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Markscheme

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History route 2

Higher level and standard level

Paper 2

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

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

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

Topic 1　　Causes, practices and effects of wars

1.　　To what extent did ideology contribute to the outbreak **and** expansion of the Second World War up to 1941?

Candidates are required to consider the significance or otherwise of ideology as a factor in causing the outbreak and the expansion of the Second World War up to 1941. Other factors may be referred to in candidates' responses; however the importance of ideology should be the focus of the response.

Indicative content

Ideology:
- The influence of ultra-nationalist and militaristic states upon domestic populations as well as their readiness to support expansionist policies may be considered as motives for the Axis powers, as could the willingness of some of these to invade neighbouring states.
- For the Allied powers, response to these provocations may be regarded as ideological as their war aims stated their determination to defeat fascism and defend freedom and democracy.
- There were also unresolved issues of self-determination (nationalism) in Europe and imperialism in Asia.

Other factors:
- The policies of appeasement in Europe and isolation in the US delayed confrontation with the Axis powers until it was too late.
- The controversial peace settlements that followed the First World War left a number of states keen to recover, or to acquire, territory.

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2.   Evaluate the causes **and** immediate results of the Nicaraguan Revolution (1976–1979).

Candidates are required to make an appraisal of the events leading up to the overthrow of the Somoza regime in 1979 and address the immediate impact that the overthrow had on Nicaragua.

Indicative content

Causes:
- The oppressive nature of the Somoza regime and the desire by the Sandinistas to end it.
- The emergence of rebel groups that joined the FSLN (Sandinista Front for National Liberation).
- The misuse of funds allocated for rebuilding after the Managua earthquake of 1972 increased opposition to the regime.
- Sandinistas were encouraged by President Carter's withdrawal of US support of the Somoza regime because of its human rights violations.
- The murder of Pedro Chamorro in 1978.
- Hostage-taking at the Chamber of Deputies in 1978; widespread violence and the General Strike of 1979.

Immediate results:
- The overthrow of the Somoza regime and its replacement by the National Government for Re-construction.
- The influx of aid from abroad to help with rebuilding areas still affected by the earthquake.
- The confiscation of land owned by the Somoza dynasty.
- Literacy campaigns.
- Divisions in political ideology; the influence of the Church.

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3. "20th century wars had a significant impact on the role and status of women." Discuss with reference to **two** wars.

Candidates must select two wars and offer a considered and balanced review of the effect of both wars on the role and status of women. Opinions, for example, that women's status and role did not change very much, or did change, but only for the duration of the chosen wars, must be presented clearly and supported with appropriate evidence and sound argument.

Indicative content

- Women on the Home Front replaced men who had volunteered or been conscripted into the military forces. Women may have done so voluntarily or been conscripted.
- Women may have worked in unfamiliar, traditionally "male" occupations such as the production of armaments and explosives, shipbuilding or mechanical engineering. This may have led to a change in status but, in the case of both the First World War and the Second World War, this was largely temporary.
- Women may have taken over more senior positions in offices or the civil service but these posts were usually made available to them out of necessity, rather than reflecting a change in their collective status.
- With regard to agriculture, traditionally an area in which women had always been active, women may have become even more important. Similarly, with regard to the production of food, whilst women were usually very active in this area, they may well have had greater responsibilities.
- Women may have joined the armed forces to do clerical work or to nurse. Perhaps as in the case of the Red Army during the Second World War, they may even have participated in combat duties.
- In a less formal military sphere such as guerrilla warfare, women were often co-combatants and their role may have been influenced by ideology, leading to changes to their status.
- Candidates may suggest that the absence of men during wartime meant that women became heads of households and this may have had an impact on them and, where appropriate, on their children, who did not have a father figure for the duration of the war.
- War often meant a reduction in the male population, requiring women to work to support a family, or to choose employment because of the decreased likelihood of getting married. This would change their role, though not necessarily their status.
- Wars may have resulted in the extension of the franchise to women.

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4. To what extent did economic issues contribute to the outbreak of **two** 20th century civil wars?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the idea that civil wars in the 20th century had predominantly economic causes. Other factors may also be considered; however, the focus of the response will be on economic issues.

Indicative content

- Previous wars (civil or otherwise) may have had economic consequences—for example inflation and/or scarcity of resources—that increased domestic tensions.
- Heavy taxation that affected different groups in society disproportionately and caused resentment may have been a stimulus for civil war, as might have been the accrual of economic wealth by one group in society.
- The unequal distribution of land or other resources could have been a focus for discontent.
- In civil wars fought in colonies, for example in Angola and Mozambique, the monopolies of production and distribution held by the colonial power (that favour one group) may have caused resentment and hardship.
- Other factors may include political, ideological and/or religious differences.
- In some areas and regions, tribal identity may have led to tension, as could ethnic and/or linguistic division.
- External provocation that supported one group against another could also be a relevant factor.

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5. Evaluate the importance of tactics and strategies to the outcome of the Falklands/Malvinas War (1982).

Candidates must appraise the importance of tactics and strategy in the Falklands/Malvinas War and how these had an impact on the outcome of the conflict. Responses may weigh up both strategy and tactics against a range of other contributory factors to determine how far these two led to the victory of one side and the defeat of the other.

