



MARKSCHEME

November 2012

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. **“The role of the peace treaties from 1919 to 1920 in causing the Second World War has been greatly exaggerated.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

This will probably be a popular question as it offers candidates an opportunity to reflect upon the relative importance of the Paris Peace Treaties as causes of the Second World War. Candidates may focus upon the terms of the Treaty of Versailles but other treaties do need to be considered (Neuilly, Saint-Germain, Trianon and Sèvres). The question asks for a considered evaluation of the statement and better answers should assess whether or not it was the peace treaties rather than other factors such as: the Great Depression; the rise of Hitler; the failure of the League or perhaps appeasement that were, arguably, more important as causes of the Second World War. There is an opportunity here for candidates to demonstrate knowledge of historiography. Better answers should demonstrate awareness that this question requires consideration of a variety of factors/causes. A simple description of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles would be unlikely to score well.

2. **For what reasons, and in what ways, was guerrilla warfare a decisive factor in the outcome of two twentieth century wars?**

Popular choices may include the Chinese Civil War, the Vietnam War, the Cuban Revolution or the Algerian War. Candidates need to choose two wars and to address **both** parts of the questions to score well.

When addressing “For what reasons” candidates may include factors such as: the appeal of an ideological struggle against an unpopular government; sympathy that may be elicited from abroad by the notion of a small, determined group fighting a powerful enemy; support that may have been forthcoming from a powerful ally; the ability to form a local network in preparation for an invasion force (as was the case in the Second World War, for example).

“In what ways” allows candidates to consider factors such as: the ability of guerrilla groups to use the local terrain to good advantage; the ability to make do with limited resources; the use of classic guerrilla techniques such as those written about by Mao or Guevara; the promotion of national resistance or religious opposition to an invasion force (as in Afghanistan); links between urban guerrillas and guerrillas in the countryside; propaganda *etc.*

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

3. Compare and contrast the role of economic factors in the outbreak of *two* twentieth century wars, each chosen from a different region.

Candidates need to choose two wars and each must be from a different region. It is expected that economic factors and their importance in the outbreak of the wars will be analysed and better answers may approach the question thematically rather than adopting an end-on or sequential treatment. Economic factors may include: competition for resources such as oil or colonies; problems arising from unemployment or a recession; unequal distribution of wealth leading to domestic conflict; the use of war as a distraction from political unrest resulting from economic problems; conflict between rival economic ideologies. These are possible examples of economic causes but other factors may be identified and commented upon depending on the wars chosen.

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

4. Assess the contribution of foreign intervention to the outcome of *either* the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) or the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970).

For the Spanish Civil War, candidates could refer to: the military support provided by Hitler and Mussolini to the Nationalists; the transit facilities provided by Portugal to Franco's forces; the provision of oil supplies on credit by private US oil companies as well as the involvement of the International Brigades and the USSR on the Republican side. The significance of foreign intervention should be assessed critically for a high mark to be awarded. For instance, candidates may refer to: the assistance given by Hitler to the transportation of Franco's troops to Spain; the involvement of the *Luftwaffe* in the aerial bombardment of cities and towns; the contribution of the 60 000 soldiers sent by Mussolini in specific battles *etc.* On the Republican side, the willingness of Stalin to send arms, with the cost being deducted from the gold reserves sent to the USSR for safekeeping, may be mentioned along with the organisation of the International Brigades by the Comintern. Some candidates may discuss Stalin's motives in aiding the Republicans but this is not the focus. It is likely that some mention may be made of the purging of the POUM and the way in which a Moscow-initiated political conflict with the CNT hindered the effectiveness of foreign assistance to the Republicans and an united Republican war effort. Again, expect some detail for high marks to be awarded. Candidates ought to examine the contribution of foreign involvement to the outcome of the war, rather than simply narrate the events of the war.

For the Nigerian Civil War the role of mercenaries and aid agencies, as well as the influence of France and that of the former colonial power, Britain, could be considered. The uprising of 1966 was suspected by the North of being an Igbo-led takeover of power by the "Easterners". Conflict followed, with "Northerners" seizing power under the leadership of General Gowon and the East splitting off under the leadership of General Ojukwu. The savagery of the war of attrition that followed was intensified by Ojukwu's reluctance to negotiate, despite the suffering of the population of the newly declared independent Biafra. Candidates may argue that relief aid was used to finance the war and mention foreign mercenaries as an important factor in the training of, and support for, both sides. France supplied arms that kept the war going and Portugal allowed Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome to be used as vital links in supply lines to Biafra. Such assistance helped sustain Biafra's war effort until January 1970 but it did not prevent the victory of General Gowon's forces. Some mention may also be made of Nigeria's purchase of arms from the Soviet Union alongside its continuing good relations with the US.

In both cases, candidates may identify other factors responsible for determining the outcome of either conflict.

5. Analyse the long-term and short-term causes of *either* the Nicaraguan Revolution (1976–1979) or the Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988).

Whichever conflict is chosen, expect candidates to explain the rationale for their choice of “long” and “short” term causes.

