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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.   To what extent were territorial changes a significant consequence of 20th century wars?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that territorial change was a significant outcome of 20th-century wars. Other consequences of 20th-century wars may also be dealt with in order to provide context or to gauge the significance of territorial changes; however the focus of the response must be on the significance of the named factor.

Indicative content

- Territorial changes, including the loss of the Polish Corridor and colonies, embittered Germany. Demilitarisation of the Rhineland may be used as an example, although candidates should be aware that territory was not lost. New countries, such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia, were created from the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire and these needed to establish new governments and economic viability.
- It may be argued that new countries in Central and Eastern Europe were weak and vulnerable, thus making German and Russian expansion easier.
- Territorial changes may have increased border tensions. In some cases these changes made groups, such as Sudeten Germans, ethnic minorities.
- Italian dissatisfaction with the territorial settlement (they had expected to gain more of Dalmatia) was also destabilizing. There may be comment on Russian losses of Poland and the Baltic states.
- After the First World War tensions in the Middle East over borders and the immigration of European Jews were an additional cause for dissent and disharmony.
- In the case of the Second World War the most significant territorial change in Europe was the movement of Polish borders to the west, which involved the dislocation of millions of Poles, Ukrainians and Belarussians from the east and Germans from the west.
- Other issues may include economic factors and candidates may, for example, point to the war guilt clause in the Versailles treaty. Alternatively, ethnic cleansing—both during and immediately after the Second World War—may be analysed.
- Further, there may be comment on the emergence of a peaceful, democratic Japan or the implications of the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.
- Other wars which may be chosen may include the Six Day War (the territorial impact of which was profound), the Korean War (which saw no overall territorial change) or the Vietnam War (which resulted in reunification of a country).

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3.   Discuss the significance of air **and** sea power in determining the outcome of **one** 20th century war.

Candidates must offer a considered review of the extent to which air and sea power—either independently or jointly—determined the outcome of one 20th century war. Candidates do not have to give both types of power equal coverage in their responses; however there should be a conclusion that is presented clearly and supported by appropriate evidence. It is likely that many candidates will opt for the Second World War and so that has been used as the example below; however, accept all relevant wars.

Indicative content

Second World War:
- Several countries in different theatres of the war may be used to address this prompt. The Battle of Britain in 1940, the saturation bombing of Germany by the Allies, the bombing of Japan by the US and the eventual dropping of the atomic bombs are likely to be included in the discussion of air power. The success of the Royal Air Force (RAF) and the failure of the Luftwaffe in the Battle of Britain prevented the land invasion of Great Britain, and this put Germany in a two-front war with the invasion of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Britain would serve as a starting point for the US-led attack on D-Day.
- The bombing of Germany and Japan destroyed their capabilities for producing war materials, and this contributed to the shortening of the war. The atomic bombs helped lead to Japan's surrender.
- Candidates may also discuss the air and sea power of the Japanese in regards to the attack on Pearl Harbor that led to US entry into the war. The importance of US air and sea power in the Battle of Midway could be included.
- The sea power of Great Britain and eventually the US in controlling the Atlantic and providing men and materials to the Allied cause could be discussed.
- Some candidates may also incorporate the declining air and sea power of the Axis nations as reasons for their loss.

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4. To what extent did the Nationalists' failure to resolve economic crises contribute to their defeat in the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949)?

Candidates must consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that the Nationalists' defeat in the Chinese Civil War between 1946 and 1949 was linked to their failure to resolve economic crises. Other contributory factors are likely to be discussed; however, while a reasoned conclusion is expected, there is no set response to this question.

Indicative content

- One of the major economic crises to occur was land reform, which the Nationalists were unable to solve, and the Communists seemed ready to resolve by redistributing land.
- Nationalist government forces were accused of stealing from the peasants and Nationalist business leaders took control of banks and businesses.
- Another of the economic crises that may be considered could be income disparity within China and hyperinflation at the end of the civil war.
- Other causes that contributed to the Nationalist defeat could include the leadership of Mao, the seizing of Japanese weapons at the end of the war, the weakening of the Guomindang, GMD (Kuomintang, KMT) by the Japanese, the backing of the Soviet Union, the treatment of the peasants by the Communists, the "rotting from within" of the GMD (KMT), and the withdrawal of American support.

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5. "The causes of the Gulf War (1991) were mainly economic." Discuss.