Note: In this context, "strategy" refers to the overarching aims of a force or power to achieve victory in either a war or a battle. "Tactics" refers to the specific means by which this strategy is achieved. Nevertheless, some candidates may conflate the two and this is to be regarded as an equally acceptable approach.

Indicative content

- The Argentine strategy was to send in ground forces and take over the islands before a British response could be organized. This gave an initial advantage. A British task force of 127 ships was deployed to the South Atlantic with their first target being South Georgia and Argentine forces surrendered here within a week.
- The RAF bombing of the runway at Stanley was carried out to prevent the Argentine air force from using it for fighter aircraft rather than to prevent it being used to re-supply British forces.
- The sinking of the *Belgrano* by the Royal Navy reduced the threat posed by the Argentine navy.
- Britain resisted UN attempts at peace negotiations, fearing that, with winter weather approaching, these would delay their progress.
- Tactics used by the British at the Battle of Goose Green and the failure of tactical assault on Fitzroy and Bluff Cove may be discussed.
- Both Britain and Argentina used propaganda as a strategy to gain public support.
- Stanley was liberated on 15 June and Britain reclaimed the islands.
- Other factors that were of greater or lesser importance in influencing the outcome may also be examined. For example, candidates may argue that the decision by the British government to go to war over the Falkland Islands/Malvinas was not anticipated by the Argentine government.
- The support given to Britain by the US, France and Chile (in particular) was decisive and the failure of Argentine bombs/missiles to work effectively gave the British an added advantage.

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6. With reference to **two** examples, each from a different region, examine the contribution of resistance movements to the outcome of war.

Candidates are required to draw examples from two different regions and consider the issue of resistance movements in a way that uncovers the relationship between those movements and the outcome of war(s) in those regions.

Indicative content

- Resistance movements may include non-governmental troops, often operating behind enemy lines or against an occupying force.
- Candidates may discuss resistance movements in one war, but in two regions. For example, the Second World War in Europe (Italy, France and Ukraine) and in the Pacific (Indonesia and the Philippines).
- In terms of two or more wars, responses could refer to a range of resistance movements, including the Vietminh in the Vietnam War and the Mujahedeen during the Soviet-Afghan War.
- Candidates could discuss a range of factors, including guerrilla tactics such as unexpected attacks on enemy forces.
- Knowledge of terrain and success in eluding capture could also be discussed.
- Factors such as aiding regular forces by providing intelligence could be mentioned, as could secrecy and the provision of support to a population under occupation.
- Their efforts to keep alive the prospect of resisting occupation could be seen as beneficial to wider morale.
- However, candidates may argue that resistance movements provided only very limited contributions to the outcome of wars and that they could not have survived without external support.

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Topic 2   Democratic states — challenges and responses

7.   Evaluate the role of political parties in establishing full democracy in South Africa between 1991 and 2000.

Candidates are expected to make an appraisal of the role of political parties in establishing full democracy in South Africa between 1991 and 2000. They may do this by discussing the various ways in which political parties had an impact and by weighing these against other factors that made full democracy possible.

Indicative content

- Both of the dominant parties; de Klerk's National Party (NP) and Mandela's African National Congress (ANC), had constructive attitudes that made agreement possible.
- Despite difficult negotiations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum (MPNF), the 1996 constitution provided for full adult suffrage.
- Both sides reined in, or outmanoeuvred, their extremist elements, for example de Klerk's calling of a "whites only" referendum in 1992 and Mandela's handling of the Hani assassination in 1993.
- The difficult behaviour of Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) may be discussed as well as the deal that was struck granting some Zulu autonomy.
- After 1996 the NP—despite attracting black voters— was racked by internal division and lost influence (it was re-founded in 1999), while the IFP's dominance in Kwa-Zulu Natal was gradually eroded.
- The ANC became dominant, and there may be commentary on the undesirability, and consequences, of that dominance for a working democracy.
- Other factors that may be discussed include the role of the UN and the international community and the economic strength (natural resources, a relatively sophisticated infrastructure) of South Africa; it may be argued that the leadership of de Klerk and Mandela, rather than their parties, was of crucial importance.

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8. Examine the view that constitutions played a minor role in the maintenance of stability in democratic states during the 20th century.

Candidates must consider the role of constitutions, whether written or not and attempt to uncover the relationship between those constitutions and the maintenance of stability in two or more 20th century democratic states.

Indicative content

- Candidates may consider whether governments were able to stay in office long enough to achieve their aims and the impact this may have had upon stability.
- There could be consideration of the nature of the democratic process, for example the use of majority systems or proportional representation.
- The nature of the state itself could be a key factor in the discussion. If one or more of the chosen states was a monarchy, the kind of monarchical system that was used and whether or not it promoted stability and continuity may be discussed. If one or more of the chosen states was a republic, the powers of the presidency compared to representative assemblies and/or the military may be analysed.
- There may be an assessment of the balance of power between legislative bodies. Candidates might, for example, question whether a constitution successfully enshrined the rule of law.
- Other factors may be considered, such as the economic condition of the state,, racial, ethnic or class division, the quality of leadership or whether there was a long-standing democratic tradition.

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9. "By 1973, the civil rights movement in the US had made significant political and social progress but little economic progress." Discuss.