For the Nicaraguan Revolution, candidates may decide that the long-term causes go back to the founding of the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) in 1961/2 or to the initial struggle against US influence in the 1920s and the emergence of the Somoza regime. A narrower time frame from 1970 onwards would also be acceptable. Some candidates may link the unrest in Nicaragua to the Cold War and to events elsewhere in Latin America, such as the Cuban revolution. With regard to the growth of the guerrilla movement, the use of propaganda also led to increased support among the peasants. The Managua earthquake of 1972 and Somoza’s attempts to control aid money and monopolize relief efforts were significant factors in alienating both the poorer sections of the population and the middle class. The repression that accompanied the re-election of Somoza in 1974 was another step in the growth of opposition. The role of the US, especially under President Carter, contributed to the weakening of the Somoza regime. In 1978, the assassination of Pedro Chamorro (a fierce critic of the Somoza regime), criticism by the Church and a general strike intensified the revolutionary struggle. The suspension of military aid from the US, along with increased economic problems during uncertain political times, led to the flight of capital. By 1979, popular opposition, the armed strength of the FSLN and the international condemnation of the Somoza regime made its overthrow possible, leading to the fall of President Somoza.

For the long-term causes of the Iran–Iraq War, candidates may discuss religious (Shia and Sunni) as well as cultural differences (Arab and Persian) as deep-seated sources of tension, alongside border disputes, especially in areas of mixed population. The long running dispute over the Shatt al-Arab waterway was also a source of disagreement for centuries, although there were some attempts at resolution during the 1970s when negotiations took place between Saddam Hussein and the Shah of Iran. The issue of Kurdish nationalism could also be considered as a long-running source of tension used by Iran from time to time to sow discord within Iraq, as well as disputes over oil rich regions such as Khuzestan. Such factors were present over a long period of time but candidates would not be expected to go further back than the 1960s and may choose to define “long-term” as the early 1970s. For short-term causes, candidates could refer to the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and its impact upon regional stability. With the Shah no longer in power, the tentative agreements of 1975 (the Treaty of Algiers) were no longer viable and tension also arose over the influence wielded by Iran over the Shia population within Iraq. Mention could be made of Iraqi suspicions that Iran intended to overthrow the Ba’athist regime by encouraging unrest among the non-Sunni population. Tempers flared over the Shatt-al Arab waterway that was attacked by Iran on 4 September, 1980. Iraq dispatched its forces across the border into Iran a few weeks later.

There is much to discuss here and a wealth of detail can be used to support arguments.

6. In what ways, and for what reasons, did technological developments in air and naval warfare contribute to victory in *two* twentieth century wars?

Candidates have an opportunity here to demonstrate knowledge of developments that impacted on air and naval warfare in two twentieth century wars. Be aware that the Cold War is **not** an appropriate example, although wars fought during that period (Vietnam, Korea *etc.*) would be relevant. Both the First and Second World Wars are likely to be popular choices and it is acceptable for candidates to discuss two theatres as discreet wars.

For air warfare, technological developments may include: radar; the jet engine; vertical take-off and landing aircraft; helicopters for use in warfare; transporter aircraft; rocket/missile weaponry *etc.*

For naval warfare, candidates may refer to: sonar; submarines; amphibious landing craft; aircraft carriers; convoy supply ships *etc.*

Candidates should indicate how these contributed to victory and may offer reasons such as: the availability and superiority of equipment possessed by one side; the psychological and physical impact of new technology on the military and home fronts.

Candidates should go beyond a description of the relevant technology, demonstrating how it contributed (or not) to victory.

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

Topic 2 Democratic states – challenges and responses

7. Analyse the reasons for the success and failure of the domestic policies of *one* of the following leaders of a democratic state: Johnson (United States); Menem (Argentina); de Gaulle (France).

Johnson

There will probably be strong emphasis on “The Great Society” and his efforts to promote opportunities for social mobility through educational and economic reform as well as advancing civil rights. Candidates may suggest that the policies of “The Great Society” were similar to those of Kennedy’s “New Frontier” but that Johnson was more successful in getting these passed through Congress. Detailed knowledge may include references to: Medicaid and Medicare; the Civil Rights Act; the Economic Opportunity Act; the Voting Rights Act and the Higher Education Act. There is room here for analysis and candidates may refer to the racial disturbances of 1967 and the domestic response to the Vietnam War.

Menem

The focus will probably be upon economic policies as he struggled to rein in inflation and peg the peso to the dollar. Candidates may refer to his succeeding President Alfonsín and his decisive actions to deal with a serious economic crisis when inflation was over 200%. Menem reduced inflation to single figures and presided over a period of economic growth. He improved relations with the US, his linking of the peso to the dollar led to increased exports. Extensive privatisation was used to raise funds. Menem acted to limit the role of the military and the possibility of military intervention in the government. Military service was abolished in 1994 but he also pardoned those involved in the crimes of the military junta, including General Galtieri. Overall, the success of his policies was debatable, certainly in the long-term. Failures could include: the public response to the pardons offered to the military; the long-term impact of privatisation (with little benefit to be seen from the money raised); the impact of a world-wide depression on the peso *etc.* Accusations of corruption involving the President and his officials, including the judiciary, could be mentioned.