Candidates are required to review the suggestion that the main causes of the war against Iraq by US-led coalition forces were economic. Other factors are likely to be discussed; however the emphasis of the response must be on the importance of the economic factors.

Note: Candidates may include some background as to the reasons for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, but the date of 1991 indicates that the question is concerned with the war to remove Iraq from Kuwait.

Indicative content

- Candidates may argue that the war was fought for economic reasons based on the importance of oil to the West. Iraq's domination of Kuwait, and a possible attack on Saudi Arabia, would give Iraq immense control over oil production and prices.
- Furthermore, candidates may choose to utilise this material to extend their discussion (or offer an alternative view) by examining the political impact of these events, for example, the war could be perceived as an attack on the territorial integrity of Kuwait and may have increased fears of an attack on Saudi Arabia.
- UN resolution 678, which was passed in November 1990, called for Iraq to leave Kuwait by mid-January 1991. Saddam Hussein refused. Candidates might argue that this refusal threatened the integrity of the United Nations.
- Human rights abuses and the possession of biological and chemical weapons by Iraq could also be considered as causes.
- Some candidates may include the US dislike for Iraq due to its ties to the Soviet Union during the Cold War and its support of Palestinian terrorism against Israel.

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6. With reference to **two** countries, each from a different region, examine the social impact of war during the second half of the 20th century.

Candidates must consider the social impact of war on two states, each drawn from a different region. While many candidates may choose to compare the social impact of war on each state in their response there is no prescribed answer.

Indicative content

- The question allows for any war or wars in the second half of the 20th century to be used; the war(s) chosen could be civil wars, guerrilla wars, decolonization wars or regional wars.
- Popular choices may be Korea, Vietnam, the Algerian War, the Arab-Israeli Wars, Afghanistan (for the Soviet Union), the Falklands/Malvinas War, the Gulf War (1991).
- The extent of the social impact will vary depending on which war is chosen; however, expect detailed knowledge of changes in both of the countries involved.
- Some commonalities might be upheaval in society or, for particular ethnic groups, division of society for and against the war, the impact on women, education and civil rights and increased nationalism, patriotism or perhaps even cynicism.

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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 KwaZulu-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. With reference to **two** 20th century democratic states, each from a different region, evaluate how effectively coalition governments addressed domestic issues.

Candidates are required to appraise the strengths and limitations of the response of coalition government to domestic issues in two states. Candidates may elect to compare and contrast their chosen coalitions/states; however there is no prescribed method of response.

Indicative content

- There are a multitude of states from all regions that had coalition governments in the 20th century so there will be a wide range of possible countries, for example, Weimar Germany or Israel.
- Many candidates may be able, and may elect to, discuss their own country alongside one other in their responses to this question.
- Answers will vary depending on the countries chosen, but expect detailed knowledge of the coalition governments and their success or failure in dealing with particular issues.
- Domestic issues could be economic, for example inflation, they could be political, for example the issue of stability, and/or they could be social, for example the gulf between rich and poor and/or ethnic divisions.

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9. With reference to **either** France under de Gaulle (1959–1969) **or** Argentina under Alfonsin and Menem (1983–1995), to what extent did the country experience economic success but political failure?

Candidates are required to consider the merits, or otherwise, of the suggestion that either de Gaulle or Alfonsin and Menem provided their countries with economic success but in a regime of political difficulty and/or failure. Candidates may attempt to compare economic issues against political issues and argue that one superseded the other (or, in the case of Alfonsin and Menem, candidates may suggest that, overall, one leader was more successful than the other); however no set answer is prescribed.

Indicative content

France:
- De Gaulle was elected president of France in 1958 and re-elected in 1965. During his presidency, France experienced economic growth (GDP overtook that of the United Kingdom) and an increased standard of living.
- The Common Market became stronger and aided French economic growth and exports. This economic success was achieved through a mixture of capitalism and government control through successive five year plans and prestige projects such as the autoroutes and Concorde.
- In 1968, labour strikes across the country, which demanded higher wages and greater participation in government, led to de Gaulle's resignation in 1969. While Gaullism remained strong, de Gaulle himself was unpopular: he was perceived as being out of touch, too militaristic, too focused on foreign affairs and, arguably, too old.