Candidates are expected to consider the merits or otherwise of the political and social achievements of the Civil Rights Movement by 1973 in the context of the economic achievements that were made up to this time.

Note: The experience of, for example, Hispanic Americans and Native Americans is a valid subject for discussion in response to this question. If you are unsure of the relevance of a specific social/ethnic/cultural group then please consult your team leader.

Indicative content

- The 1965 Voting Rights Act brought about increases in the registration of black voters; there was increased, albeit limited, black representation in Congress and one black Supreme Court judge.
- Progress in desegregation of schools was achieved following the Elementary and Secondary Schools Act (1965) and the Supreme Court judgment in 1971 that declared the means used to segregate schools unconstitutional. Increases in enrolment of black college students resulted from the Higher Education Act (1965).
- There was also desegregation of public transport following the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1961 and segregation in public places was outlawed in 1964.
- The Civil Rights Act (1968) banned discrimination in the housing market (to little practical effect) but also protected law enforcement officers from allegations of unnecessary violence against black people.
- Largely peaceful civil rights campaigns in the south achieved a great deal but they had not been able to tackle the deprivation and racism experienced by both black and white people in inner-city ghettos across the US.
- While a black middle class was emerging by 1973, unemployment of black youths was high and the median income of black people was well below that of white people.
- Despite Johnson's best efforts (federal spending on the poor was increased and unemployment amongst black people fell by a third) further progress was difficult to achieve.
- Progress was only made more difficult by rioting across the US between 1964 and 1968, such as the Watts riots of 1965, which alienated many white people. Johnson had no chance of persuading Congress to authorize the levels of spending needed: King's experience in Chicago illustrated the helplessness of peaceful protest in the face of profound social problems.

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10. Evaluate attempts to address unemployment in **two** democratic states, each from a different region.

Candidates are required to make an appraisal of the attempts made by their chosen states to address the problems of unemployment and weigh up the strengths and limitations of those attempts. The chosen states **must** be drawn from two different regions.

Indicative content

- There could be a discussion of increased investment in public works and public sector employment, such as defence or civil service.
- Economic plans may have been deployed, such as lowering taxation in order to boost demand or there may have been a reduction in interest rates or a manipulation of exchange rates.
- Improved flexibility within the labour market may have been encouraged with attempts to boost labour mobility: conversely, there may have been measures to protect employment.
- Long-term strategies may have been deployed and there could have been efforts to improve education and/or vocational training or there may have been a reduction in welfare payments to improve incentives to work.
- It could also be argued that in some states there were curbs on trade union power, the impact of which on levels of employment, if any, could be discussed.

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11. To what extent did political extremism threaten democracy in Great Britain and Northern Ireland between 1967 and 1990?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the assertion that political extremism seriously threatened democracy in the United Kingdom, or a part thereof, during the set period.

Indicative content

- There may be discussion of the Northern Irish Troubles, which began with a civil rights march in Londonderry in 1968. Violence was perpetrated by both the Provisional Irish Republican Army in 1969 (which had split from the "real" IRA in 1969) and the Protestant paramilitary organisations, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF).
- Violence continued throughout the period: candidates may mention Bloody Sunday (1971), the Birmingham pub bombings (1974) as well as bombings in Northern Ireland.
- In assessing the degree of threat to democracy, candidates may analyse the introduction of internment in 1971, the introduction of direct Westminster rule of Northern Ireland in 1972, the collapse of the Sunningdale proposals (1972–1974), and limited progress made after the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985). Political stability in mainland Great Britain was barely threatened.
- There may be debate about the role of extremism in the industrial unrest in Great Britain the 1970s and 1980s.

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12. Examine the aims **and** achievements of health policies in **two** democratic states.

Candidates will need to consider the aims and achievements of health policies in two democratic states by weighing up their respective strengths and limitations. Candidates are not required to compare and contrast their two chosen states; however should they elect to do so, this is to be regarded as a valid approach. There is no regional requirement for this question.

Indicative content

- In terms of the aims of health policies, these could include the increase in funding for healthcare, possibly through taxation.
- Possibly the aims could be more wide-ranging, such as the establishment of a government-funded national health service, a private health insurance scheme or a combination thereof.
- There may have been a desire to improve access to primary care through local health centres and community-based doctors.
- Other efforts could include health education or disease prevention such as vaccination, improved hospital provision or long-term residential care of the chronically sick and the aged.
- Effective evaluation may focus on a comparison of the beginning and end of the chosen period and identification of success and failures; however allow any reasonable method used to evaluate policies .

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

13. To what extent did the weakness of his opponents contribute to the rise to power of **either** Mao **or** Stalin?

Candidates must consider the merits or otherwise of the statement that their chosen named leader was largely in a position of power because of others' weaknesses.