De Gaulle

Reference may be made to the constitution which established the Fifth Republic and the domestic impact of his Algerian policy and decolonisation. The economic policies of de Gaulle emphasized increased state involvement and financial reforms were introduced to stabilize the franc, improve trade and increase gold reserves. Industrial production expanded, as did exports. Increased consumerism during the early 1960s made the government popular but labour relations deteriorated and this was among the many causes of riots in 1968. Tight control of the media also gave rise to allegations that France was becoming a more “paternalistic”, even repressive, state. De Gaulle’s response to the student revolt of 1968 (itself based on grievances associated with overcrowding and the need for reforms in education) would be relevant, especially as this led to a crisis during which he disappeared temporarily from public view (although the subsequent election reflected continuing support for the Gaullist movement). De Gaulle resigned in 1969 after a poor showing in a referendum aimed at further constitutional change.

Whichever leader is chosen, expect detailed knowledge to support a focused analysis and assessment of success and failure.

8. In what ways, and with what success, did *either* India (1947–1964) or South Africa (1991–2000) address problems of social and economic inequality?

For India, as indicated by the dates, attention should be paid to the period immediately after independence when Nehru was prime minister. “Social inequality” could refer to the caste system and “economic inequality” to the wide disparity of income between rich and poor. Methods used by Nehru may include references to the use of central planning to achieve a socialist style economy. The three Five Year Plans that were adopted may be mentioned and candidates may assess “success” by distinguishing between the rapid industrialisation that took place in the cities and the more gradual pace of economic progress in the countryside. There were attempts to nurture “village industries”, however, and a considerable share of the budget was allocated to rural development. There were problems caused by the lack of capital with which to purchase technology and the difficulties that arose from the lack of competition and low quality of goods produced for the domestic market. The question does require a focus on how far economic inequality was addressed. There is much to discuss here in terms of the relative success of these economic policies and arguments may vary, but all should be well supported with detailed knowledge. For “social inequality”, legislation was passed to outlaw discrimination on the basis of caste – although the effectiveness of this could be questioned. Women’s rights were also a focus of attention although how much actually changed could also be open to debate. Educational opportunities at all levels were increased and efforts made to address widespread malnutrition.

For South Africa, the focus is largely on the presidency of Mandela after the end of the apartheid regime. Candidates could address measures used to reduce the social and economic gulf between the races in South Africa. Methods to reduce inequality could include all changes that intended to remove the legacy of apartheid hence a range of reforms may be referred to. Although South Africa had a good economic infrastructure, the post-apartheid government inherited a considerable debt. Despite the political complexion of the ANC, the intention of the government, after its election in 1994, was to promote a better standard of living for all through economic growth rather than socialist-inspired centralized planning. This approach was chosen partly to attract foreign investment. Limited re-distribution of wealth led to disappointment and candidates may argue that this reflected the lack of attainment of social and economic equality. Candidates could refer to the strikes and protests that broke out in 1995. In the area of social reform, many policies may be discussed ranging from the de-segregation of sport to the Truth and Reconciliation Committees that were established. There may be some analysis of the success of efforts made to bridge the gulf between the races in areas such as education, employment, housing, medical care *etc.*

9. For what reasons, and in what ways, did *two* democratic states, each chosen from a different region, address the issue of women’s rights?

Reasons may include: the impact of war requiring recognition of the greater participation by women in the workforce; changing cultural values that allowed women greater social freedom; the availability of reliable contraception; the increasing levels of education *etc.* These could all be cited as reasons why women became a more significant social and political constituency.

Ways could be addressed by references to: the growth of women’s suffrage; legislation that has encouraged equal opportunities in education and in the workplace (such as equal pay); health care (with particular reference to pregnancy, motherhood and childcare provision). Candidates must choose two states from two different regions and better answers will support arguments with good, detailed knowledge.

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

10. “Economic issues rather than weaknesses in the constitution were responsible for the failure of democracy in Germany between 1919 and 1933.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

This will probably be a popular question allowing candidates to discuss economic issues and the Weimar constitution as factors in the erosion of German democracy.

For economic issues, reference could be made to: the payment of reparations; hyperinflation in 1923; dependence on US loans; the Great Depression; the link between economic crisis and the rise of political extremism which threatened democratic government.

For weaknesses in the constitution, references may be made to: clauses relating to proportional representation; the role of the President; Article 48 *etc.* The large number of different governments, the nature of the coalitions, the difficulty of passing legislation to deal with economic crises and the frequent use of Article 48 especially after March 1930 may all be mentioned. The question does ask, “To what extent ...?” and candidates may also assess the importance of other factors. Candidates may argue that the terms of the Versailles Treaty, the fear of communism, the appeal of National Socialism and political intrigue may also have had a significant impact. Do expect well-supported answers with good detailed knowledge.

11. Compare and contrast the methods used by the governments of *two* democratic (multiparty) states to deal with political extremism.

Political extremism would imply the use of violence to publicize certain causes such as religious rights or minority rights. Some examples of political extremism may include: the “Troubles” in Northern Ireland; protests in France during the Algerian War; the French separatist movement in Canada; the Naxalite movement in India *etc.* Allow any appropriate examples.

A thematic structure would be particularly effective and candidates may, for example, compare/contrast such methods as: the use of military force; the use of legislation to address the demands of extremists; the use of increased security measures; propaganda; restrictions on media coverage of extremist actions *etc.*

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

12. In what ways, and with what success, did *one* democratic (multiparty) state address the demand by minorities for civil rights?