Argentina:
- Alfonsin was the democratically elected president of Argentina from 1983 until 1989. He attempted several changes in the Argentine economy, including major budget cutbacks, getting the British sanctions lifted and freezing prices under the Austral Plan; however, ultimately he was unable to end the hyperinflation and recession that plagued Argentina.
- Assessment of Alfonsin's political record may focus on his relationship with the military and his attempts to deal with the aftermath of the "Dirty War"; dealings with the trade union movement may also come under scrutiny.
- Menem was elected in 1989 and was much more successful economically. He increased GDP by 35 per cent between 1990 and 1994. However, the "dollar peg" proved to be a mixed blessing, as economic problems escalated towards the end of his presidency.
- Analysis of his political legacy may include his liberalization of the constitution and the reduction in the role of the military in national affairs, although at the cost of a controversial pardon of former leaders of the military dictatorship.

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10. Evaluate the impact of Johnson's (1963–1969) social welfare legislation in the United States.

Candidates are required to appraise the effects in the United States of President Johnson's programme of social welfare legislation. Candidates may elect to separate those areas that were more successful and those that were less successful, or they may make judgments on individual issues. While no set answer is expected, a reasoned conclusion is expected.

Indicative content

- Upon election to the presidency and gaining huge Democratic victories in Congress, Johnson pushed his Great Society programme through Congress.
- In 1964, during Johnson's first year in office, he secured two major legislative successes. The first was the Civil Rights Act, which banned discrimination whilst the second was the Economic Opportunity Act. This latter act established the Job Corps, Head Start and VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), which were three programmes designed to, amongst other things, improve young people's opportunities and to fight poverty.
- Candidates are likely to discuss Johnson's War on Poverty and many of the programmes Congress established.
- Those programs could include Medicare, Medicaid, the Housing and Urban Development Act, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Voting Rights Act, all of which came into force in 1965.
- Evaluation is likely to focus on the effectiveness of these measures in allowing access to medical services, alleviating poverty, improving educational opportunity, tackling unemployment and promoting civil rights.

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11. Evaluate the challenges presented by ethnicity and religion in **one** democratic state in the 20th century.

Focusing on one democratic state, candidates are required to appraise the challenges caused by ethnic and religious differences in that state. Ethnicity and religion may be discussed collectively or separately and some candidates may choose to compare the significance of each as challenges to the chosen state. There is no prescribed answer; however a reasoned conclusion is expected.

Indicative content

- Popular choices may be India, the United States, Israel or the United Kingdom, but any democratic state of the 20th century is acceptable.
- The challenges will vary depending on the selected state, as will the ethnic and religious differences; however candidates should provide detailed explanation of the differences and the challenges.
- Some common political challenges could be voting rights, candidacy and representation.
- Economic challenges could be income, housing, employment opportunities and education.
- In some cases, challenges could exist because of *de jure* or *de facto* segregation and candidates may wish to use this as a part of their discussion.
- The challenges for the democratic state could be unity or division, public disturbances, economic growth, unrealized economic opportunity and/or judicial and political (in)equality.

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12. Compare and contrast the impact of pressure (interest/lobby) groups in **two** 20th century democratic states.

Candidates are required to give an account of the similarities and differences in relation to the impact of pressure groups in two 20th century democratic states. A reasoned conclusion is expected. There is no regional requirement for this question.

Indicative content

- The United States, Canada and Western European countries could be popular choices, but any two 20th century democratic states in which pressure groups exist would be acceptable.
- The impact of the pressure groups will vary depending on the countries chosen for comparison, but expect knowledge of both.
- Pressure groups could be business, labour, environmental, political or single issue groups.
- Common themes might be recruiting members, influencing legislation and regulations at various levels of government, media campaigns to influence public opinion, financial contributions to state and national campaigns and motivating members to vote for supportive candidates.

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

13. Examine the reasons for, and the extent of, support for Hitler up to the end of January 1933.

Candidates must address both parts of the question. They should consider why some people supported Hitler, and they should also gauge the strength of this support, in terms of the overall level of popular support, the support of sections within society—be they social, religious or gender-based groups—and, in some cases, perhaps even the intensity of individual support. There are many and varied reasons why people supported Hitler and a selective approach would be justified.