Indicative content

- **Mao** had a significant role in developing a distinctive ideology; he had substantial intellectual capabilities and made important contributions to military tactics.
- He was also ruthless in outmanoeuvring opposition within the Chinese Communist Party and proved to be adept at cultivating a personality cult.
- Mao also made wise decisions. He avoided full-scale confrontation with the Japanese yet exploited Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek's) perceived half-heartedness in fighting the Japanese, as shown in the Xi'an (Hsi-an) incident (1936).
- Mao ensured that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was seen as highly patriotic and he cultivated peasant popularity via land reform and the promise of improved education.
- For much of the two civil wars, the CCP was militarily inferior and controlled much less of the country than Jiang.
- It could be argued therefore that Jiang was, in some ways weak; he was arrogant, he failed to tackle the poverty and backwardness of rural China and his association with urban elites and warlords may have alienated many Chinese.
- Jiang also had other failings: he mismanaged the Chinese economy after 1945; utilised poor tactics during the civil wars (allowing Mao to escape on the Long March); and was dragged into a number of costly campaigns, for example, into Manchuria and Yanan (Yen'an).
- It could also be pointed out that Mao's opponents in the CCP were no match for his clever tactics, for example the defeat of the "Bolshevik" faction in the initial stages of the Long March at Zunyi and Mao's defeat of challenges from Zhang and Wang in the early 1940s.

- **Stalin's** main strength lay in his cultivation of support within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); he had made himself indispensable to Lenin as a man who would not shy away from difficult problems and who worked hard.
- Lenin's Testament shows that Stalin and Trotsky were the chief contenders for the succession to leadership of the CPSU and Stalin cleverly played his divided opponents; note his changing attitude to the New Economic Policy, his exploitation of Lenin's attack on factionalism and his adoption of "Socialism in One Country".
- Stalin posed as the heir to Lenin; he was a pallbearer at Lenin's funeral where he eulogized Lenin and portrayed himself as close to the ailing leader during his final years.
- Stalin was not a great orator and was not widely known outside the party. His rudeness and brutality alienated many and he was not an intellectual on the same level as Bukharin or Trotsky; however he inspired a devoted inner circle, and his down-to-earth interpretations of Leninist thought were popular with students and party members.
- Stalin's opponents played into his hands: Trotsky was too often absent from Moscow and was unpopular with other leaders who united against him. His absence from Lenin's funeral was a mistake.
- Opposition groups were ineffective; the United Opposition was convincingly defeated in votes of the party Congress.
- For many people, Stalin's opponents were remote and over-intellectual, and the appearance of factionalism was damaging. Stalin had little difficulty in removing his rivals one-by-one from the Communist Party.

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14. Examine the importance of ideology in the rise to power of **two** authoritarian/single-party leaders, each from a different region.

Candidates are required to consider the role of ideology in the attainment of power of their chosen leaders, each of whom must be drawn from a different region. Many candidates may elect to adopt a "compare and contrast" approach and identify the similarities and differences between the two examples; however no specific approach is prescribed and accept all relevant responses.

Indicative content

- Candidates may consider the nature or type of each leader's ideology; socialist, communist, fascist, nationalist or a combination.
- They may also discuss the methods by which those ideologies were expressed, for example in manifestos, speeches, or party programmes.
- Furthermore, they may consider whether the ideologies were well defined or, perhaps deliberately, vague.
- In terms of importance of ideology to each leader's rise to power, responses may consider whether ideologies were popular with the public.
- Other factors for consideration could include the circumstances that made the choice of ideology attractive and/or whether the leaders emphasised ideology when appealing for support.
- Broader issues could include economic and/or political crises, leadership qualities, and military tactics in a civil war.

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15. With reference to **two** authoritarian/single-party states, to what extent did successful domestic policies help to combat internal opposition?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the argument that successful domestic policies were a significant method of defusing internal opposition

Indicative content

- Domestic policies may include those that aimed to address economic issues, such as the need and/or desire to improve wages, increase employment, improve standards of living and implement land reform.
- Social policies may also be considered. For example, those that focused on the provision of healthcare, the introduction of social insurance, the expansion of education and enhanced the rights of women and minorities.
- Methods used to remove the threat from internal opposition may also be discussed. These may include the assumption of sweeping constitutional powers and the use or abuse of legal and judicial systems. Labour camps may also have been built to incarcerate opponents (real or perceived) and there may have been show trials and/or the imprisonment or execution of opponents (with or without due process).
- Other strategies may have included the removal of civil rights such as free speech, the freedom of the press and freedom of assembly.
- The use of propaganda, the government control of media and/or culture and the suppression of religion may also be discussed.

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16. To what extent did the use of legal methods contribute to the establishment of Hitler's rule from January 1933?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that Hitler's use of legal methods, after January 1933, aided the establishment of his rule. Other factors may also be mentioned for context; however the focus of the response must be on legal methods.

Indicative content

- The Gleichschaltung period may be examined and the key laws that established Hitler's dictatorship may be noted, for example the Enabling Law.
- Other key laws took state governments under central control, banned rival political parties and trade unions, outlawed verbal criticism of National Socialism and its leaders, and legalized preventive and protective custody. But these actions, coupled with a redefinition of legality (any action which was damaging to National Socialism could be deemed illegal), demonstrated that the Nazi conception of law was out of line with conventional norms.
- It may be argued that the appearance of legality was important to secure the loyalty of the civil service and the military.
- Candidates may mention that the Weimar Constitution was never torn up but that its spirit was subverted.
- Violence was unleashed during the 1933 election campaign; Goering's use of the Sturmabteilung (SA), who opened fire on communists, was legalized by the "shooting decree".
- The vote on the Enabling Law, from which many Communist Party members had been excluded, took place in a hostile, threatening atmosphere.
- The Night of the Long Knives was critically important in defeating opposition from within the Nazi movement.
- Political opponents were imprisoned and concentration camps were established.

