



MARKSCHEME

May 2011

HISTORY

ROUTE 2

Higher Level and Standard Level

Paper 2

19 pages

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

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

Topic 1 Causes, practices and effects of wars

1. Compare and contrast the causes and results of the Iran–Iraq war (1980–1988) and the Falklands/Malvinas war (1982).

For “compare”

- Both wars had roots in long-standing antagonism;
- Both wars had territorial and economic causes;
- The war(s) did not resolve the hostility between the combatants;
- Both wars were localized geographically and limited to two combatants;
- The political impact of both wars was significant in the combatant nations;
- Both had implications for the Cold War.

For “contrast”

- The Iran–Iraq war was much longer and involved more casualties;
- Religion was a factor in the Iran–Iraq war but not in the Falklands/Malvinas war;
- The Iran–Iraq war changed the balance of power in the region;
- The Iran–Iraq war led to further conflict as Iraq invaded Kuwait to solve its problems from the war;
- The Malvinas war led to the fall of the military junta, but the Iran Iraq war left both governments in place.

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

2. To what extent did nationalism contribute to the origins of both the First World War (1914–1918) and the Second World War (1939–1945)?

Answers to this question should focus on the contribution of nationalism to the two world wars, thus it might be considered as a long-term and/or a short-term cause of the conflicts. Nationalism may or may not be considered a significant issue in the origin of the conflicts and other factors may be discussed for each one, but the role of nationalism should be addressed. The role of nationalism, particularly during the First World War, should not be confined to one country or one event such as the assassination in Sarajevo and Balkan nationalism, and the role of nationalism in provoking pro-war sentiments in other belligerent nations, such as Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Great Britain and Austria Hungary, should also be considered. In the case of the Second World War, German nationalism will probably be the focus, but nationalism was also significant in Italy and Japan. Nationalism could be considered as a catalyst for both wars, a contributing factor to international tension or as the underlying source of other causes. Expect well supported answers that address “to what extent” by considering other factors that may also have contributed to the outbreak of both wars.

If only the First World War or the Second World War is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

3. With reference to *one* specific example, assess (a) the reasons for the use of guerrilla warfare, and (b) its effectiveness.

Answers to this question will vary according to the example chosen such as China during the civil wars (1927–1937 and 1946–1949); Vietnam – independence from France (1945–1954) and the Vietnam War (1954–1975); the Cuban Revolution (1953–59); the Soviet–Afghan War (1979–1989).

Reasons:

Guerrilla warfare usually involves small groups of combatants using tactics such as ambush, raids and sabotage to combat a conventional army. These tactics weaken authority through prolonged low level confrontation and increase the cost of defence to a government that has to maintain active forces to engage with the guerrillas. Over the long term, guerrilla warfare can also undermine the regime’s morale. Guerrilla forces are motivated by a range of factors including economics, social factors, religion, ideology and politics. The aim of guerrilla movements is usually the overthrow of a government or the withdrawal of a foreign power. Usually, combatants will resort to guerrilla warfare because they lack the human, economic or military resources to engage in conventional warfare.

Effectiveness:

Guerrilla tactics have been effective in the case of the PLA in the Chinese Civil war; Castro’s success in the Cuban revolution; the Vietminh and Viet Cong in the Vietnam War. Other examples of the effectiveness of guerrilla tactics may include the Algerian war of independence, events in Cyprus and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Candidates may also argue that guerrilla warfare was not always effective, especially in the short term, as in the Philippines, Northern Ireland, Colombia *etc.*

If only a) reasons or b) effectiveness is addressed, mark out of a maximum [12 marks].

4. Examine the reasons for the failure of collective security before the Second World War (1939–1945).

The term “collective security” can be understood as a system in which participants agree that “any breach of peace is to be declared to be of concern to all the participant states” and will result in a collective response.

Collective security was one of the aims of the League of Nations, which will probably be the focus of answers to this question. However, the Locarno Pact in 1925; the Kellogg–Briand Pact in 1928; the Hoover–Stimson Doctrine of 1932; the Disarmament Conference in 1932 may also be considered as attempts to achieve collective security. They failed either because of flaws in their terms or because of unwillingness to abide by their conditions. Reasons for the League’s failures that could be addressed include: its cumbersome decision making process; its links to the Versailles Treaty; the absence of the United States and the non-involvement of other powers such as Germany and the USSR in the early years; problems with its structure (no military force of its own); the significant weakness of France and Great Britain as major supporters of the League. Other events that contributed to its decline may include: the Great Depression in 1929; the League’s failure to take decisive action over the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935. The pursuit of the policy of appeasement by Great Britain and, to a lesser extent, France during the mid and late 1930s also undermined collective security.