Indicative content

Reasons:
- The rise in support for Nazism after 1928 suggests that economic depression, and increasing unemployment was a major factor in boosting Nazi support, especially in the face of growing discontent with Weimar democracy.
- The National Socialists (NSDAP/Nazi Party) were the only untried party, and they seemed especially dynamic under Adolf Hitler, with his effective oratory.
- Nazi leaders attacked the Treaty of Versailles and the "November criminals", promised to reduce unemployment and emphasized the threat from Bolshevism.
- The Nazis were well organized, with a sophisticated regional structure and their paramilitary wing, the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) took on their rivals, and gave the impression of a powerful movement.
- Candidates may comment that the Nazis capitalized on the failures of successive governments to tackle the economic crisis of 1929 to 1933, and their repeated use of emergency powers.
- The Nazis did not make much use of anti-Semitism as a campaign tactic.

Extent:
- Hitler appealed to a broad section of the German public, including industrial workers, farmers, small business owners and professions such as teachers and lawyers. Numerically, the largest single supporting group was industrial workers, but Hitler was disproportionately less successful with them, because the Socialists (SPD) and Communists (KPD) retained their appeal.
- The Nazis were stronger in the Protestant north than the Catholic south; they appealed successfully to women and the older generation; they were stronger in the countryside than towns and cities.
- Big business was slow to support Hitler, but their role in the final months before Hitler took power was important; they began to donate substantial sums to the Nazis and it was business and financial leaders who helped to bring Hindenburg and Hitler together in January 1933.

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14. With reference to **two** single-party/authoritarian leaders, each from a different region, evaluate how successfully they established totalitarian control.

Candidates are required to appraise the degree to which totalitarian control was achieved by two single-party/authoritarian leaders. While there is no prescribed approach, it is likely that similarities and differences will be identified and a judgment made. The chosen leaders must be from different regions.

Indicative content

- There could be discussion on whether or not there were any institutional checks on the leader's power, or if there was a representative assembly that needed to be brought under control. Whether or not the leader was head of state may have had a bearing, as may the situation with the army and security forces and the extent of control the leader had over them.
- More broadly, there could be references to whether freedom of speech existed, or to the level of control exerted upon the media, culture and education.
- The existence and strength of opposition parties or independent trade unions may be a valid area for discussion as could the extent of the power and role of the security forces.
- In terms of the structure of the state, candidates may refer to the legal system and discuss the extent to which it supported totalitarianism, or if the judiciary enjoyed any independence.
- The strength of the economy and the question of how far it was controlled from the centre may be discussed.
- Furthermore, the existence of religious groups may be gauged to be significant, especially if they were perceived as a threat and had their independence undermined.

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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. Opinions and conclusions should be presented clearly and supported with appropriate evidence and sound argument.

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, 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. Evaluate the methods used by **either** Mao **or** Castro to establish his regime.

Candidates are required to appraise the methods used by Mao or Castro to establish their regimes. Responses are likely to fall into two categories: firstly, those responses that reflect on how the chosen leader rose to power and then consolidated their position and, secondly, those responses that use the assumption of power as a starting point and then go on to reflect on the different ways in which power was consolidated from then on. Within these two categories there are likely to be several variations and, whilst there is no set response, responses must include some evidence from the period following the ruler's assumption of power.

Indicative content

Mao:
- Candidates may refer to the methods used to achieve success in the Civil War (1946–1949) and to build support between 1935 and 1945, including the response to both the Japanese invasion in 1937 and to land reform.
- In the early years, successful economic policies encouraged economic recovery and the conquest of inflation.
- A huge propaganda machine promoted the Mao cult and successive mass mobilization campaigns, such as the Three and Five Antis campaigns.
- There was control over religion (regulated by the Bureau of Religious Affairs), youth movements (such as the Youth League and the Young Pioneers), education and the media.
- New governmental structures were established by the administrative reform of 1954.
- The military campaign in Tibet may be referred to.
- Mass mobilization was accompanied by violence: up to two million landowners died, the suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries and anti-Rightist Campaigns took place in an atmosphere of brutality, there was use of the *laogai* and the dissenters were treated harshly.
- There was also the purging of opponents within the leadership, such as Gao Gang (Kao Kang), Rao Shushi (Jao Shu-shih) and Peng Dehuai (Peng Te-huai).