Candidates may choose any democratic state when answering this question. Minorities may include religious, linguistic or ethnic minorities – but reward any appropriate examples that are discussed. Methods may include: the passing of legislation to guarantee rights or redress minority grievances; the use of “positive discrimination” to promote the employment of minorities; the provision of separate (or, in some cases, inclusive) education facilities; funding for places of worship or cultural centres; legislation to recognize and preserve minority languages *etc.* Answers should focus on the extent to which such actions met with success in meeting the demands of minorities.

In some cases, the reactions of the majority towards such legislation could be a relevant area for consideration by candidates.

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

- 13. With reference to *two* leaders, each chosen from a different region, assess how ideology *and* popular support contributed to their rise to power.**

For “ideology”, expect a working definition of the term (the social, economic, political, racial beliefs etc. of the leaders) and a strong focus on how it contributed to the rise to power of the chosen leaders. Possible points to consider would be the appeal of an ideology such as nationalism or communism and how it was presented through propaganda and to which specific audiences. The practical application of ideology through, for example, land reform for peasants in China and Russia could be discussed. Candidates would need to go beyond a description of ideology and assess its importance as a factor in the rise to power of the leaders.

For “popular support”, candidates could link this to the factor of ideology by demonstrating how and why aspiring single-party state leaders were able to tap into popular support. Candidates may mention factors such as: the promise to address political, social or economic grievances; the use of scapegoats; the appeal to a sense of national community; the exploitation of the perceived failures of existing regimes *etc.*

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

14. To what extent did social and economic policies help to maintain the power of *either* Nasser or Perón?

The main focus of the question is the rule, and not the rise to power, of the chosen leader.

For Nasser, the period to be discussed would probably range from 1955–1970. His economic policies aimed to improve living standards through land reform, the nationalisation of some industry and business, the removal of foreign ownership of business and a more centrally planned economy. Success was mixed, however, and the hopes of increased prosperity were not always met. Social policies could include education, the enfranchisement of women, the secularisation of society and the promise of a more egalitarian social system. Again, not all policies met with success and the use of force was important in the suppression of opposition. The extent to which both social and economic policies contributed to Nasser remaining in power should be assessed in relation to propaganda, the promotion of nationalism *etc.* Candidates may also identify other factors such as the United Arab Republic and the impact this had upon Nasser’s popularity.

For Perón, candidates will probably refer to the period 1946–1955 although some may also consider Perón’s brief return to power in 1973. Perón’s economic policies were focused upon the working class and the trade unions that were brought under the control of the state soon after the election of 1946. The stated aim was to establish a more egalitarian society with emphasis upon “social justice”. As with Nasser, the role of the state in planning the economy was emphasised. Efforts were made to reduce foreign ownership of Argentine industry and resources in parallel with protectionist policies as well as price controls. These were not always successful. The economic aspects of the constitution of 1949 may also be mentioned when state control over the economy was further increased. With regard to social policies, mention may be made of the FEP (Eva Perón Foundation) that intended to centralize the distribution of welfare. Candidates may emphasize the role of Eva Perón in the many social policies introduced by the government. This would be quite appropriate and it is hoped that arguments will be supported with good detailed knowledge. Undoubtedly, the role of Eva Perón in supporting the rule of her husband is a relevant factor here, as reflected in the mass mourning on the occasion of her death in 1952. Candidates may mention the importance of the enfranchisement of women, a political as well as a social policy that certainly helped Perón to win a second term in office in 1951. Control over education and the arts as well as the media would also be important as this was a way to increase support but also to limit opposition. Expect some critical assessment of policies and a strong focus on the question.

15. Compare and contrast the treatment of minorities in *two* authoritarian or single-party states, each chosen from a different region.

Candidates would require a detailed knowledge of policies directed towards minorities whether religious, ethnic, linguistic *etc.* It is likely that Nazi Germany will be a popular choice but expect some detailed knowledge of the treatment of Jews, for example the application of the Nuremberg Laws, the slow build up of pressure from 1933–1939 and beyond. Candidates would need to pay attention to the role of the state and so a general description of the horrors of the Holocaust, for instance, would not address the question. The treatment of kulaks in Stalin’s Russia would also be appropriate, as would the treatment of Sunni Muslims in Saddam Hussein’s Iraq or of ethnic minorities in Mao’s China.

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

16. Define “totalitarianism” and assess the extent to which it was achieved in Hitler’s Germany.

Candidates would need a good knowledge of the structure of the Nazi state to provide detailed supporting evidence for this question. Candidates must provide a definition of “totalitarianism” which could include reference to the leader’s attempt to control every aspect of society from the political system to the economy, religion, education, media *etc.* The focus is on Hitler in power and although most candidates will probably address the period 1933–1939, some may, quite appropriately, continue to 1945. Possible approaches may be to discuss the level of control attempted by Hitler and the extent to which this was achieved. Reference may be made to *Gleichschaltung* and the attempts made to extend the control of the Nazi Party through the ban on trade unions and political parties, the destruction of the federal governmental system, the censorship of the media, the control of education, the attempted control of the churches, the use of terror *etc.*

Additionally, much could be said about the New Plan and the Four Year Plan and their influence upon the economy. The role of the Gestapo and the extent to which Germany’s population went along with the application of Hitler’s policies may also be discussed.