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17. Evaluate the social **and** economic policies of Nyerere.

Candidates must offer an appraisal of the socio-economic policies of Nyerere and include a range of arguments. Opinions or conclusions should be presented clearly and supported by appropriate evidence.

Indicative content

- Candidates may comment on the disappointing results of the First Five Year Plan, with its dependence on foreign aid.
- Nyerere promoted self-reliance with the Arusha Declaration (1967), which announced the villagisation scheme, and increasing state control over the economy through nationalization of banks and large industrial enterprises and state oversight of foreign trade.
- Villagisation—the large scale transfer of people into centralised villages (ujamaa)—had disappointing results for the economy; there was an increasing reliance on force to promote further villagisation in the 1970s.
- Cotton production fell, Tanzania became dependent on foreign maize and the sisal industry collapsed.
- GDP growth slumped to below the rate of population increase; the economy was buffeted by the 1973 oil crisis and war with Uganda; foreign exchange reserves were depleted, creating a serious economic crisis by 1980.
- Nyerere refused to change tack in order to secure external help from the IMF (which had demanded liberalization of the economy and devaluation of the currency). Tourism had also all but collapsed under Nyerere. By the time Nyerere left office in 1986 GDP growth was still stagnant, inflation was running at 40%, there was a serious trade deficit and external debt stood at USD3.7billion. Nevertheless, under Nyerere, income per head had doubled.
- Nyerere's social policies were more successful. Access to primary education was greatly widened, literacy rates soared, and life expectancy increased as a result of an increase in the availability of qualified doctors, hospitals and clean water. Infant mortality was halved. However, the quality of both education and health care was falling away by the 1980s. Girls benefited particularly from wider educational access; while the legal status of women hardly improved, for example, they could not own land. High labour costs, as a result of generous rights to maternity leave, discouraged the hiring of female workers. Traditional patriarchal norms, such as the payment of bride price, prevailed.

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18. "Authoritarian/single-party leaders usually failed to achieve total control over religious groups." Discuss with reference to **two** authoritarian/single-party leaders.

Candidates must consider the merits or otherwise of the assertion that authoritarian regimes failed to gain complete control over religious groups. Opinions or conclusions should be presented clearly and supported with appropriate evidence and sound argument. There is no regional requirement for this question.

Indicative content

- Candidates may consider the extent to which freedom of belief was permitted.
- There may be a focus on faith-based education and faith schools. There could be an analysis of whether or not these already existed in a state and if they were allowed to continue. There may be also be a discussion of the curricula used in these schools.
- Religious figures are also a legitimate focus and candidates may wish to assess the role that they played and whether or not they expressed discontent with the regime (and if so, by what means).
- Some opposition groups may have been linked to particular religions and there could be discussion of how this affected their processes and level of support and success.
- The relationship between the leaders and the Churches may also be examined; for example, did the leader wish to eliminate religious faith, or control it? Also, there could be a discussion of whether or not religious groups were able to choose their leaders, free from government interference.
- Further factors for consideration could include the existence and importance of government agencies and/or ministries devoted to religion; the strength of religious faith during the period of authoritarian rule and if religious groups were more successful than others in protecting their independence.

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

19. Evaluate the impact of non-violent movements on the achievement of Indian independence in 1947.

Candidates are required to offer a considered and balanced review that includes a range of arguments about, and factors that contributed to, Indian independence in 1947. Conclusions should be presented clearly and supported by appropriate evidence.

Indicative content

- Non-violent civil disobedience (Satyagraha) led by Gandhi gained popular support, the appeal of which was heightened by the Salt March and the Quit India campaign.
- Non-violent protest was accessible to the population and effective through the use of economic boycotts.
- Non-violent protest was also difficult for the British authorities to counteract.
- Political methods also had an impact; pressure from the Congress Party led to Round Table talks that began the conversation about independence. This was a way in which to engage the British authorities and provided a structure for self-rule.
- There was some British willingness (for example, from the British prime minister Clement Atlee) to grant independence, perhaps because of the experience of the Second World War and the impact this had on British prestige and its economic status.
- Violent methods also played a role, for example Subas Chandra Bose and the INA; candidates may debate the degree of success achieved.

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20. Compare and contrast the ways in which Walesa (Poland) and Havel (Czechoslovakia) challenged Soviet control.

Candidates are required to give an account of the similarities and differences of the ways in which Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel challenged Soviet control in Poland and Czechoslovakia respectively.

Indicative content

Compare:
- Both Walesa and Havel became well known in the 1970s for their anti-government stance.
- Both of them had external support; Walesa had the Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II and Havel had links to Human Rights Watch groups in the West.
- Both were imprisoned and this limited their effectiveness, although it may have also made them more popular.
- Ultimately, both of them were assisted by the refusal of Gorbachev to support national communist parties.

Contrast:
- Walesa found support among the workers of Poland and this made it difficult for the Polish government (and the USSR) to ignore, while Havel had his support-base among the intelligentsia and was, initially, less effective.
- Walesa had a history of trade union/political activism, dating back to the strikes of 1970, whereas Havel—although he protested against the overthrow of the Prague Spring and was one of the founders of Charter 77—was essentially a playwright and essayist.
- The Polish United Workers Party began talks in 1988 with Solidarity; the Czechoslovak Communist Party did not give up control until 1989.

