



MARKSCHEME

May 2010

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.

0:	Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks.
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.
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.
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.
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. 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.
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.
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.
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.

Topic 1 Causes, practices and effects of wars

- 1. Discuss the part played in the outbreak of the First World War by *two* states (excluding Germany).**

Some candidates may use this as an opportunity to challenge the interpretation of Germany's responsibility for the outbreak of the Great War.

Countries that could be chosen include Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Serbia.

Candidates need to demonstrate with relevant content and analysis how these nations played a role through their attitudes and actions in the outbreak of the war.

N.B. answers which offer a general narrative of long-term causes of the war cannot reach higher awards.

If only one state is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

- 2. Analyse the reasons for, and the results of, *either* the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) *or* the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949).**

The question requires candidates to identify and make critical commentary on both causation and consequences of either war.

Reasons could include reference to the problems (political, economic, religious, and social) of the existing regime and the polarization of the population.

Results could include reference to the physical impact of the war, the outcome and reasons for that outcome, the nature of the new regime, *i.e.* the changes which occurred (political, economic, religious, social, *etc.*).

- 3. Assess the significance of naval warfare in determining the outcome of *one* twentieth century war.**

Candidates should clearly demonstrate how naval power influenced the outcome. They should not merely produce a list of battles or campaigns.

Candidates may challenge the question by demonstrating that naval power was not the most significant factor in deciding the outcome. In such cases they must provide clear analysis of why that was the case.

Factors which may be considered could include: the role of the navy in controlling shipping routes to gain access to materials and deny them to the enemy; blockading enemy territory to prevent access of men and materials; transporting troops to battle areas; supporting amphibious operations; attacking enemy territory, bases, cities by naval vessels including naval aircraft; capturing of enemy territory overseas; using naval vessels to supply resistance groups in enemy territory; protecting overseas territory and allies from enemy attack.

4. **“Many twentieth century wars had the characteristics of both a limited and a total war.” With reference to *two* wars explain to what extent you agree with this statement.**

Candidates need to show awareness of the characteristics of both types of warfare.

Popular choices are likely to be Korea, Vietnam, Arab-Israeli wars, Gulf War, Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the First and Second World Wars.

A war may be described as limited because it demonstrates: limited goals or aims; limited use of weapons *e.g.* non-nuclear; limited commitment of manpower; limited mobilization of the domestic economy, wartime restrictions *e.g.* rationing, no military conscription, limited media attention and publicity.

The characteristics of total war could include: mass physical destruction in the states concerned; high casualties – military and civilian; destruction of cities, homes and property, leading to many refugees; conscription for military service; widespread economic mobilization and/or destruction; partisan activity, resistance movements; occupation by foreign troops.

N.B. The Cold War cannot be used as an example, although proxy wars as part of the Cold War may be legitimately selected.

If only one war is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

5. **For what reasons, and with what results, did Iran and Iraq fight a war from 1980 to 1988?**

Reasons for the war could be explained in thematic terms or some candidates may identify long, short, immediate reasons for the conflict.

Such reasons could include: continuing religious and ethnic disputes between Sunni and Shia; Arab-Persian rivalries which had existed for centuries; Saddam Hussein’s hostility towards Iran and its leaders; long-standing rivalry for control of the Persian Gulf region – a history of border disputes; Saddam’s ambition to replace Iran as the dominant power in the region; the weakness of Iran after the fall of the Shah; the increasing importance of the Persian Gulf and the oil traffic; foreign influence in supporting both regimes.

Results of the war could include consideration of casualties (1.5 million), refugees, territorial changes or lack thereof, emergence of Iraq as the stronger military power, a continuing arms race between the two countries.

6. For what reasons, and with what results, did twentieth century wars influence the status of women?

Examples should be drawn from at least two wars.

Answers must focus on both the reasons why wars influenced the status of women and provide **specific** examples of changes.