17. Analyse the methods used by *either* Castro or Sukarno to deal with opposition.

Castro

For Castro there could be reference to the purging of Batista supporters in 1959 followed by a more intensive purging of opponents before and after the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Soon after that, all remaining political parties were forced to merge with the official party. The execution and imprisonment of political opponents, as a form of terror, was also used to discourage opposition. The use of propaganda and the encouragement of nationalism could also be discussed. Detailed knowledge could refer to the use of show trials, the establishment of the CDR (Committee for the Defence of the Revolution) and the prevalence of labour camps to “re-educate” political (and social) dissidents. At different moments, Castro “encouraged” opponents to leave, as shown by the 1980 Mariel exodus. It would also be relevant to mention the use of propaganda in speeches, posters and newspapers as well as campaigns used to promote enthusiasm for party policies, as these did play a part in limiting opposition.

Sukarno

Sukarno’s main opponents were the Islamist and regional separatist movements and he used political control, censorship of the media and a personality cult both to suppress and deflect opposition. Although both an ally and an enemy of the PKI (The Communist Party of Indonesia) at various stages, Sukarno was able to balance power between the Communists and the military for much of his time in power. In addressing “methods”, candidates may refer to the use of force but also to political skills such as: his appeal to Indonesian nationalism; the use of the ethnic Chinese as scapegoats; the proclamation of Guided Democracy that appealed to the people and the suppression of rival parties and their leaders. The army was used to suppress separatist movements in Aceh, West Java and South Sulawesi. Education was also used as a way to promote a formidable cult of personality. Candidates may argue that, ultimately, Sukarno failed to maintain power and ended up a victim of the army under the growing influence of Suharto.

Whichever leader is chosen, candidates need to examine the methods used and to support arguments with good, factual detail. It is not necessary for candidates to mention all of the possible methods mentioned here and, indeed, they may come up with other equally valid points.

18. “In the twentieth century, the rise to power of authoritarian and single-party leaders was due mainly to their use of force.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

More than one state needs to be discussed, although there is no limit to how many a candidate may choose but expect examples to be supported with relevant detail. Candidates may agree with the statement by using examples such as Lenin, Mao or Franco. Alternatively, some single-party states emerged as a result of the collaboration between traditional elites and aspiring leaders of radical movements. These elites sought to manipulate or use movements for their own benefit. In such cases, single-party states came into existence through constitutional means (sometimes questionable), for example, Hitler and Mussolini as much as by forceful means.

This question gives considerable scope for knowledgeable candidates to demonstrate a good grasp of the emergence of twentieth century authoritarian and single-party states.

If only one leader is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

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

19. With reference to *either* one African *or* one Asian ex-colonial state, analyse the factors which led to the rise of a successful independence movement.

The rise of independence movements in the twentieth century was often closely associated with the two World Wars which progressively weakened the image – as well as the economic and military capabilities of metropolitan states. The wars can be seen as catalysts in promoting the desire of indigenous populations to attain the freedoms (self determination included) for which – ostensibly at least – the victors of both wars claimed they fought. The wars not only radicalized sections of the colonized states but also provided, in some cases, the military training which was to be used in physical struggles against the colonial power in the post 1945 era (*e.g.* Indo-China, Algeria).

These two major wars though were not the only factors promoting success. Effective leadership *i.e.* the ability to mobilize populations on a mass basis and to attract outside attention or world opinion through propaganda or successful nationalist campaigns was also important (*e.g.* India). The influence of the United Nations and the Cold War in promoting decolonisation can also be examined.

The specific factors very much depend upon the state selected but a thematic approach is likely to be more effective than a chronological narration of the development of a movement – or the life of a particular leader.

*N.B. China is **not** an acceptable example of an ex-colonial Asian state.*

20. Compare and contrast the methods used to achieve independence in the Indian subcontinent (India and Pakistan) and Algeria.

The question can be tackled thematically – by identifying such areas as mass mobilization, the role of leadership in confronting the metropolitan state; the appeal to outside/world opinion; the use of outside aid (military, financial) in the struggle against the colonial power; economic attempts to weaken the colonial regime (boycotts for example and the stressing of the need to purchase indigenous products).

An obvious point that many candidates might focus upon is the question of force. In Algeria the struggle for independence was brutal as the French colonial authorities, the nationalist movement (FLN) and the colons (settler population) engaged in conflict characterized by the use of terror tactics and guerrilla warfare. This contrasted significantly with the Indian National Congress campaign under the leadership of Gandhi which emphasized peaceful methods (non cooperation/passive resistance). Having said that, the nationalist movement in the subcontinent was not a homogenous one. The Muslim League led by Jinnah or the Indian National Army of S C Bose did not necessarily eschew violence in their campaigns to attain their respective goals.

Some candidates may produce “end-on” accounts followed by a concluding paragraph in which similarities and differences may be explicitly noted. The important point is the identification of *explicit* comparisons and contrast.

If only the Indian subcontinent or Algeria is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

21. For what reasons, and with what results, did challenges to Soviet control in Central and Eastern Europe occur up to 1968?