5. “Hostilities of sufficient magnitude to be called wars have ended without peace treaties.” With reference to the conclusion of *two* wars, analyse the validity of this statement.

Answers to this question should address the different ways in which a war could end without peace treaties, such as an armistice or a cease fire, and more permanently by recognition of independence or political change, in some cases assisted by United Nations’ resolutions. The process by which the two selected wars ended should be discussed and the condition/terms which ended the conflict should be analysed.

Some examples of wars that ended without a formal peace treaty include: the Spanish Civil War; the Allied Powers and Germany after the Second World War; The Korean War; the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli Conflicts *etc.*. Some examples of wars that did end with peace treaties include the First World War; the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913; the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 *etc.*.

Although some candidates may explain why certain conflicts can be considered “wars”, this should not be the primary focus of the answer.

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

6. Why do economic problems occur in post-war periods?

Candidates should explain why wars lead to economic difficulties in the period after a war has ended.

The reason for post-war economic problems may include, but not be limited to: the destruction of resources, machinery and transportation systems during the war; loss of skilled manpower during the war; territorial losses or the loss of trade routes and partners; the rise in unemployment as returning soldiers seek work; post-war decline in agricultural prices causing hardship for farmers; the payment of war debts resulting in heavy tax burdens or reductions in government services; the diversion of resources to care for the wounded and disabled; reparation payments; high wartime demand may result in inflationary pressures that impact the post-war economy.

Answers should be supported with specific evidence relating to the wars studied. The First and Second World Wars are likely to be popular, but credit all appropriate examples.

Topic 2 Democratic states – challenges and responses

7. Assess the advantages and disadvantages of political parties in a democratic state.

This question requires candidates to explain why political parties play a vital role in a democratic society but why they may also create problems that undermine a democratic state.

Answers should be well-structured, address both advantages and disadvantages and make use of specific examples from democratic states.

The advantages that political parties provide may include, but not be limited to:

- parties may assist in the recruitment and training of candidates and individuals who wish to take part in the democratic process;
- parties may help to educate their members in the functions of a democratic system;
- parties provide different ideas and policies which encourage debate and give voters a choice;
- parties can allow for the organisation of national campaigns;
- in a democratic system, parties may also be important in preventing individuals from seizing absolute power.

The disadvantages of parties that may endanger the electoral and democratic process may include, but not be limited to:

- parties based on race or ethnicity may lead to excessive factionalism, divisiveness and even violence;
- parties with extreme ideologies may prevent or discourage dialogue on issues;
- extremist parties may not accept the democratic decision and resort to violence or other anti-social behaviour;
- parties that do not support the democratic process may lead to a collapse of the system.

8. Analyse the successes and failures in social and economic policies of *either* Eisenhower *or* Johnson as President of the United States.

Answers should be well-structured and supported by relevant examples.

Social and economic issues could include, but not be limited to: health; education; social welfare; civil rights; gender issues; inflation; recession; unemployment; economic expansion; unequal distribution of income; regional economic diversity.

Candidates should examine the policies put forward by their chosen president in these areas and produce a clear analysis of their success and/or failure.

9. Explain why economic problems may pose the greatest challenge to democratic states.

This question requires that candidates understand how economic weaknesses may undermine support for an existing democratic state. Popular examples may be Weimar Germany, pre-fascist Italy and a number of other states in the 1930s, which saw the rise of extremist parties. In addition, the collapse of democracy in Japan may be attributed to the Great Depression. Other examples may be drawn from other periods in the twentieth century when democracies were either destroyed or severely challenged by groups distressed by the poor economic situation.

The nature of the challenges that democratic states face from economic problems may be the result of, but are not limited to: unemployment; deflation; severe inflation; collapse of traditional industries; trade problems; declining standards of living; homelessness; starvation; lack of hope for improved circumstances.

Candidates must explain clearly how these economic problems pose the greatest challenge to democratic states. These may include, but not be limited to:

- populations may lose faith in some or all of the political parties if they cannot propose solutions;
- populations may lose faith in the democratic process itself, preferring a strong individual leader who claims to have solutions;
- the democratic process may be too slow to respond, which encourages people to look for an individual or group who can act swiftly;
- economic problems may set classes or groups against each other in a struggle for resources, jobs, *etc.*. This divisiveness weakens the democratic state and may lead to violence which may encourage an extreme solution.

