

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

GCE Advanced Subsidiary and Advanced Level

MARK SCHEME for the November 2004 question papers

9697 HISTORY

9697/03

Paper 3, (International History, 1945-1991),
maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and students, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were initially instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began. Any substantial changes to the mark scheme that arose from these discussions will be recorded in the published *Report on the Examination*.

All Examiners are instructed that alternative correct answers and unexpected approaches in candidates' scripts must be given marks that fairly reflect the relevant knowledge and skills demonstrated.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the *Report on the Examination*.

- CIE will not enter into discussion or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

CIE is publishing the mark schemes for the November 2004 question papers for most IGCSE and GCE Advanced Level syllabuses.



Grade thresholds taken for Syllabus 9697 (History) in the November 2004 examination.

	maximum mark available	minimum mark required for grade:		
		A	B	E
Component 3	100	73	67	44

The thresholds (minimum marks) for Grades C and D are normally set by dividing the mark range between the B and the E thresholds into three. For example, if the difference between the B and the E threshold is 24 marks, the C threshold is set 8 marks below the B threshold and the D threshold is set another 8 marks down. If dividing the interval by three results in a fraction of a mark, then the threshold is normally rounded down.

November 2004

GCE AS/A LEVEL

MARK SCHEME

MAXIMUM MARK: 100

SYLLABUS/COMPONENT: 9697/03

HISTORY

Paper 3 (International History, 1945-1991)



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GENERIC MARKING BANDS FOR SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

LEVEL 1	Writes about the hypothesis, no valid use of sources [Use of source involves identification of a source by its letter or a direct quote in order to test the hypothesis. Using sources to write an essay on the topic is not source use.]	[1–5]
LEVEL 2	Uses information taken from the sources to challenge OR support the hypothesis	[6–8]
LEVEL 3	Uses information taken from the sources to challenge AND support the hypothesis	[9–13]
LEVEL 4	By interpreting/evaluating sources in context, finds evidence to challenge OR support the hypothesis	[14–16]
LEVEL 5	By interpreting/evaluating sources in context, finds evidence to challenge AND support the hypothesis	[17–21]
LEVEL 6	As L5 PLUS: <i>Either</i> explains why evidence to challenge or to support the hypothesis is better/preferred (i.e. a comparative judgement on why some evidence is better and other evidence is worse); Or reconciles explains problems in the evidence to show that neither challenge nor support is to be preferred.	[22–25]
NOTE:	In Levels 2–5 the mark awarded will reflect the number of sources used at that level. Attempts at evaluation which rely on comments about source type and make no use of source content will not achieve Levels 4–6.	

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GENERIC MARKING BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Examiners will assess which marking band best reflects the quality of the answer. They should not expect answers to show all the qualities included within the band description. The choice of mark within the band will depend on the quality of the analysis and the amount of supporting information. Essays in bands 1–3 will clearly be question-focused, whereas answers in lower bands will show a primary concern with the topic rather than with the question asked. However, a question focus is not sufficient in itself to place an essay in bands 1–3; this must also be accompanied by sufficient accurate, relevant supporting material.

BAND	MARKS	QUALITY OF THE ANSWER
1	21–25	The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by appropriate factual material. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument. The best answers must achieve 25 marks.
2	18–20	Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that a good solid answer has been provided. The writing will be mostly accurate.
3	16–17	Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and constitute a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily narrative or descriptive passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance or depth of factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence. The writing will be generally accurate.
4	14–15	Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly, though often only implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions or conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be organised more effectively. The writing will usually be accurate.
5	11–13	Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the demands of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced. The writing may show some accuracy but there will also be frequent errors.

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- 6 8–10 Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries which lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question. The writing will show significant weaknesses.
- 7 0–7 Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or by arguments which do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent. The writing will show very significant weakness. Marks at the bottom of the band will be given very rarely because even the most wayward and fragmentary answers usually make at least a few valid points.

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MARKING SCHEME : NOVEMBER 2004

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

SECTION A

1. Source-based question : The Use of the Veto by UN Security Council Permanent Members

L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO USE OF SOURCES

[1–5]

These answers will be about the permanent members' use of the veto in the UN Security Council during the Cold War, 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 producing an account of the Security Council's changing position, 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 during the Cold War the permanent members' veto powers were always an obstacle to Security Council action. Source B illustrates this point.'

OR *'No, veto powers did not prevent the Security Council from taking action. You can tell this from Source E. If the permanent members had not had the veto, they probably would not have stayed in the UN and thus the Security Council would have achieved nothing at all.'*

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 veto was always an obstacle to Security Council action. If you think the evidence supports this view then Source D helps you because it shows how one of the two superpowers used its veto in the 1980s to stop Security Council discussion of the Arab-Israeli problem. However, Source A gives a different impression because it provides figures which shows considerable fluctuations in the use of the veto. This suggests that the use of the veto was not always an obstacle to the work of the Security Council.'