One approach which could prove popular is the identification of a (chronological) series of case studies covering the period from the start of sovietization (1945–1948) up to the end date which no doubt candidates will see as culminating with the events in Czechoslovakia (1968). Candidates could examine and comment upon such events as: the schism that developed between Moscow and Belgrade early in the period; the purging of “Titoist” and “rootless cosmopolitan” elements in states such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary in the late 1940s and early 1950s; the 1953 uprising in East Germany (GDR); restlessness in Poland in the 1950s (in particular the Poznan riots of 1956); the Hungarian Rising of 1956 and the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Candidates could also adopt a thematic approach to the issue of causation/consequences for example by identifying the nature of the issues at the root of deteriorating relationships: economic problems linked to work norms and/or collectivisation schemes; shortages of material goods promoting discontent; ideological splits revealed by interpretations of whether different paths (“roads”) to socialism were possible – or permissible in Moscow’s eyes.

Soviet fears of the weakening of border/defence arrangements due to agitation in “front line” states in Central and Eastern Europe often produced a forceful reaction. Not all challenges were crushed by force – for example, Yugoslavia and Poland – but candidates need to identify how the challenges were met and reasons for that particular reaction. “Results” could be related not only to the consequences for groups or individuals which challenged Moscow, but also to how the challenges shaped the policies and perceptions of Moscow over the period.

22. With reference to *one* ex-colonial or post-communist Central or Eastern European state, analyse the economic and political challenges it faced after independence and the extent to which these challenges were addressed.

The achievement of independence by former colonial or post-communist Central or Eastern European states was frequently accompanied by challenges to political stability and obstacles to economic progress. In the case of ex-colonial states, political challenges could include reference to the issues of: lack of experience in administration due to the failure of metropolitan powers to sufficiently prepare the colony for independence; religious/ethnic/tribal divisions in the population which had been either controlled or exploited (“divide and rule policies” of the colonial power); external threats from neighbouring states which claimed territory from the new state; the role of the military which was often quick to act in terms of carrying out coups “to restore stability”; the influence of superpower involvement in the affairs of such states in an attempt to expand their sphere of influence *etc.* The economies of such states were often limited by the fact they had been designed by the former metropolitan power as part of a larger imperial framework – hence reliance on monoculture and the vagaries of world commodity prices could wreak havoc. Overambitious development projects by new governments, the reliance on foreign loans and the continuation of neo-colonial exploitation can also be seen as challenges to the state. Obviously the nature of such challenges depends upon the case study selected.

Having identified the state and the nature and extent of the challenges, candidates are required to comment on how the state was able (or not) to deal with these challenges to its political and economic structure.

In the case of post-communist Central or Eastern European states, political challenges could relate to the transition from the single-party state to the new political systems implemented. In some cases such states found themselves either lacking experience – or being governed by movements and/or leaders which were effectively the same as the previous regimes – only operating under a different label. In certain cases such states also faced problems with minorities and the continued existence of institutions (army, internal security forces *etc.*) which were not always sympathetic to the new system. Economically the states had to adapt from the command economies of the past and develop new industries and methods of organisation to compete in the post-independence era. Restructuring could prove painful. Where new states emerged due to the implosion of the former state (*e.g.* Yugoslavia), the successor states also faced a variety of ills ranging from civil war to ethnic cleansing. Again, the state selected as a case study has to also be examined in terms of how successfully (or not) it was able to cope with the challenges.

- 23. “Independence from Soviet control was the result of the decline of Soviet power rather than the strength of the independence movement.” With reference to *either* Poland *or* Czechoslovakia, to what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Candidates are required to examine the two factors noted in the question and invited to consider (“To what extent”) “other factors” that may be relevant to the independence of Czechoslovakia and Poland from Moscow’s control in 1989–1990.

The nature, extent and leadership of the movements (for example Charter 77 and Solidarity) could be examined, along with consideration of the grievances (economic, political) that encouraged their emergence and growth. Compared to earlier attempts at questioning Soviet control (these could be identified though it is not necessary to go into in detail), candidates need to explain why such movements were able to effectively challenge Moscow by the dates noted above.

The differing reaction of the Soviet Union in dealing with the movements (in comparison with previous Soviet responses – *e.g.* 1968 in Czechoslovakia) could lead to examination of how able (militarily, economically and ideologically) the Soviet state was by this period to adopt methods of repression to silence challenges. No doubt candidates will focus especially on the new Soviet leadership from 1985 and comment upon the pressures Gorbachev was under to respond to an ailing Soviet financial and military position.

Candidates could discuss: the “Sinatra” doctrine of Gorbachev; the impact of his policies of glasnost and perestroika not only domestically but also in the satellite states; the economic impact of the Soviet–Afghan War; the role of Reagan and US policies; the significance of the Catholic Church in Poland *etc.*

- 24. Assess the contribution of the leadership of *either* Jinnah to the achievement of the independence of Pakistan (1947) *or* Mugabe to the achievement of the independence of Zimbabwe (1980).**

Candidates should examine the role played by either leader in the movement for freedom from external forces – in the case of Mugabe, from a system of racially based minority rule in Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and in the case of Jinnah, from what was claimed to be freedom from the supposed “tyranny” of a Hindu majority represented by the Indian National Congress.