Castro:
- Candidates may refer to the methods used to achieve success against Batista, including military actions and propaganda.
- Urban and rural land reform took place and this immediately created a proletarian class that was loyal to Castro.
- Castro was a great orator and used the media to establish his personal connection with the Cuban people.
- There was coordination of the army, the ruling communist party, the students' union, youth movements and trade unions.
- Religious colleges were closed.
- Mass organizations were established, most notably the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (*Comités de Defensa de la Revolución* or CDRs), the Workers' Central Union of Cuba (*Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba* or CTC), the Federation of Cuban Women (*Federación de Mujeres Cubanas* or FMC), and the National Association of Small Farmers (*Asociación Nacional de Agricultores Pequeños* or ANAP).
- The media was controlled (both television and the press – note the use of the party newspaper *Granma*).
- There may be reference to the nationalization of foreign-owned businesses and/or to social policies such as literacy campaigns.
- The use of labour camps, forced conscription and harsh penal regimes. Show trials and executions may also be referred to.

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17. Examine the impact of Stalin on education in the Soviet Union.

Candidates are required to appraise the impact that Stalin had on education within the Soviet Union during his regime. There may be analysis of primary, secondary and/or tertiary education and candidates may show an understanding of educational practice, and the ideological framework within which it operated. While no set answer is prescribed, a reasoned conclusion is expected.

Indicative content

- Stalin did not continue Lenin's extreme radicalism which had challenged formal education, favouring controversial new concepts which aimed to focus education on the five year plans, combine academic and physical education and reduce the emphasis on formal qualifications.
- Stalin's policy of creating a proletarian intelligentsia, achieved partly by discriminating against bourgeois entry into higher education, widened access significantly (although the policy had to be watered down after 1930 as it had soon become clear that insufficient qualified technicians to support industrialization were being produced). There may be discussion of the impact of elite schools, such as Moscow's School No. 25.
- The Stalinist curriculum was technology based, but also included history. There may be commentary on the ideological pressure on teachers to conform.
- Not only was access widened, but there were increased years of schooling and much-improved literacy and numeracy levels.
- There may be discussion on the impact of war in 1940. This brought increased emphasis on military training and foreign languages; however, schooling was disrupted by pupils taking conscripts' positions in the workplace. School enrolment was 25 per cent less after the war.
- There could also be discussion of ideological training outside school—through youth organizations such as Komsomol—and its impact on education.

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18. "Authoritarian regimes encouraged women to work but did not give them equal status with men." Discuss with reference to **two** authoritarian regimes.

Responses must demonstrate a considered and balanced review of the statement. Candidates may argue that the statement is correct, partially correct or largely incorrect and much will depend on their chosen regime. As such, no set answer is expected; nevertheless a supported conclusion is expected. There is no regional requirement for this question.

Indicative content

- When assessing the impact of policies intended to get women into work, candidates may look at the numbers of women in employment and also at the type of work in which they were engaged. They should show awareness of the employment of women before and after the authoritarian rulers had been in office. There may also be a commentary on how changes occurred over time.
- There may be comment on the means whereby women were encouraged into the workplace, perhaps by improved childcare facilities.
- The impact of such policies may be weighed against the impact of other policies towards women, the aims of which may include the right of women to divorce and abortion, women's rights within marriage, equal access to education, equality of opportunity within the workplace and/or participation in politics and public life. There may also be discussion of the role of women's organizations, their aims and achievements.
- In many countries, progress on women's status foundered. Sometimes this was because of male prejudice and stereotypical behaviour and at other times because other policies took priority.

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

19. With reference to Africa **and** Asia, discuss the importance of political ideology in the development of two nationalist/independence movements.

Candidates are required to offer a considered and balanced review of the importance of political ideology to the development of the two chosen movements. Candidates may choose to compare the extent to which political ideology was important to their chosen movements or they may examine the importance of political ideology as a concept across both examples and gauge this against other factors. While no set answer is required, the focus of the response must be weighted towards political ideology.

Indicative content

- In terms of political ideology, candidates may consider whether or not there was a unifying ideology of the nationalist/independence movements, or if the desire for independence was the only unifying factor. There could also be discussion of the background of the leaders. Did they, for example, have a history of adhering to a particular ideology, and/or did they espouse ideological commitments in their stated aims (in speeches or manifestos) during their struggle for independence?
- Other relevant factors that encouraged nationalist/independence movements could also be discussed and their importance weighed against political ideology. These might include the impact of the First or Second World Wars and/or the oppression of a colonial power.
- It may also be argued that, in some cases, divisions over ideology were played down during independence struggles.

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20. To what extent did the First World War contribute to the growth of the Indian independence movement?