Reasons why twentieth century wars influenced the status of women may include: doing jobs usually done by men; enlisting in the armed forces; participating as combatants in wars; recognizing the crucial role of women in the economy;

Results may include: improved constitutional rights *e.g.* the right to vote granted to women; a role in the workforce beyond traditional female roles; greater economic independence; increased government social services and access to education; legal changes granting more rights – marriage, property *etc.*; increased involvement in leadership roles, politics, government and business.

Candidates could challenge the question by demonstrating that the sacrifices of women were not always recognized equally in all countries, or as a result of all wars.

Topic 2 Democratic states – challenges and responses

7. **Discuss the advantages and disadvantages for democratic states of (a) a written constitution, and (b) an unwritten constitution.**

Some areas for consideration could be:

Written constitution

A written constitution is a body of laws that have been passed (and may be added to or amended) and by which a state is governed. A written constitution has the advantages of disputes being able to be referred to it, and there being more certainty. Disadvantages could be more rigidity, the need to continue adding to it according to changing circumstances over time.

Unwritten constitution

An unwritten constitution consists of a body of fundamental principles and established precedents according to which a country is governed. An example of a state with an unwritten constitution is Great Britain. Advantages include less rigidity and disadvantages include more uncertainty.

N.B. Examples must be based on consideration of constitutions in the twentieth century.

If only written or unwritten constitutions are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

8. **In 1963 John Kennedy said: “We are concerned with a moral issue, whether all Americans are to be given equal rights and equal opportunities”. To what extent did John Kennedy solve this moral issue?**

John Kennedy was US president from 1961 until his assassination in 1963. This question requires an analysis of his domestic policy in order to judge how far, in his short time as president, and against opposition, he was able to ensure equality for all Americans. Although foreign policy is not required, candidates might point out that Kennedy’s attention to foreign affairs meant that he had insufficient time to focus on domestic policy.

Issues to analyse are those partly contained in his “New Frontier” which was aimed at encouraging a spirit of challenge and greater opportunities for all Americans in his proposals for civil rights and social reform. He advocated for example a desegregation policy in education, providing Federal troops to help enforce it. Other relevant areas for investigation could be health insurance, employment practices and gender issues.

9. **Compare and contrast the social and economic policies of two of the following: Nehru; Trudeau; Johnson.**

Candidates must choose two out of the three named statesmen, and compare and contrast their social and economic policies. Social could include reference to: civil rights; racial discrimination; education; healthcare; social benefits such as for unemployment and religion; status of women; the arts; *etc.*. Economic could include: finance; agriculture; trade; industry; wealth; poverty; *etc.*

Do not expect all the areas above to be covered, and accept other relevant ones. Specific details will depend on the two chosen. If only one is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

10. In what ways, and to what extent, was Argentina a democratic state between 1983 and 1995?

After a period of military dictatorship (1976–1983), a civil administration was elected in 1983, with Raul Alfonsín, of the Radical Party, as president. The Peronist Justicialist Party came to power in 1989 with Carlos Menem as president. In 1994 the constitution was changed to allow the president to hold office for two terms. Menem was elected again in 1995.

Democratization under Alfonsín proved difficult because of a virtually bankrupt economy and the political sensitivity of the armed forces. Candidates could comment critically on the above and identify other factors which helped or hindered the functioning of democracy in the period. The role of organized labour, the media, political parties/movements are possible areas for consideration.

11. Analyse *two* of the following in *one* democratic state in the second half of the twentieth century: civil rights; gender issues; political extremism.

Candidates must choose two of the above and critically examine the degree to which the state addressed the specific issues from 1950 onwards.

Civil rights

Civil rights are rights guaranteed by a government to its citizens. These could include freedoms or rights such as freedom of expression, religion, assembly, freedom from discrimination based on race/ethnicity, voting rights, adherence to the rule of law.

Gender issues

Gender issues covers the position, role, rights – or lack of them – for women and men, though it is usually for historic reasons concentrated on those of women. Equality in all spheres of life, such as within the family, education, employment and leisure would be relevant, and there are many democratic states that could be chosen.