“Leadership” could be examined in relation to: the ability to unite disparate groups in a common cause (and how this was achieved *e.g.* by appeals to religious, social and economic fears and aspirations); the organisation of political and/or military resistance to the perceived oppressive minority/majority; the mass mobilisation of a support base necessary to gain the goal of independence; the manner in which the leader was able to appeal to outside elements to strengthen the resistance movement and promote its goals *etc.*

The invitation to assess the contribution of leadership also invites candidates to note “other factors” which may be considered important: the weakness of the opposing force; pressure applied on behalf of the movement for independence from external sources; the inability (economically, politically or militarily) of the “enemies” of the movements to physically prevent the successful push for independence.

Topic 5 The Cold War

25. Evaluate the importance of *each* of the following in the breakdown of East–West relations, 1945–1949: the Potsdam Conference; the sovietization of Eastern and Central Europe; the Marshall Plan.

The invitation to “evaluate” invites candidates to comment upon the relative importance of the given issues and candidates who do so should be rewarded.

Often candidates provide “template”, learned responses which outline the origins of the Cold War from 1917 and then launch into descriptions of schools of historiographical interpretation. This is not the focus of the task.

Accurate details of each of the issues are important as the basis for successful consideration of the importance/significance of the issues/factors.

Potsdam occurred in July/August 1945 – after the unconditional surrender of Germany, but before the end of the war against Japan. It followed on from the earlier Yalta Conference of February 1945. Issues raised at Yalta were to prove contentious at the Potsdam meeting. The question of what to do with Germany (politically and economically), the growing antagonism over arrangements for Poland – and indeed conflicting interpretations of the Declaration on Liberated Europe – led to mutual suspicion, especially with the new line up of leaders at Potsdam. News of the successful testing of the atomic weapon arguably led Truman to take a more uncompromising stance than his presidential predecessor. The failure of US leaders to collaborate with the USSR in the development of such a weapon and the manner in which its existence was revealed at Potsdam has led to claims that the Soviet Union saw such a weapon (and its subsequent use against Japan) as a veiled threat. Relations at Potsdam marked a deterioration in the relationship among members of the Grand Alliance, whose *raison d’être* had been called into question after Germany’s defeat.

The sovietisation of Central and Eastern Europe from 1945 onwards (specific examples of such states should be included) led to claims and counter-claims by both East and West. Whether the “liberation” of these states was followed by a deliberate policy of Soviet expansionism in order to fulfil an ideological goal on the part of Moscow – or whether the motive behind such expansion was defensive in nature could be examined. The assumptions behind the “Long Telegram” of Kennan, the significance of the Riga Axioms, the reality of the claims made by Churchill in his “Iron Curtain” speech (as compared to the rhetoric) *etc.* could be considered.

The Marshall Plan, mooted in June 1947, was one “half of the walnut” of Containment espoused by Truman. Candidates could examine the reasons for the credits provided by the US and comment upon the overt purpose stated by Marshall, how the Plan was perceived by Moscow and the results of the Plan for Western Europe as well as the Soviet reaction (politically and economically: Cominform, Comecon *etc.*).

Candidates should show knowledge of the issues/factors and apply such knowledge to evaluate their role in the breakdown of East–West relations.

If only one issue is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks]. If two issues are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [13 marks].

26. Compare and contrast the methods *and* extent of superpower success in maintaining control of their spheres of influence up to 1962.

The starting date for most candidates will probably be 1945 which marked the end of the Second World War and the establishment of a power vacuum in Europe and Asia with the defeat of Germany and Japan. The chronological period permits candidates to examine a variety of areas (geographically) and also the methods used by Washington and Moscow to maintain their respective spheres of influence.

While some candidates may examine “methods” on a case-by-case basis, reaching some compare/contrast conclusion at the end, a thematic approach is also possible.

“Spheres of influence” – as a concept *and* as a geographical reality could be clearly identified – whether in Europe 1945–48/49 (which witnessed the economic and political division of the continent), 1953–1956 (which marked Moscow’s efforts to maintain control over states which were restive under Soviet influence – GDR, Poland, Hungary) and also in Asia where the newly emergent PRC and leftist agitation in Indo-China and East Asia (Korean peninsula) led to superpower involvement. Given the end-date of 1962, candidates also have the opportunity to deal with what the US perceived as a challenge to its sphere of interest in the Caribbean/Americas (with events in Cuba from 1959 to 1962) or to developments in the Middle East (Suez, Lebanon, *etc.*).

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

27. For what reasons did the Soviet Union, after the death of Stalin (1953), begin and end the policy of peaceful coexistence?

The term peaceful coexistence was associated with superpower relations as practiced at the time of Khrushchev from approximately 1956/57–1961/2 (allow some flexibility in the chronology depending on how the candidate may interpret the beginning and ending of this period). Some may select the period of Khrushchev’s First Secretaryship from 1953 – or possibly his prime ministership from 1958 – as the beginning point, and the U2 incident / failure of the Paris Summit / Berlin Crisis leading to the building of the Wall / events in Cuba *etc.* as the end point. The justification for such choices should be made clear and explicit.

Candidates could define the term “peaceful co-existence” at the outset (noting perhaps the similarity with the earlier “New Course” of Malenkov) and explaining the significance of Soviet domestic developments (Secret Speech, destalinisation, succession struggle – *i.e.* linking the idea with Khrushchev’s ambitions to become the supreme Soviet leader) as well as noting the dangers associated with the increasing development of nuclear arms production by East and West. The need for Khrushchev, after 1957, to deliver on promises made to the Soviet population regarding consumer/material goods necessitated a reduction of expenditure on weapons production and can be seen as connected to the need to improve relations with the West. Khrushchev’s belief that socialism/communism was destined to triumph in the longer term without war may be included as a reason for his claim that hostile confrontation with the west was unnecessary.