Candidates are required to consider the merits of the suggestion that the First World War played a role in developing the Indian independence movement. Candidates may choose to weigh the First World War against other factors or they may choose to contextualize the First World War in terms of the Indian independence movement and focus on how the war defined the movement (if at all). No set answer is required.

Indicative content

- The strength of the independence movement in 1914 may be commented upon. Congress was moderate in approach as was the fledgling All-India Muslim League.
- The War seemed to galvanize the nationalist movement; the Muslim League and Congress forged the Lucknow Pact (1916) to further the cause of self-government.
- Indian leaders encouraged their countrymen to fight for the Allied cause, and over a million and a half volunteered; the Indian government and the princes sent food, money and ammunition. Allied rhetoric of democracy and self-determination helped to fan expectations. The limited nature of British-led reforms disappointed many Indians.
- The War left India in near-bankruptcy: inflation, heavy taxation, disrupted trade and then the Spanish flu epidemic heightened the suffering.
- The Government of India Act (1919) introduced a system of "diarchy" whereby the British retained control over law and order, taxation and finance, but any positive impact was undermined by the Rowlatt Acts (also 1919), which authorized the suspension of a wide range of civil liberties, including habeas corpus. Widespread discontent included the protest in Amritsar that led to the Massacre in the Jalianwallah Bagh garden.
- After the war, new leaders quickly emerged. The influence of Gandhi was transformative, as support for the nationalist movement spread beyond a narrow social elite to include support from the masses of Indians. The scale of disorder, inspired, under Gandhi's influence, by Congress's decision to endorse Satyagraha, was on a scale hitherto unseen. It was not until 1929, however, that Congress endorsed the aim of complete separation from the United Kingdom.

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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, which 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. Evaluate the methods used to achieve independence from Soviet control in **one** Central/Eastern European state.

Candidates are required to appraise a range of methods by which their chosen state sought to attain independence. Any relevant state may be selected; however, likely choices could be Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland or Hungary.

Indicative content

- In Hungary, focus is likely to be on the reforms of the ruling communist party (which included freedom of the press and assembly and constitutional and electoral reform), following the failure of the New Economic Mechanism and the fall of Kadar in 1988. The rehabilitation of Imre Nagy was highly symbolic. The end of Soviet-backed communist rule was secretly negotiated over the summer and autumn of 1989 between the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the opposition "Round Table", which included a wide range of emergent and relatively weak opposition parties. In October 1989 the Hungarian Parliament agreed to introduce multi-party elections, which were held in May 1990.
- In Czechoslovakia, the first opposition group, which was effectively marshalled by the secret police, took its name from Charter 77, which criticized the Czech government's failure to honour human and civil rights obligations. Popular demonstrations started with the Candle demonstration in Bratislava in March 1988, with further rallies in Prague during 1988 and 1989. The student-led "Velvet Revolution" started in Bratislava on 16 November 1989, spreading to Prague the following day (where the police reaction was violent). Opposition groups, which included the intellectual community, now coalesced under the umbrella of Civic Forum, led by Vaclav Havel, and its Slovak counterpart, Public Against Violence. Faced with overwhelming public rejection (the level of protest mounted rapidly, culminating in an 800,000-strong protest in Prague on November 26 and a general strike the day after) and the absence of Soviet protection, the Communist government collapsed. Havel became President of a coalition government and the first democratic elections were held in May 1990.
- In the case of Poland, there had been a long history of anti-communist resistance dating back to the years immediately after the Second World War, and included protests in 1956 and 1968. Candidates may focus on the role of Solidarity, the trade union movement founded in 1980 that was led by the charismatic Lech Walesa. Change was delayed by the imposition of martial law in 1981, but reform became even more urgent with the arrival of Gorbachev into the Kremlin in 1984. Solidarity played a crucial role in Round Table talks in 1989 that resulted in radical restructuring of the political system. Solidarity's huge success in the elections in June 1989, followed by Jaruzelski's dismal showing in the subsequent presidential election, followed by his resignation, saw the end of Communist rule.
- Pressure for change in East Germany came from mass emigration, first to Hungary, from August 1989 and then to Czechoslovakia and West Germany. Mass demonstrations leading up to, and during the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the East German state placed intolerable pressure on the regime, and in October Erich Honecker was ousted. Shortly after, the fall of the Berlin Wall, signaled the end of the Communist regime.