Political extremism

Political extremism suggests political parties or movements usually of the extreme left or right which reject the principles of democracy. Candidates need to clearly identify such extremists and could comment on the way in which the democratic state has dealt with such movements – or how seriously the movements have threatened the stability of the democratic state.

If only one of the topics is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

12. What were the main features of the Weimar constitution, and to what extent was it democratic?

On 9 November 1918 the German Emperor, William II, abdicated. The Weimar Constitution established a bicameral legislature. The *Reichstag* had legislative power, and was elected by all men and women over twenty by proportional representation. The *Reichsrat* represented state (*Länder*) governments. The president was elected for seven years, appointed civil and military officials, and was commander of the armed forces. In an emergency the president could, according to Article 48, rule by decree.

Democracy formally ended in March 1933 with the Enabling Act.

This question is not intended to be answered as a general rise to power of Hitler question. Candidates could comment upon the degree to which the democratic principles of the constitution were applied by successive governments and may also note the discrepancies between the principles and the practice (or malpractice) of leading political figures during the period.

Topic 3 Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states**13. Analyse the conditions that enabled *one* left-wing leader to become the ruler of a single-party state.**

Candidates should analyse the conditions of the state before the left-wing aspirant succeeded in obtaining power, and how these conditions strengthened the appeal of the left-wing party. For conditions of the state, the following could be considered: an unpopular regime, with social and economic problems; an autocratic, corrupt or incompetent ruler or government in power and its weaknesses; an unpopular war. The ability of the aspiring leader to take advantage of these conditions could be examined in terms of analyzing the appeal of the ideology and/or pragmatism of the leader.

N.B. If a right-wing leader is chosen, award 0.

14. Discuss (a) the ideology, and (b) the support, of *one* right-wing ruler of a single-party state.

This should also be a popular question, using a ruler such as Hitler, Mussolini or Franco. Candidates will probably focus more exactly on the set question if they address (a) and (b) separately, but do not penalize those who answer them together.

For ideology, candidates need to explain the ideology of their chosen ruler, and analyse its importance, help *etc.* in **maintaining** power.

For support, candidates could refer to the degree to which popular or sectional support (military, religious, economic) was gained as a result of policies or programs instituted by the regime. Opposition movements *i.e.* indicating lack of support for the single-party state are also legitimate areas for comment

If only (a) or (b) is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [14 marks]. Do not demand that the two are equally discussed, but there should be some balance, so reserve [6 marks] for the weaker section.

N.B. If a left-wing leader is chosen, award 0.

15. Compare and contrast the domestic policies of *two* of the following: Castro; Kenyatta; Stalin.

Domestic policies which could be compared and contrasted include those relating to: agriculture; industry; trade; finance; social legislation; education; religion; propaganda; the media; the arts; gender issues; the use of repression and state terror – although not all would be relevant for all the above.

Castro obtained power in Cuba in 1959 as prime minister, and was still in power in 2000, the end date of this syllabus. He was associated with social improvements in health and education, and turning from economic links with the USA to those with the USSR.

Kenyatta became prime minister after the independence elections in Kenya in 1963, and president when Kenya was declared a republic in 1964, until his death in 1978. He was especially concerned with economic progress and tribal harmony.

Stalin sought power after the death of Lenin in 1924, and most candidates will probably date his regime from 1928 ending with his death in 1953. The domestic policies most associated with him are collectivization and the elimination of the kulaks, and industrialization.

If only one of the three is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

16. Evaluate the methods used by *either* Perón *or* Nasser to maintain power.

Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974) was president of Argentina from 1946 to 1955, and briefly again from 1973 to 1974. Some methods used to maintain his power and position were: supporting and introducing policies to help the urban poor; using the popularity and help of his wife Eva; improving or supporting Eva's actions in improving women's rights; introducing and following his ideology, based on social justice (Justicialism) later known as Peronism; attempting to achieve self-sufficiency and increasing and modernizing industry; propaganda; force. At first he appeared to support the Catholic Church and obtained its backing, but later opposition from the Church helped to cause his downfall and exile.

Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) was involved in the overthrow of King Farouk in 1952, became prime minister of Egypt in 1954 and was president from 1956 to 1970. Some methods to maintain support and power were: social policies to modernize and improve Egypt and decrease poverty; agricultural policies to raise the standard of living; policies to increase national pride, such as the nationalization of the Suez Canal; building the Aswan Dam.

Candidates do not have to study or include foreign policy in this topic, so do not demand it, but credit it if it is given, since Nasser's policies towards Israel and the Cold War, together with attempts to form the United Arab Republic and his Pan-Arabic policies were important for his maintenance of power. Indeed he offered to resign in 1967 after heavy losses in the Six Day War, but was persuaded to stay on, and died while still in office.

17. Examine the role of education in *one* single-party or authoritarian state.

Candidates will probably choose one of the following states for their answer to this question: Nazi Germany; USSR under Stalin; or China during Mao's regime, but any other single-party state would be valid.

Rulers of single-party states used education for a variety of purposes and in a variety of ways. Education was used to indoctrinate children to believe in and support the ruler, whose ideology was emphasized. Teachers had to belong to the ruling party, and teach according to the ideology. Text books were often changed in order to ensure support for the leader. His cult of personality was fostered.

Often candidates confuse propaganda with education. There were elements of propaganda in education, but education must be assessed (rather than sweeping unsubstantiated generalizations about propaganda being expressed) for a satisfactory answer.

Education was used to improve the economy and standing of some single-party states. This could involve an increase in literacy and teaching more maths, science and technology, thus enabling leaders to point out the benefits they had introduced.

18. In what ways, and to what extent, was propaganda important in the rise and rule of Hitler?

Hitler used propaganda in his rise to power and in maintaining his position. He was helped by his Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Goebbels, who master-minded most of the campaigns, especially during the war years when propaganda increased considerably in order to hide the truth and keep the support of those at home. Propaganda took the form of manipulating the media, for example the press, radio and film industry. Posters were displayed and rallies stage-managed. Goebbels was a successful orator, and he as well as Hitler preached the Nazi ideology, which included stressing Nazi beliefs and policies, demonizing opponents and, after 1939, promoting the war and hiding defeats.

Candidates should also express their views on the importance of propaganda in relation to other factors. It is clear that votes for Hitler increased when propaganda was targeted to certain areas, but fear and the use of terror, for example, also played a part in Hitler's rise and rule.

N.B. Since the questions asks "to what extent", there needs to be consideration of factors other than propaganda in order to reach the higher mark bands.

Topic 4 Nationalist and independence movements in Africa and Asia and post-1945 Central and Eastern European states**19. In what ways, and to what extent, did anti-colonialism cause opposition to British rule in *one* colonial state?**

Anti-colonialism was the essential issue in the campaigns for independence in territories that had been colonized by Britain. As education and experience in lower level local institutions increased, feelings of nationalism and the desire for independence increased. Anti-colonialism took the form of founding and developing independence movements, often under the leadership of those educated in Britain or other overseas countries. Nationalism increased and the movements used rallies, campaigns for the right to vote and violence to hasten the expulsion of the colonial power. The level of opposition increased when the Second World War weakened Britain. Actual details as to the nature, extent and reasons for opposition to British rule will depend on the colony chosen.

20. Assess the successes and failures of using violent methods to obtain independence against *either* colonial regimes *or* the Soviet Union.

This question allows the use of either colonial possessions, that is those subjected at some stage to European colonial masters such as Britain, Holland, France and Portugal, or European countries subjected to the control of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. No number of states/countries to use as examples is stipulated, therefore a thematic structure, giving examples of successes, and failures of violent insurrections would be appropriate. The nature, the reasons for the use of violence and the importance and outcome of the specific actions should be discussed.

N.B. The movements led by Mao and Castro are not valid examples for this question.

21. Compare and contrast independence movements in *two* of the following countries: Algeria; Rhodesia/Zimbabwe; Indochina.