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21. To what extent did **either** Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam) **or** Nkrumah (Ghana) exploit dissatisfaction with colonial rule in order to secure his country's independence?

Candidates must consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that either Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam or Nkrumah in Ghana achieved their respective country's freedom by exploiting dissatisfaction with colonial rule. It would be relevant to consider other methods or strategies used that may have been more or less important, but such factors should not be the main focus.

Indicative content

Vietnam
Note: Candidates are not required to go beyond 1954 and the Geneva Agreements as this was the de facto end of French colonialism in Vietnam. The Vietnam War with the US is unlikely to be of relevance.

Dissatisfaction with colonial rule:
- Ho Chi Minh was able to build a movement that exploited dissatisfaction with colonial rule that had stretched back into the mid-19th century: there had been a reluctance to share power with the Vietnamese; 40,000 French controlled Vietnam politically, socially, culturally and administratively, and harsh measures had been taken against Vietnamese nationalists such as Phan Boi Chau.
- The Vietnamese economy had been exploited by France: Vietnamese raw materials were sent back to France for processing and manufacture – there was no development of Vietnamese manufacturing; funds were repatriated via the Bank of Indochina; there were government monopolies in alcohol, salt and opium; the French owned profitable enterprises such as luxury hotels.
- There was deep-seated poverty: the small landowners had suffered especially badly and were forced to become wage-labourers either on farms, down mines or in the city.

Other factors:
- Ho Chi Minh used a combination of nationalism and Communist ideology to rouse the population against French rule and the French-educated, Catholic elite the appeal of Communism as an anti-imperialist, more egalitarian ideology was a motivational factor;
- Exploitation of the Second World War: the French found it difficult to defend colonialism and their colonies in the post-Second World War era. Japanese occupation during the Second World War led to an increase in nationalist sentiment and the experience in guerrilla warfare that this afforded the nationalists should not be underestimated
- Exploitation of the Cold War: Soviet and Chinese assistance
- Military success: the military leadership of General Giap was beneficial to the nationalists' cause.
- Exploitation of French political and economic weakness after 1945 and their unpreparedness for a long struggle. The death of de Lattre and poor tactics at Dien Bein Phu were also crucial. The fall of Dien Bien Phu made French rule untenable

Nkrumah

Dissatisfaction with colonial rule:
- Nkrumah was a staunch opponent of colonialism; he built a movement that exploited dissatisfaction with colonial rule
- Gold Coast (later Ghana) had been under British colonial rule since 1874. It might be argued that there was less reason to be dissatisfied with colonial rule because the Gold Coast was one of the most politically advanced African countries: the vote had been gradually extended and Africans had become increasingly involved in the administration, largely thanks to the reforms of Governor Guggisberg.

- The Gold Coast had also been relatively prosperous, with its lucrative exports – gold, timber and cacao.
- But Ghanaian involvement in the Second World War had heightened expectations (further encouraged by the British promise of self-rule in 1947) and caused mounting frustration with colonial rule: hence the riots in 1948.

Other factors:
- Other factors may include: the impact of the Second World War on nationalism and calls for independence; economic factors that made independence viable; a democratic political system was already in place.
- Nkrumah's charismatic appeal and leadership; Nkrumah was well educated (he obtained three university degrees and an honorary degree from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, which lent prestige to the independence movement).
- Initially he supported a gradual movement to self-government and became a member of the United Gold Coast Convention. However, after a period of imprisonment he formed the Convention People's Party (CPP), which used civil disobedience to further its aims of immediate independence.
- Nkrumah used legal methods to come to power as Prime Minister and electors rallied to his call for independence. Nevertheless the CPP won 56 per cent of the vote in the 1956 election, enough to persuade the British to grant independence.
- Exploitation of the changes in the British political landscape (the Conservative government honoured the Labour Party's promise of self-rule) hastened the granting of independence.

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22. Examine the political **and** economic problems experienced by **one** Central/Eastern European state following the end of Soviet control.

Candidates are required to choose an appropriate state and consider the political and economic problems in that state. They may choose to compare the significance of political and economic problems or they may choose to identify various problems that stemmed from politics and/or the economy and place them in order of perceived significance. Any approach is permissible as no set answer is required.

Indicative content

Economic problems:
- The need to privatise state-owned resources and the management of this process.
- The difficulties associated with the end of price controls on basic necessities.
- The introduction of competition and free market capitalism into a planned economy and the impact this had on the distribution of wealth.
- The impact of a privatised economy on the labour market.

Political problems:
- Difficulties associated with the introduction of a pluralist system of government.
- The need to draw up a new constitution.
- The risk of former leaders continuing to wield political power under the guise of a new political party.
- The impact of economic changes upon the political system leading, perhaps, to corrupt practices.

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23. Evaluate the reasons for anti-colonial feeling in **one** African **and one** Asian country.

Candidates must select one appropriate African and one Asian country and appraise the reasons for anti-colonialism within that state. In addition to this, they are required to gauge the strength of feeling this provoked by weighing up the strengths and limitations of, for example, popular support.