Just as the motives behind the policy were partly a product of Soviet domestic policies, the ending of the process was also linked to the need for Khrushchev to placate the increasingly vociferous “Metal Eaters” – the military and Party leaders who had never been convinced of the wisdom of the policy in the first place. Opportunities to regain personal prestige at a time when his economic and agrarian policies had not proved successful, plus the emergence of a new and inexperienced US President (Kennedy) encouraged Khrushchev to act more adventurously. Reference to specific issues that served to undermine the peaceful coexistence relationship could be addressed (see above).

The question **does not** require coverage of détente in the 1970s.

If only reasons for the beginning or for the end are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

28. Analyse the role of *one* of the following in the development of the Cold War: Castro; Mao; Reagan.

While three choices are on offer, Castro is likely to prove the most popular. Candidates need to ensure that if Castro is selected, the essay does not end up only as a narrow coverage – in narrative/descriptive form – of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Castro came into power three years before this and the post-1962 role of his Cuban state and its impact on the development of the Cold War – whether in Africa or Latin America – requires attention for answers to reach the higher mark bands.

Candidates who choose Mao can consider: the significance of the establishment of the PRC and the importance of this (Washington perceived) “loss”; the importance of the entry of the PRC to the war in Korea in 1950; the relationship of Mao’s regime with the Soviet Union – how, why and when this changed – and the wider consequences of such a change (US rapprochement with China) *etc.*

Ronald Reagan was president of the US 1981–1989. He presided over a period of increased defence spending during his time in office. At the outset, his foreign policy was associated with the rejection of détente which had been linked with his predecessor President Carter, and the restoration of US superiority in conventional and nuclear weapons. Accordingly, the Reagan administration became involved in the production of not only neutron bombs but, in 1983, with SDI (Strategic Defence Initiative). Increased deployment of cruise missiles in Europe plus the foregoing marked Reagan as more “hawkish” than his forerunner in The White House.

Reagan has been credited by some historians as being a major influence on the decline of the USSR and bringing about the end of the Cold War – partly through: his weapons production programme with which Moscow could not realistically compete; agreements made with Gorbachev (INF Treaty of 1987, agreement on Cuban withdrawal from Angola for example) and also to the strain upon Moscow’s resources in the attempt to combat US backed Afghan rebels. Some candidates may refer to Reagan’s policies in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada *etc.* This is acceptable as long as the cases are *explicitly linked* to the task.

29. Assess the economic and social impact of the Cold War on *two* countries (excluding the US and USSR), each chosen from a different region.

The Cold War was responsible not only for political confrontation but had an impact on states from both sides of the East–West divide. Economically, states which were associated with respective blocs could expect to receive aid and encouragement to pursue economic (and social) goals linked with the different ideologies of rival powers.

Candidates are required to focus specifically on two countries. Both may be selected from the East or Western bloc – or one from either. Popular choices for a case study are likely to be Cuba, Germany (either the period between 1945 and 1949, or in the post 1949 period, the Federal Republic or the German Democratic Republic), Korea, Japan, People’s Republic of China.

Whichever countries are chosen, candidates should explain how involvement in the East–West struggle affected the nature and structure of the economy of the state concerned. To what extent did the economy of the state benefit because of aid received – and how? Did the country suffer economically due to its allegiance in the conflict? Was the country the scene of a proxy war confrontation that resulted in economic destruction/dislocation?

In coverage of “social impact”, candidates could refer to areas such as media, education, religion, civil liberties, art and literature *etc.* linking developments in these areas to the respective socio-economic belief systems associated with the Cold War adversaries.

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

30. “The break-up of the Soviet Union was the unintended result of changes introduced by the Soviet leadership from 1985 onwards.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

The focus is the **break-up of the USSR, not the reason for the end of the Cold War**. Candidates who produce pre-learned responses on the reasons for the end of the Cold War would be unlikely to score well.

Candidates need to identify the new leadership in 1985 (Gorbachev) and the aims this leadership set for the Soviet Union. A key point is the term “unintended”. Better responses will consider whether the intention of Gorbachev’s regime was to revive an ailing political and economic system, whether the changes were meant to go beyond simple reform, whether changes once inaugurated proved impossible to control.

Policies/programmes associated with the Soviet leadership from 1985 include those of perestroika and glasnost. Candidates could investigate the stated purpose for such policies and assess the extent to which the regime’s goals were met – or whether the forces unleashed were beyond the government’s expectations – and means of control.

The “To what extent” command invites candidates to consider other factors which may be linked to the break-up of the Soviet state. Candidates may refer to: longer standing problems which produced a general economic malaise; the significance of the forces of minority nationalism inside the USSR (particularly evident later in the Baltic states, Armenia, Azerbaijan for example); the impact of a foreign policy requiring major expenditure; the weakening of control over the satellite states of Eastern and Central Europe (acting as both a symptom and a cause of Moscow’s declining power). The attempted coup of August 1991 by those seeking to turn back the clock and restore Soviet power after a period of liberalization, was a failure. By late December 1991, the USSR had ceased to exist.