Areas to examine in the independence movements could be: reasons for wanting independence, and for the foundation of the independence movements; attraction and growth of the movements; composition and numerical strength; leadership; ideology; plans of action; tactics; strengths and weaknesses; final success or failure. Not all the above would be applicable for all independence movements, and specific details will depend on the movements chosen.

Algeria: the independence movement in Algeria increased in strength and violence after the Second World War. Algeria was declared independent on 3 July 1962, with Ahmed Ben Bella as prime minister (1962–1963) and as president in 1963.

Rhodesia/Zimbabwe: the original independence party was the National Democratic Party, but it was proscribed in 1961, and various other independence parties were formed to combat the white government formed after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). These included the Patriotic Front, ZANU, ZANLA, ZAPU. Mugabe became leader of ZANU-PF and won the 1980 election.

Indochina: Viet Minh is the abbreviation for *Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh*, the League for the Independence of Vietnam. It was a political and military organization formed by Ho Chi Minh in 1941, with the aim of liberating Vietnam from the Japanese and then obtaining independence from France.

If only one country is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

22. Analyse the career and achievements of *either* Gandhi or Nkrumah.

Gandhi (1869–1948) was born in India, studied law in London, worked in South Africa opposing discriminatory legislation against Indians, and returned to India in 1914. He supported the Home Rule movement and became leader of the Indian National Congress. He advocated a policy of non-cooperation and non-violence, conducted various campaigns, was imprisoned then released in 1931 and attended a conference in London about Indian constitutional reform. He wanted independence for the whole of the Indian sub-continent and was disappointed with its break-up. After independence he tried to stop Hindu/Muslim violence in Bengal and was assassinated.

Nkrumah (1909–1971) was born in Ghana/Gold Coast, studied at two American universities, then studied law in England. He returned to Africa, became Secretary General of the United Gold Coast Convention, but left and formed the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949. He was briefly imprisoned, but was elected to the new parliament and became prime minister in 1952. In 1960 Ghana became a republic and he became president. He was a radical Pan-Africanist, but faced opposition in Ghana. He was ousted by a military coup and exiled.

23. **“Economic and social issues were responsible for the rise and development of independence movements in post-1945 Central and Eastern European states.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Candidates should consider the unrest and problems caused by economic and social issues such as: poverty; lack of consumer goods; lack of employment; restrictions on travel; obligation to support the Soviet economy; restrictions on the expression of national sentiment; freedom of speech, a free press *etc.* They could then consider other causes of independence movements, such as: political reasons; foreign support; individual independence leaders; religion – and give a verdict.

If only one state is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

24. **Account for the success of Havel in Czechoslovakia.**

Vaclav Havel was born in Czechoslovakia in 1936. He was a distinguished writer and dramatist. He became resident writer for the Prague theatre. He was chairman of the Writers’ Union during the Prague Spring, so his work was condemned as subversive. He was one of the founders of Charter 77 in 1977, and was subsequently imprisoned several times. During the Velvet Revolution in 1989, which ended communism in Czechoslovakia, he was elected president by direct popular vote. He opposed the division of Czechoslovakia, but was elected president of the Czech Republic in 1993.

Candidates could account for his success by emphasizing his personality, popularity and skills as a writer, especially as a dramatist; his nationalism and opposition to the USSR (and willingness to suffer for it) and his integrity.

The importance of the international context (*e.g.* the reforms of Gorbachev and the influence of independence movements in other satellite states) should be considered.

Topic 5 The Cold War**25. Evaluate the role of the policies of the United States in the origins of the Cold War between 1945 and 1949.**

This question might trigger the debate about the “different schools” on the origins of the Cold War. This is acceptable providing that candidates answer the demands of the question and evaluate the nature and significance of the policies of the US.

Main policies to address are Containment – the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Other aspects which are not “policies” but could be taken into consideration are: Truman’s hard-line approach toward the USSR; his omission at Potsdam of informing Stalin about the atomic bomb and the dropping of it at Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the German Question; the Berlin Airlift and NATO.

26. Compare and contrast the role of *two* leaders, each chosen from a different region, in the development of the Cold War between 1953 and 1964.