Indicative content

- Ideological rejection of colonialism.
- The experience of fighting in the First World War and/or the Second World War and the expectations of self-rule that this may have aroused.
- International rejection of imperialism.
- Ill-treatment of the population by colonial authorities.
- Limited access to education or employment.
- Exploitation of resources and the failure to allow or ensure that this economic gain benefitted the population.
- Popular support for demonstrations, boycotts and strikes.
- Willingness to support guerrilla campaigns.
- Electoral support for political groups and/or leaders who espoused anti-colonialist rhetoric.

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24. Examine the problems caused by ethnic tensions in **two** post-Communist states in Central/Eastern Europe up to 2000.

Candidates are required to consider the problems caused by ethnic tensions in their two exemple states in an effort to uncover the interrelationship between the two issues. Candidates may elect to focus on, for example, the role of the Roma, who often faced great discrimination and economic hardship, the divisions between various ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia, or the difficulties faced by the Turkish population in Bulgaria.

Indicative content

- Discrimination towards ethnic minorities may have led to conflict, often violent.
- The resentment of economic support offered to ethnic groups that may have been excluded from education or equal access to employment.
- Rivalry among political parties that may have represented or opposed the rights of certain ethnicities.
- Social problems that may have arisen from shared resources such as housing.
- The involvement of external forces that may have defended the rights of ethnic groups leading to cross-border conflict.
- Challenges posed by previously dominant ethnic groups reluctant to forgo privileges.
- Issues related to the status of languages.
- Problems associated with the religious affiliations of different ethnicities.

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Topic 5   The Cold War

25. "The struggle to establish spheres of influence destroyed the wartime alliance." Discuss with reference to US–Soviet relations up to 1950.

Candidates need to consider the merits or otherwise of the argument that the efforts of the superpowers to establish spheres of influence destroyed their wartime alliance.

Indicative content

- The re-drawing of Polish borders and the occupation of Central and Eastern Europe led to fears of the expansion of the Soviet Union.
- There was also tension over the withdrawal of the Red Army from Iran and the question of who would control this oil-rich region.
- Tensions were increased by differences of opinion over the administration/future of a divided Germany up to the Berlin Blockade and its division into two states in 1949.
- The Marshall Plan accelerated the economic division of Europe and was viewed by the Soviet Union as establishing an American sphere of influence.
- The creation of Cominform and COMECON heightened feelings and increased tension.
- The US refusal to share the occupation of Japan fuelled Soviet suspicions over spheres of influence in Asia.
- The division of Korea and the failure to re-unite it through the electoral process also fuelled tension in Asia.
- Other factors that contributed to the end of the wartime alliance include: ideological differences; the US nuclear monopoly; fear of a renewed conflict; wider misunderstanding.

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26.   Evaluate the successes and failures of the US policies of containment **and** brinkmanship
          up to 1962.

          Candidates are required to make an appraisal of the US policies of containment and brinkmanship
          by weighing up the successes and failures of each in the period up to 1962. It is expected that
          candidates will reach a substantiated conclusion as to the overall level of success or failure.

          Indicative content

          Containment:
          - The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan could be seen as successful in so far as the
            expansion of Communism in Europe was "contained" but may also be considered a failure in so
            far as countries in the Eastern Bloc (Poland and Czechoslovakia) were prevented, by the Soviet
            Union, from receiving economic aid and, as a consequence, became closer to the Soviet Union.
          - The Korean War could be seen as a demonstration of US will to "contain" communism in Asia
            and the 1953 armistice demonstrated its success but it also brought the US into conflict with
            China and so expanded the Cold War into Asia.
          - In Latin America, US covert intervention in Guatemala may be seen as successful containment
            or as an unnecessary intervention that had the unintended consequence of radicalizing
            supporters of Communism such as Che Guevara.
          - The tension over Berlin in 1958 and the refusal of Eisenhower to negotiate may be seen as a
            success for containment.
          - Further, the creation of NATO in Europe, SEATO in Asia and the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO)
            in the Middle East may be seen as examples of containment.

          Brinkmanship:
          - The showdown at Checkpoint Charlie in 1961 when US and Soviet tanks confronted each other
            could be used as an example and seen as a success as it underscored the right of the Allies to
            remain in West Berlin; however as the Wall remained in place, it may be argued that success
            was limited.
          - The Cuban Missile Crisis could also be regarded as successful brinkmanship because the
            missiles were removed from Cuba, but given that NATO missiles were removed from Turkey the
            level of success may be qualified.

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          do so**.*

27. Examine the reasons for the policy of detente, **and** its impact on superpower relations, between 1969 and 1979.

Candidates are requested to consider the issue of detente in a way that uncovers the interrelationships between detente and superpower relations in the set period.

