
FINAL MARKING SCHEME : NOVEMBER 2001

[Note: generic mark bands will be used in addition to this marking scheme.]

SECTION A

1. Source-based question : The UN and the protection of human rights

- L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO USE OF SOURCES (1-5)**
These answers will be about international protection of human rights, but will ignore the question, i.e. they will not use the sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. Include in this level answers which use information taken from the sources, but only in describing the UN's record on human rights, rather than for testing the hypothesis.
- L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS (6-8)**
These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence, i.e. sources are used at face value only with no evaluation/interpretation in context.
e.g. 'Yes, it is true that the United Nations did little to protect human rights because Source E shows that the Human Rights Commission decided it had no power to do so' OR 'No, the United Nations did help protect human rights. You can tell this from Source A'.
- L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS (9-13)**
These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and to disconfirm it. However, sources are still used only at face value.
e.g. 'There is evidence both for and against the view that the UN did little to help protect human rights. If you think the evidence supports this view then Source B helps you because it shows the member states turning a blind eye to human rights violations identified by UN bodies. Source C, however, gives a different impression because it says that the UN Commission on Human Rights has been an architect of the system of human rights.'
- L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS (14-1)**
These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at their face value.
e.g. 'It is true that the UN has done little to protect human rights. When you look at sources like Source C you can't really take it seriously because it is obvious that the UN Secretary General When addressing the Human Rights Commission is going to praise its work.' OR 'The UN has done a fair amount for human rights. It has hard to accept Source B's public criticism of the UN member states when Amnesty International has its own self-interest, namely to publicise the failures of international efforts to protect human rights.'
- L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS (17-21)**

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

e.g. (first L4 example PLUS the following) However some of the sources do suggest that the UN has done something to protect human rights. The evidence used in Source E to argue that the UN Human Rights Commission had little impact is very similar to the evidence provided in Source A which argues that the UN Declaration of Human Rights has had a positive effect. And even the author of Source E takes his criticisms only to the mid 1970s. By then, declarations such as the Helsinki Agreement were starting to help protect human Rights, even in states such as the USSR.

L6 AS L5, PLUS **EITHER** (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED, OR (b) RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED

(22-25)

For (a) the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing/disagreeing is better/preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement, i.e. not just why some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse. For (b) include all L5 answers which use the evidence to **modify** the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it, e.g. argues that the UN's human rights record has improved after an ineffective initial period of twenty or thirty years. This can be argued through the different opinions/perceptions shown in the sources, e.g. Source C, or by establishing different criteria for assessing the international community's record on human rights, e.g. the role of non-governmental organisations such as Amnesty International.

SECTION B

2. How far do you agree that the Soviet policies towards Europe in the years 1945-49 were more defensive than expansionist?

This question provides the opportunity for candidates to outline the three main schools of thought about the origins of the Cold War: the traditional (communist expansionism was to blame), the revisionist (American capitalism had to protect its markets in Europe) and the post-revisionist (both states were responsible). Candidates should evaluate these hypotheses as well as explain them. Candidates should evaluate these hypotheses as well as explain them. They should examine and analyse events such as the Coup in Czechoslovakia and the Berlin blockade for signs of expansionist Soviet policies. They should consider the impact of various American initiatives on Soviet policy, the most significant being the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. The best candidates should consider the impact on the historical debate of the opening of the Soviet archives since 1991.

3. 'After 1960, the Cold War was fought in the Third World.' Discuss.

The easiest way of answering this question would be to list the major crises of the Cold War era. Before 1960, there was the Berlin Blockade, the Korean War, Hungary and Berlin (again). Afterwards came Berlin (to 1962), the Cuban missile crisis, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan (among others). Thus there are exceptions on both sides of the 1960 divide. However after the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 there was less friction in Europe. *Ostpolitik* in the early 1970s and the Helsinki Agreements of 1975 meant the end of direct conflict in Europe. At the same time there were more conflicts with a Cold War element in Latin America and Africa.

Plenty of debate to be had about the various types of Cold War conflict – psychological as well as physical – and even about whether incidents such as the 1956 Suez crisis were part of the Cold War.

Those who confine their answers just to the post-1960 period provide a less than complete analysis, however thorough their coverage. Thus award a maximum of Band 3 marks for such an approach.

4. How far do you agree that the Sino-Soviet conflict was a consequence of the struggle between the two countries for leadership of the Communist world?

The conflict began in 1960 when the USSR and China publicly fell out over various matters, one of which was a dispute about who could better claim to lead the Marxist world. The USSR based its claim on being the first Communist state, China on its adaptation of Marxism to the rural reality of Third World states. Policy differences, based in part on ideological differences, widened the rift. The USSR criticised the Great Leap Forward while China criticised peaceful coexistence with the West. Personal rivalries between Mao Zedong and Khrushchev only made matters worse. There was also a history of difficult relations between the CPSU and the CCP which stretched back to the 1920s. Finally, these adjacent great powers quarrelled over (ill-defined) borders and resources.

Thus there is a lot of material to cover and plenty of room for debate and analysis. Again, it is to be hoped that the very best answers will use recently-published archive material to strengthen their arguments.