Candidates can compare/contrast the two leaders in terms of policies, personalities, achievements or failures.

The question does not require that the leaders have different ideologies. Possible choices could be: Eisenhower and Kennedy for the USA; Khrushchev for the USSR; Castro in Cuba; Nasser in Egypt; Mao in China; *etc.* Accept any leaders of the candidate’s choice providing that they are **relevant for the time period and the Cold War**.

If only one leader is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

27. Why did détente develop between 1969 and 1979?

Candidates should be aware that détente was due to many different reasons. The move toward détente between the superpowers was due to the changing international environment and stimulated by developments within the US and the USSR, as well as involving initiatives taken by European leaders to reduce tensions in Europe. What made some agreements necessary was the growing awareness of the potential dangers of confrontation leading to nuclear destruction.

Some of the international conditions were: the end of bipolarity and movement toward “multipolarity”; the rise of China and the growth of popularity of the non-alignment movement among developing countries. For the developments within the US and the Soviet Union the following could be addressed: the Soviet Union under Brezhnev was facing economic stagnation; its relations with China were strained (Sino-Soviet Split) and the conditions in Eastern Europe were unstable. For the US, by the late 1960s Vietnam, strategic priorities, economic decline and social unrest all presented problems. Among the European initiatives the most significant was Willy Brandt’s *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) in 1972. The US and the Soviet Union reached strategic nuclear parity (Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)) and this situation not only posed a threat to the economic well-being of both superpowers, but also provided a balance of power that could act as a deterrent.

28. Analyse the impact of Afghanistan (1979–1988) on the development of the Cold War.

The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan marked the start of renewed hostility as the so-called Second or New Cold War occurred. The invasion led to widespread condemnation of the USSR and was perceived in the West as evidence of the expansionist tendencies of the USSR. It marked the end of any further negotiation between the superpowers. President Carter withdrew the SALT II Treaty from the Senate, cut off trade contacts between the USA and the USSR, boycotted the Moscow Olympics in 1980, and increased arms spending. It was also a key issue of the US presidential election of 1980, won by Ronald Reagan. Under Reagan, the USA embarked on a program of arms expansion in order to meet the threat of the “evil empire”. He also developed the Reagan Doctrine, an important Cold War strategy to oppose the influence of the Soviet Union by backing anti-communist guerrillas against Soviet client states. Upon becoming president, Reagan moved quickly to undermine Soviet efforts to subdue the government of Afghanistan. Islamic *mujahideen* guerrillas were covertly supported and trained, and backed in their jihad against the occupying Soviets by the CIA. The Agency committed billions of dollars in military aid to the guerrillas.

When Gorbachev came to power in 1985, the Soviet experience in Afghanistan (where the war had dragged on without a decisive result, but which had cost the Soviets over 15 000 soldiers and \$8 billion per year) led to a re-evaluation of Soviet involvement in developing countries. It led to the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan; it became part of Gorbachev’s “New Political Thinking” and eventually contributed to the end of the Cold war.

29. “The Cold War came to an end primarily because of Gorbachev’s changes in Soviet policies.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Some of the changes that could be mentioned are: pursuing improved relations with the USA; Soviet concessions leading to the USSR and the USA reaching important arms control agreements such as Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) in 1987 and Soviet unilateral reductions of conventional forces. The end of the Brezhnev Doctrine and its impact on Eastern Europe, in particular Gorbachev’s policies towards Germany and his acceptance of a unified German state were also very significant. His attempts to repair relations with China, and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan could also be discussed as contributing to the end of the Cold War.

Candidates could discuss other related factors such as Gorbachev’s reform programme within the USSR (and its consequences for the future of the Soviet state) and stagnation of the Soviet economy.

30. Evaluate the impact of the Cold War on the culture of *two* countries, each chosen from a different region.

Answers will vary according to the selected countries. Candidates should approach this question by discussing how the Cold War affected music, art, sports, literature, television programmes, film, popular music, radio programmes or fashion. **Specific examples are required.**

If only one country or one region is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].