L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS

[14–16]

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. 'I think it is true that the veto was always an obstacle to action by the Security Council. When you look at Source A you have to question its information because the bare statistics do not convey the reality of the politics of the Security Council. As Source B shows, often the threat of using the veto prevented action. Thus the fluctuations in the actual numbers of vetoes are irrelevant. Source A should be discounted.'

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OR 'I think it is true that the veto did not always stop the Security Council from acting. Source B takes no account of change over time. As Source C shows, the expansion in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council in 1965 show that it became politically more difficult to use the veto and thus Security Council members worked together to prevent the likelihood of the veto being used. This source is particularly useful because it is the reflections of someone who worked for the UN for many years. Also we know that on occasions, the Security Council did take action, as in Korea in 1950 and the Congo in 1960. Thus Source B is not really a convincing source.'

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. (second L4 example PLUS the following) 'However, the argument of Source C is not really sustainable. It is not supported by Source A, which shows the number of vetoes after 1965 remaining the same and – in the 1980s – increasing dramatically. Neither is Source C itself consistent. If the expansion of the numbers in the Security Council makes it harder for permanent members to use the veto, why do members have to ignore the norms of the Charter in order to avert the use of the veto?'

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 veto was certainly an obstacle but not throughout the Cold War era.

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SECTION B

2. **How far do you agree that, in the period 1945–49, the USSR’s policy towards Europe was more one of ‘national security’ than was the USA’s?**

In other words, was more defensive. The USA developed what it called the ‘national security’ state in the late 1940s in response to what it believed was Soviet expansionism. So candidates are being asked to choose between the traditional and the revisionist interpretations of the topic – not that all of them will realise it. They should explain why the USSR might have been so concerned about national security in 1945–9 and then analyse how valid this explanation might be. This requires consideration of the view that the USSR was more concerned with expanding its power, with establishing a Soviet empire in Eastern Europe and even perhaps communist rule across Europe, Asia and beyond.

The question is a comparative one, which means that the aims and motives of American foreign policy at the time also need analysing. As with the USSR, was American policy essentially defensive or essentially expansionist? And many candidates are likely to find time to explain the third main interpretation, namely that both sets of policies were based more on misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

While the question is on a familiar theme, answers must be reworked to address the specific issues it raises. The reproduction of a standard essay on the origins of the cold war should not receive a great deal of credit.

3. **‘More a series of separate regional conflicts than a single global war.’ How far do you agree with this view of the Cold War in the period 1950–80?**

This is perhaps more challenging than the usual thematic question on globalisation of the cold war, especially if it is to be answered well. The quote challenges the orthodox view of the cold war, which is to see the regional conflicts as part of and, by implication, caused by the struggle for mastery between the USA and the USSR. The implication of the idea that regional conflicts were separate, without a common thread, is that the superpowers were drawn into those conflicts, which *only then* became part of the wider cold war. And note that ‘conflicts’ can be political as well as military.

Thus it could be argued that the USSR and USA were drawn into the Korean War in 1950 and the USA into Vietnam in the early 1960s. Both were drawn into the Arab-Israeli conflict. Soviet involvement in the Cuban missile crisis is the one example where a superpower became involved to affect the Cold War balance of power. However, there should be wide scope for argument and analysis.

Given that this is probably more difficult than usual, sustained attempts to consider both sides of the argument should be generously rewarded. On the other hand, standard, narrative descriptions of the cold war must receive sparing credit.

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4. Analyse the view that US military intervention in Vietnam was ‘more necessity than tragic error’.

The phrase is taken from (or based on) *Vietnam: the Unnecessary War* by the right wing American writer, Michael Lind (1999). He argues that the USA had to fight the Vietnam War in order ‘to preserve [its] military and diplomatic credibility in the Cold War’. If intervening was not an error, the argument continues, the method of warfare was. The desire to fight a short war led to aerial bombardment of Vietnam, South and North, when it would have been much better to have fought a ‘low intensity conflict’ in South Vietnam.

Candidates cannot be expected to know the finer points of this hypothesis. However, they should be able to explain why American military intervention was believed to be necessary, namely the relative effectiveness, until then, of the policy of containment. Whether it can still be seen as necessary is arguable. After all, the consequences of intervention hardly preserved US credibility and affected its freedom of action for many years thereafter. Candidates should have no problems with explaining both why the intervention was an error, for the Vietnamese and for the USA, and why it was tragic. Whether the necessity was greater than the error and the tragedy is something for the better candidates to consider.

5. Which of the various policies followed by the Chinese governments in the 1980s was the most responsible for the crisis of Chinese communism which occurred in 1989?