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23. To what extent did the absence of strong leadership contribute to the dissolution of Yugoslavia?

Candidates are required to consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that the dissolution of Yugoslavia was partly caused by limited strong leadership. While emphasis should be on this factor, candidates may argue that other factors were equally or more significant.

Indicative content

- Under Tito the army and security forces were all-powerful, while central government, represented by collective presidencies of the constituent republics, was kept deliberately weak in order to protect Tito's personal power. But the regime was not particularly oppressive, except in the immediate aftermath of war, when opponents of the partisans and alleged collaborators were ruthlessly culled.
- There is likely to be discussion of the role of Milosevic, the Serb leader, in the events leading to dissolution, in particular his championing of the cause of the Kosovan Serb minority; however the roles of the leaders of other Yugoslav republics in resisting the perceived Serbian threat to their autonomy may also come under scrutiny, for example Kucan of Slovenia and the Croat leader Tudjman.
- It may be argued that while Tito was unassailable, the seeds of dissolution were sown during his rule.
- The 1974 constitution turned Yugoslavia into a confederation and the leaderships of the republics resisted further integration, especially in Croatia.
- "Brotherhood and unity" propaganda and national sports teams fostered some limited loyalty to Yugoslavia. But, while a common school system was created, in most other respects there was little attempt to combat nationalism: there was no cross-national university and students rarely studied (and teachers rarely taught) material from outside their republics. The focus of culture and the media was increasingly nationalist, rather than Yugoslav.
- Other factors that may be analysed include ethnic tensions, particularly the issue of the Kosovan Serbs, which triggered the dissolution crisis, the role of the Croat Serbs who temporarily seceded, and the long-term failure of the Yugoslav economy, which weakened loyalty to the federation.

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24. "Political repression and economic failure led to the growth of movements challenging Soviet control in Eastern European states." Discuss.

Responses must provide a considered and balanced review of the impact of political repression and economic failure on the growth of movements challenging Soviet control in their chosen states. Candidates may choose to compare the impact of the two named factors or they may focus on these collectively and compare them to a range of other factors. No set answer is required.

Indicative content

- Any post-1945 movements in Eastern European states are acceptable.
- Candidates may connect uprisings in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 to repression and economic hardships.
- Candidates may also include the growth of movements like Solidarity and the Velvet Revolution to the relaxation of political repression and Gorbachev's reforms of glasnost, perestroika and the "Sinatra Doctrine".

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Topic 5   The Cold War

25. To what extent did mutual fear and suspicion contribute to the development of the Cold War between 1945 and 1949?

The question requires that candidates consider the merits or otherwise of the suggestion that mutual fear and suspicion played a contributory role in the early development of the Cold War. Candidates may argue that other factors were less, equally or more important than; however the emphasis of the response should be on the named factor and a clear conclusion is expected.

Indicative content

- Candidates may explore the reasons why there may have been fear and suspicion of the USSR, for example the dominant position of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe, Soviet manipulation of the politics of Eastern European countries ("salami" tactics in apparent contravention of the promises made a Yalta), the Berlin Blockade, and the danger of communism spreading in Western European countries, particularly Italy and France.
- There may be examination of the reasons why there may have been fear and suspicion of the West, such as the ending of Lend-lease, the American nuclear advantage, the alleged "dollar imperialism" of the Marshall Plan, Churchill's Fulton speech and the formation of NATO.
- Other factors for comparison could include ideology, differences over the future of Germany and the role of personality.

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26. With reference to the period from 1953 to 1991, evaluate the impact of Germany on the Cold War.

Candidates are required to focus on events in Germany during the given period and appraise how they affected the Cold War. There may be some discussion of the impact of other regions for the purpose of comparison; however Germany must remain the focus of the response. The dates of 1953 and 1991 are significant and candidates should indicate events in those years, as well as other events within that time period.

Indicative content

- The uprisings in East Germany in 1953 and their subsequent suppression by Soviet and East German forces increased tension between the US and the USSR.
- West German admission into NATO resulted in the formation of the Warsaw Pact.
- Candidates are likely to discuss the issue of German reunification discussed at summit meetings held between the US and the USSR in the 1950s and early 1960s. Agreements could not be reached, creating an impasse and an eventual ultimatum from Khrushchev in 1958 demanding that the Western powers leave Berlin, and then in the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Tension over Germany, especially Berlin and the Wall, continued throughout the 1960s.
- Candidates may discuss Willy Brandt's policy of Ostpolitik and its impact on detente.
- Candidates might also include Reagan's speech at the Berlin Wall, the fall of the Wall in November 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1991 as signalling an end to the Cold War.
- Certainly other areas of the world had importance during the Cold War, but Germany, and Berlin specifically, was a constant source of tension between the two superpowers.

