be discussion of the more successful aspects of the work of the UN, setting international standards of human rights, and improving health care in the developing world, for example. Although relevant, these would need to be linked to the Cold War and its impact, possibly by mentioning that both the US and the Soviet Union looked for opportunities to influence and gain the support of developing nations.
- It may also be argued that the UN was more effective as Cold War tensions eased after 1985, and there was success in establishing the independence of Namibia and bringing about a constitutional settlement in Cambodia. Candidates may see this as a reflection of both the US and the Soviet Union working for reconciliation through the UN.

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28. Examine the view that the policy of peaceful coexistence failed to promote good relations between the US and the USSR up to 1964.

Candidates are required to consider the concept of “peaceful coexistence” and how far it failed to promote good relations between the US and the USSR up to the given date. The term, which meant that competition between communism and capitalism would be by non-violent means, was associated with Khrushchev, who was also, arguably, a reason for its mixed success.

Indicative content

Failure to promote good relations

- There was continued anti-Russian rhetoric from the US administration, notably from John Foster Dulles.
- The Guatemalan coup of 1954 was planned and carried out because the US suspected that the Soviet Union was interfering in its sphere of influence by supporting President Arbenz.
- There was an expansion of Soviet influence in the developing world as relations improved with India and countries in the Middle East and this aroused the suspicion of the US.
- Tension over the “missile gap” was exacerbated by the launch of the Sputnik satellite in 1957.
- Khrushchev’s 1958 Berlin Ultimatum and the building of the Berlin Wall caused tension.
- The U2 crisis ended the Paris summit of 1960 this could be blamed on the US.
- At the Vienna Summit of 1961, Khrushchev and Kennedy had an acrimonious exchange over Berlin.
- The Cuban Missile Crisis led to an extreme risk of nuclear war between the US and USSR.

Examples of improved relations

- At the negotiations at the Geneva Conference in 1954, and the Geneva Summit of 1955, relations seemed to be improving and reference was made to the “spirit of Geneva”.
- There was agreement over Austrian neutrality and the Austrian State Treaty was signed in 1955.
- The US and the Soviet Union both condemned Britain and France during the Suez Crisis (prior to the declaration of the Eisenhower Doctrine on the Middle East in 1957).
- Khrushchev visited the US in 1959 and there was an agreement to seek a peaceful resolution of the Berlin issue.
- Post- Cuban Missile Crisis relations were good with Kennedy also making a “peaceful co-existence” speech in 1963.

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29. Examine the cultural impact of the Cold War on **two** countries, each chosen from a different region.

This question gives an opportunity for study of a wide range of Cold War influences. Popular culture will probably provide the main focus, but sport and other cultural forms may also be discussed.

Indicative content

- The US will be a popular choice, and candidates may analyse the impact of McCarthyism on the film industry and the prevalence of spy movies, novels and television programmes which portrayed the Russians as the enemy. For example, the James Bond movies reflected and re-enforced Cold War stereotypes.
- In Russia, films glorified the Soviet way of life although after the death of Stalin, there was less popular demonization of the West.
- Culture was used as propaganda: communist states sent their best ballet companies, symphony orchestras and folk ensembles to the West, while jazz artists, for example, visited the USSR.
- Sport, an aspect of popular culture, was also used to promote the capitalist and communist ways of life. Even the poorer countries devoted resources to the training of athletes to succeed in international arenas such as the Olympic Games.
- The impact of the Cold War on popular music may be mentioned. The Vietnam War, for example, inspired protest songs written by Bob Dylan, The Beatles and Joan Baez.

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30. To what extent did internal problems contribute to the break-up of the Soviet Union?

Candidates should consider the role played by internal problems in causing the break-up of the Soviet Union and gauge their importance in the context of wider factors.

Indicative content

Internal factors

- Acute economic problems had resulted from an over-rigid central planning system which, had failed to produce economic growth and to improve living standards.
- Candidates may discuss the difficulties of reforming the Soviet political and economic system, which had been propped up by an ageing leadership.
- Gorbachev started to reform the economy but his policies were opposed by hard-liners in the Politburo. This encouraged Gorbachev to carry out political reforms that resulted in nationalists gaining seats in the Supreme Soviet.
- The policy of *glasnost* also led to more open discussion of the problems confronting the Soviet Union and with this, more criticism of the government.
- In a downward spiral, *glasnost* and *perestroika* led to more serious economic problems (such as inflation and unemployment) and this unleashed even stronger opposition.
- Responses may refer to unrest in the republics, the coup against Gorbachev in August 1991 by members of the leadership who feared plans to give more power to the republics weekend Gorbachev's position. Yeltsin encouraged nationalism and in December declared the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

External factors

- The policies of Ronald Reagan, that saw increased spending on defence including the “Star Wars” project, alarmed the Soviet Union. This increased Soviet defence spending that the state could not afford.
- American-inspired economic warfare included the deliberate suppression of the price of oil and gas and opposition to deals supplying Soviet gas and oil to Europe. This prevented economic recovery.
- Financial assistance to Solidarity in Poland and very significant US military assistance to the Afghan mujahedeen led to greater problems for the Soviet Union.
- The Soviet-Afghan War was also very expensive and a drain on economic recovery.
- Economic reforms in China put pressure on the Soviet Union to enact change.
- The rapid collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989–1990 (encouraged by Gorbachev's “Sinatra Doctrine”) was an example to the Soviet republics who soon followed suit.

*The above material is an indication of what candidates may elect to write about in their responses. However, it is not exhaustive and **no set answer is required**.*

*Examiners and moderators are reminded of the need to apply the markbands that provide the “**best fit**” to the responses given by candidates and to **award credit wherever it is possible to do so**.*