Indicative content

Reasons:
- The US wanted to achieve "peace with honour" in Vietnam and needed the acquiescence of both the Soviet Union and China in order to persuade North Vietnam to agree to a peace that would allow the US to withdraw.
- The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) systems developed by the Soviet Union were incompatible with Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and, as a consequence, an agreement was needed on the number and location of ABM sites. The spiralling cost of the arms race was also of concern to both superpowers but especially the USSR.
- Chancellor Brandt of West Germany was following a policy of Ostpolitik with the Soviet Union Poland and East Germany. The US was not party to this and feared that its influence in Europe might be reduced if there were a strategic shift in West German relations with the Eastern Bloc.
- The Sino-Soviet split offered an opportunity to improve relations with both superpowers.
- The Soviet Union was isolated from China and feared a Sino-US rapprochement that might leave it isolated.
- The Soviet Union needed access to US technology and increased trade.
- Nuclear parity made negotiations feasible as Brezhnev wished to negotiate from a "position of strength".
- Personality may have been important as both Brezhnev and Nixon desired better relations and used "back channels" to improve communication between the US and the Soviet Union.
- Different interpretations may be indicated with an argument that detente was desired by (and benefitted) the Soviet Union rather than the US.

Impact:
- Nixon visited both the Soviet Union and China in 1972 and further summits with the USSR followed.
- The Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement (SALT I) was signed and discussions for SALT 2 began after the Vladivostok Summit in 1974.
- The US was able to withdraw from Vietnam in 1973 and the war ended in 1975.
- The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) was established and the Helsinki summit led to European-wide agreements.
- The Soviet Union expanded its presence in Africa during the 1970s and this may be seen as their taking advantage of detente.
- By 1974, it may be argued that detente improved relations and was important in enabling a speedy lessening of tension between the US and the Soviet Union during the October War in 1973.
- Both the trade links made to Jewish emigration from the USSR (Jackson-Vanek Bill) and the impact of the Helsinki "human rights basket" became an aggravation, causing tension, so the impact of detente on superpower relations was not always beneficial.

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28. Examine the impact of **either** Afghanistan **or** Vietnam on the Cold War.

Candidates must make an appraisal of the impact of their chosen country on the Cold War. Answers will be supported with relevant detail and a reasoned conclusion on the overall impact is expected.

Indicative content

Afghanistan
- SALT II was not ratified by the US Congress, worsening relations with USSR.
- Detente was destroyed by this, with Carter describing the invasion as "the worst crisis since the Second World War".
- During the 1980s the cost of the war in Afghanistan damaged an already weak Soviet economy making it less able to keep up with US defence spending.
- The US supported the Mujahedeen, taking this opportunity to further weaken the USSR, which was already significantly weakened by events in Afghanistan.
- Afghanistan played a role in ending the Cold War as Gorbachev required US support to enable a withdrawal of Soviet troops and his doing so was taken as a gesture of good faith by the US.

Vietnam
- In the 1950s, the US was already taking over the mantle of France in Vietnam, extending its sphere of influence in Southeast Asia.
- The Vietnam War worsened relations between the US and USSR with each supporting their own client state.
- One reason for detente was the US desire to withdraw from Vietnam.
- The Nixon Doctrine stated a desire by the US to refrain from further direct involvement in Cold War conflicts.
- The Vietnam War weakened the position of the US in relation to its European allies that now viewed the US in a more critical light. Despite being asked for their assistance, NATO allies refused to send troops to assist the US in Vietnam.
- The "Vietnam Syndrome" affected US policy-making after 1973, making it reluctant to repeat its commitment to military involvement in conflicts.
- Vietnam joined COMECON in 1978 and, in 1979, China invaded Vietnam in 1979 "to teach it a lesson" for having invaded Kampuchea. This sequence of events demonstrated that Vietnam was an ally of the USSR, rather than China and this impacted Sino-Soviet relations.

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29. Evaluate the economic impact of the Cold War on **two** states, each from a different region.

Candidates are required to consider the impact of the Cold War upon the economy of two applicable states each of which must be from a different region.

Indicative content

- One of the major economic factors could be the cost of being part of an alliance and having to contribute arms and troops.
- The limitations that might be placed on, for example, trade agreements because a state was a client state of a superpower may have had economic ramifications.
- The availability of loans or grants may also have been affected by the nature of the state's relationship with the superpower, for example if a state was part of a sphere of influence.
- Proxy wars may have had an economic impact and it may have been devastating for some states but beneficial to another (such as the impact of the Korean War on the Japanese economy).

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30. Evaluate the role of Gorbachev in ending the Cold War.

Candidates are required to consider Gorbachev as a key figure in the ending of the Cold War. They may focus exclusively on what Gorbachev did, or did not, do or they may seek to contextualize his impact by looking at one or more other factors. No set answer is required.

Indicative content

- Gorbachev's internal policies (glasnost and perestroika) could be seen as instrumental given their impact on weakening Soviet control over Central and Eastern Europe and causing the break-up of the USSR.
- His willingness to attend summits and to discuss issues of disarmament could be seen as evidence of a more proactive approach to relations with the West.
- Gorbachev's rescinding of the Brezhnev Doctrine can be seen as crucial.
- The fall of the Berlin Wall ended a fundamental cause of the Cold War (the division of Germany), and was largely brought over by Gorbachev's withdrawal of military support of East Germany.
- Nevertheless, other factors could also be regarded as important, or perhaps pivotal, for example the role played by Reagan in encouraging independence movements in the Eastern Bloc and his determination to outspend the USSR in arms.
- The Soviet-Afghan War significantly depleted the Soviet economy.
- Economic factors, which undermined Communist governments, gave an impetus to independence movements.

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