5. 'The USSR collapsed because its Communist leaders allowed it to.' How far do you agree?

The main focus of the essay was intended to be developments within the USSR in the last five years or so of its existence, i.e. the Gorbachev era. However, some candidates will refer to earlier leaders of the USSR, more specifically to Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. If they do so, they will find it hard to develop a convincing and valid answer to the question. Thus award a maximum of band 5 marks for those who take this approach.

The preferred approach is one which concentrates on the USSR from c1985. The most obvious of the 'communist leaders' of the era include Yeltsin as well as Gorbachev. The quotation sees the collapse of the USSR in 1991 as a consequence of a lack of will on the part of its (collective) CPSU leadership. This unwillingness could be illustrated by the leadership's great reluctance to use force to defeat opposition. The disunity of the leadership as shown by the attempted coup of August 1991 might also show a lack of will. Other possibilities include a lack of resources, as the economy went into decline, and the leadership's rapidly-increasing unpopularity, especially among non-Russian nationalities.

Even when they concentrate on the Gorbachev era, candidates find great difficulty in sorting out the material. Their preferred approach is to describe events from Gorbachev's coming to power in 1985, which usually means that the crucial period of 1989-91 receives scant coverage. Thus reward anyone who focuses on this latter period.

The immediate cause of the sudden collapse of the USSR in late 1991 was the refusal of several Union-Republics, including Russia, to accept a new federal treaty. Rather than do so, they decided to declare their independence. This path to independence was established by the Transcaucasian and Baltic Union-Republics, which broke away from CPSU control and then from the USSR in 1989-91. The attempted coup of August 1991, the exact details of which remain obscure, greatly accelerated the process. In addition, the CPSU faced growing economic problems and political unrest.

6. Who or what was responsible for the acceleration of the nuclear arms race in the 1950s and 1960s?

'Who' can include the leadership, both political and military, of the USA and the USSR. For the Americans, Truman, Eisenhower, Dulles and Lemay (head of Strategic Air Command) are the leading players. For the USSR, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev would seem to be the key figures.

'What' might include military doctrines such as massive retaliation (Eisenhower & Dulles from 1954) and policy statements such as NSC-68. It could also include technological developments such as the development of long range bombers in the 1950s, of ICBMs towards the end of that decade and of SLBMs (submarine launched ballistic missiles) in the early 1960s. It could also be argued that events often helped accelerate the nuclear arms race, the Korean War and the Cuban missile crisis being the most obvious examples. Finally, psychological factors played their part; mutual suspicion and mistrust caused both sides to accelerate arms production to close imagined bomber and missile gaps.

Thus there should be plenty of opportunities for well prepared candidates to use their knowledge, understanding and analytical skills. Reward above all an ability to place relevant factors into some kind of hierarchy of importance.

7. Compare and contrast the impact of the IMF and of GATT on international economic development.

The IMF was formed primarily to help states manage the postwar monetary system, especially by providing short term financial support for member states with balance of payments problems, e.g. UK 1976. The overall management role disappeared with the end of the fixed exchange rates system in the early 1970s. A new task subsequently appeared in the 1980s. The main one was management of international debt problems, especially of third world states, a role which made the IMF a focus for criticism and controversy. Its deflationary debt-relief strategy imposed immediate economic hardship for uncertain long term gains.

The aim of GATT, another creation of the 1940s, was to increase international trade between member states by means of mutual reductions in tariffs. Six rounds of trade negotiations between 1950 and 1993 did see tariffs on industrial goods fall and international trade expand. Membership grew. Issues became more complex. Many of the new members, themselves often new states, argued that GATT benefited the developed world more than the developing. Then Group of 77 and UNCTAD were formed in attempts to further the cause developing countries. In the mid 1990s GATT gave way to the WTO, a formal institution, which GATT never was.

There should be sufficient evidence to enable candidates to draw some useful comparisons. Those who write on one organisation only should receive band 6 marks at best. To ensure band 1-2 marks, answers must provide a careful and detailed comparative analysis.

8. Assess the achievements of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Non-Aligned movement was formed by some 25 states in 1961, at the height of the Cold War and following the 1955 Bandung Conference. Its members hoped to develop a bloc of states which would become powerful enough to resist the pressure they were put under by West and East. These states also hoped to reduce confrontation between the superpowers, for example in the area of nuclear weapons. The main expression of the aims of NAM came in a series of nine summits between 1961 and 1989. These aims included decolonisation and the establishment of a new international economic order. Though the movement proclaimed its neutrality between East and West, the West saw the movement as anti-capitalist.

With the end of the Cold War, NAM found it hard to justify its existence. Even before 1989, however, the movement had been marginalized. It contained an increasing number of states – over 100 by the 1980s – with few common interests. That some of NAM's aims came to pass was not necessarily to the credit of NAM. At best, it could be argued that NAM gave a voice to Third World states and helped to ameliorate the worst features of the Cold War.

Most candidates are likely to make a fairly negative assessment of NAM's achievements. So long as they are based on evidence and analysis, such answers will be acceptable. However, balance is better.