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27. Examine the reasons for changes in Sino-Soviet relations between 1956 and 1976.

Candidates are required to consider the rationale or motives for changes, good or bad, in Soviet-Chinese relations during the specified time period. There could be some attempt to rank these and offer a judgment on those that are more or less significant; however there is no set method of response.

Indicative content

- Candidates could include the emergence of Khrushchev as leader of the Soviet Union and his de-Stalinization speech in 1956, which distanced himself from Mao.
- Differences between the Chinese and the Soviet Union about how to interact with the West; the USSR favoured peaceful coexistence, while China did not.
- The lack of Soviet support in China's quest to gain Taiwan, and Soviet reluctance to help China with its nuclear weapon programme.
- China's Great Leap Forward.
- The Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Competition for influence in countries that defined themselves as being of the "third world" (being part of neither the capitalist world nor the communist world).
- Border disputes ending in armed clashes in 1969.
- Detente between the US and China, and the US and the USSR.
- Mao's death in 1976.

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28. To what extent did arms limitation treaties between the United States and the Soviet Union improve relations during the period from 1969 to 1991?

Candidates are required to consider the merits of the suggestion that arms limitations talks and treaties between the rival superpowers may have improved their relations during the given period. Other factors may be discussed, but the emphasis should remain on the named factor and a reasoned conclusion should be reached.

Indicative content

- Candidates are likely to discuss the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I and SALT II), Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). They should show specific knowledge of the terms of each agreement and offer some discussion of the impact of each.
- SALT I began in 1969 under the Nixon administration and by 1972 an agreement was reached that limited the amount of nuclear weapons that each nation possessed. This also led to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABMT). These agreements were approved by both countries.
- SALT II discussions began in 1972 under Nixon, continued through Ford and were concluded under Carter in 1979. The agreement banned new missile programs and limited the Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs) of each country. After the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan, the agreement was not approved by the US, although both nations followed the terms of the agreement.
- INF talks were begun in 1986. Agreement was reached and the treaty was signed in 1987. For the first time, each nation agreed to reduce the size of their nuclear arsenal.
- START talks began during the Reagan administration and final agreements were approved in 1991 under Bush. Each nation agreed to reduce the amount of long range intercontinental nuclear weapons they possessed.
- SALT I occurred during the détente of the Nixon administration. SALT II started during the same easing of tensions between the superpowers, but was concluded as détente ended. INF and START talks began as détente was re-emerging and is often seen as the beginning of the end of the Cold War.

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29. Examine the economic and cultural impact of the Cold War on **one** state.

Candidates are required to make an appraisal of the impact of the Cold War upon the economy and culture of an applicable state by weighing up the positive and negative effect of the Cold War.

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).
- Culturally, the spread of propaganda promoting the ideology of one superpower or the other may have been pervasive.
- Cold War themes, such as espionage, may have infiltrated literature, television and film.
- There may have been an ideological impact on education in one or both of the chosen countries.
- The Cold War may have had an impact on the cross cultural links between communist and non-communist states.

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30. "Reagan and Gorbachev made an equal contribution to the end of the Cold War." Discuss.

Candidates are required to offer a considered and balanced review of the statement. They will need to discuss the contributions of both leaders in ending the Cold War and may argue that either one or the other leader was more responsible for ending the Cold War. In either case, a substantiated judgment should be expected.

Indicative content

Gorbachev:
- Gorbachev's willingness to open a dialogue with the US in order to address arms reduction.
- The many summits that he attended to discuss policy with Reagan and Bush.
- The appeal of "glasnost" outside of the USSR and the impact this had upon reform movements.
- His abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine.
- His willingness to end the war in Afghanistan.

Reagan:
- His increasing of the defence budget of the US to place pressure on the USSR.
- The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) that was used to encourage the USSR to agree to arms talks.
- The "hard-line" approach that gave the impression that the US was the stronger superpower.
- The support offered by the US to reform movements in the Eastern Bloc (a policy inherited by Bush).

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