The crisis of Chinese communism in the late 1980s was the challenge to the authority of the Communist leadership. This challenge, essentially political, took the form of demonstrations, mainly in Beijing, which culminated in the massacre of Tiananmen Square in 1989 and demonstrations in various Chinese cities in the following few days. The protests came about following the death in April 1989 of Hu Yaobang, the former Communist party leader who had been dismissed for being too liberal. The Chinese authorities made several misjudgements in dealing with what was initially a relatively small scale protest as they debated whether to conciliate or to crush: firstly, they labelled the demonstration as ‘turmoil’, seemingly insignificant, but it meant that the protestors had to stay to avoid facing punishment; secondly, two weeks later they announced but could not enforce martial law. Two weeks after that, faced with growing and continuing protests, the authoritarians persuaded Deng Xiao-ping, the key figure, of the need to restore order and the tanks went in. For more details, see *The Tiananmen Papers* by Andrew Nathan and Perry Link (2001).

These short term events took place because China was undergoing major social and economic change, mainly as a result of the ‘four modernisations’ introduced by Deng since 1978. These reforms resulted in inflation, economic insecurity and more obvious corruption. Without these developments, the crisis of the summer of 1989 would not have occurred as it did. Most of the ‘pro-democracy’ protestors were middle class students, wanting limited political liberalisation. The authorities became more alarmed when working class groups started to join the protests.

Thus the focus of the question is on the relative importance of, on one side, the immediate decisions taken by the party leadership in the summer of 1989 and, on the other, the longer term policies followed by the CCP. Candidates are most unlikely to know some of the details of short term decisions listed above. Reward generously any general understanding of the significance of events leading up to Tiananmen Square.

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6. 'That so few states had nuclear weapons in 1991 is evidence of the success of the nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty of 1968.' Discuss.

By 1991, the states with nuclear weapons were the declared nuclear powers, the Big 5, and the undeclared, South Africa, Israel and India. (South Africa scrapped its weapons in 1993–4.) Iraq, Iran and North Korea were trying to build their own nuclear weapons. By 1991 India, Pakistan and Israel, along with France and China had not signed the NPT. (France and China did so the following year.) Virtually all other sovereign states had signed the treaty.

The NPT distinguished between nuclear and non-nuclear states. All non-nuclear states (NNS) were to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only and would be subject to full inspection by the IAEA in order to ensure observance. Three nuclear powers – USA, UK, USSR – agreed to use the UN to protect NNS against the threat of nuclear attack. The nuclear powers also accepted that they would scrap their nuclear weapons; the ultimate aim of the NPT is a world free from nuclear weapons. It could be argued that bilateral treaties such as START are moves towards this goal, if belated and limited.

Those who know the main terms of the NPT and how it has been implemented should be able to develop a reasoned and balanced analysis. Those who know the NPT only in outline will struggle to provide a convincing analysis.

7. How important to the growth of the international economy in the period 1945–1991 were the policies of the World Bank and the IMF?

The World Bank and the IMF were important in that for the first time they provided international financial institutions to help manage the development of the global economy. Until c1971, they performed distinct and useful roles, which did help the growth of the international economy. The IMF worked to maintain the system of fixed exchange rates, which ensured the stable currency framework needed for international trade. The World Bank provided soft loans for capital reconstruction projects, initially to war-damaged Europe. In 1971, the fixed exchange rate system collapsed and the IMF had to find a new role. It became more of a source of currency reserves, helping to maintain the liquidity of the international economy. More noticeably, it became the provider of medium term loans to developing countries, a task for which it gained much criticism, especially following the Third World debt crisis of 1982. The role also overlapped with that of the less prominent World Bank. In that the IMF usually required debtor states to open their economies to international trade, it probably helped the international economy, if not the state for which it was providing a loan.

Overall, the World Bank and IMF were probably of declining importance to the growth of the international economy in the 40–50 years after the Second World War. More important in the second half of the period was the state of the leading industrial economies and the restrictions on trade between them. From c1980, the IMF and the World Bank had little to do with either.

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8. Account for the changing fortunes of OPEC from its formation in 1960 until 1991.

There are probably three main phases in the history of OPEC:

- 1960–73: Modest expansion
Members grew from 5 to 12 and OPEC negotiated with oil companies to increase member states' shares of oil revenues.
- 1973–80: Great power
There were two 'oil shocks', in 1973 and 1979, at the time of the Yom Kippur war and the Iranian Revolution. Together they resulted in a tenfold (face value) increase in the price of oil. The 1973 shock also included an embargo on oil exports to supporters of Israel; the embargo on the USA, recently more dependent on OPEC oil, was virtually total.
- 1980-91: Decline
Oil prices fell as new, non-OPEC sources came on stream. Attempts to impose quotas on OPEC members came to little. The Iran-Iraq war, between two OPEC members, did not help OPEC. The First Gulf War might have done but was too brief to make a difference.

Candidates need to explain, analyse and evaluate as well as describe. The key factors which explain OPEC's changing fortunes are (a) the impact of the price mechanism on supply and demand and (b) the disunity of OPEC.