If only one state is discussed, mark out of [12 marks].

10. Analyse the extent to which Nehru was successful in overcoming the challenges he faced in governing India from 1947 to 1964.

Candidates will have to identify the challenges faced by Nehru during the years of his leadership. These may include, but not be limited to: economic development; communal violence associated with the partition of India; agricultural reform; education; social and gender policies; class and caste issues; war and foreign relations. Key to the success of many of these policies was the establishment of a stable democratic state.

Candidates must select a number of challenges and address them in a well-structured essay. They should analyse the degree to which Nehru was successful in meeting the challenges that they have chosen to address.

11. Why did the attempt to establish democracy in Nigeria (1961–1966) fail?

Candidates should assess the various reasons why Nigerian democracy collapsed into civil war by 1966.

The reasons for the collapse may include but not be limited to:

- Nigeria lacked national identity and was divided into distinct tribal and religious groups. These became the basis of political parties which showed little desire to cooperate;
- there were severe economic disparities between the north and the south, which intensified factionalism;
- there was no democratic tradition prior to 1961;
- parties were regional in nature and sought to protect or advance their own ethnic or religious group;
- lack of respect/fear of opposition parties led to persecution/imprisonment of political rivals by the party in power;
- election fraud was widespread as ruling parties sought to retain power;
- faith in the democratic process was destroyed;
- A *coup d'état* occurred and civil war broke out as different groups struggled for power.

12. “A written constitution is an essential element in a democratic state.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Candidates should present a well-structured argument that clearly demonstrates the extent to which they agree or disagree with this statement.

The reasons why a written constitution may be considered essential can include, but not be limited to:

- it provides a clear framework for the operation of government;
- citizens have a document which allows them to know their rights;
- it forms the basis of political education and knowledge in the society;
- it establishes the legal rights of citizens and prevents abuse of power;
- it acts as a framework for legal decisions about government policy and action;
- it establishes the power of government and the limits placed on it;
- it establishes the values of a society with respect to individual rights.

The reasons that a written constitution may not be considered essential may include, but not be limited to:

- custom and tradition with respect to individual rights, democratic processes and values, over a long period, may be very strong and understood by all citizens;
- written constitutions may be illusory when the product of totalitarian regimes *e.g.* Soviet constitution 1936;
- written constitutions may be inflexible and hard to change as societies evolve over time – not responsive to public wishes;
- written constitutions may create legal controversies paralysing society and leading to loss of faith in the constitutional process.

Analysis should be supported with reference to the constitutional structure of specific states.

Topic 3 Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states**13. Compare and contrast the methods used in the rise to power of *two* right-wing leaders of single-party states.**

Popular choices may include Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Perón, Pinochet or Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai Shek), although there have been a large number of right-wing single-party states during the twentieth century. Methods used in the rise to power may include legal (elections or by appointment), violent (revolution or civil war), or illegal (*coup d'état* or self-appointment). Other issues that can be considered may include: the intimidation of opposition before coming to power; the use of ideology and personal appeal to achieve power; the promise of change; the proposal of solutions to existing crises. The role/intervention of foreign powers in the rise of the leader could also be considered in some cases.

If only one right-wing leader is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

14. Analyse the domestic policies by which *either* Mao or Nyerere attempted to solve the problems that they faced when they rose to power.

Answers to this question should identify the problems, analyse the policies and assess the results.

The problems faced by Mao include: devastation of the country after the civil war and the war with Japan; the difficulties of uniting and imposing a Communist government throughout China; the need to eliminate opposition. The policies were: agrarian reform (redistribution of land and collectivization of farms); Five Year Plans to promote industry; the Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1956/1957 (calling for constructive criticism); the Great Leap Forward in 1958. By the mid-1950s Mao had consolidated power and the CCP formed the basis of all political and administrative structures. Candidates may go up to the Cultural Revolution, but this is not required.

The problems faced by Nyerere include: widespread poverty; underdevelopment; dependency on a monoculture. In 1967 he announced the Arusha Declaration based on “African Socialism”. The policies introduced to combat these problems included: Five Year Plans (collectivization of the country’s agricultural system) based on the extended family, an African tradition; state control of the economy; the nationalization of foreign enterprises; opposition to capitalism and a class based society; the reduction of dependence on foreign loans and investment.

Candidates who interpret this question as referring to the rise to power of Mao or Nyerere should be credited.

15. “Strong economic policies are the key reason for a single-party state leader maintaining power.” With reference to *either* Hitler or Castro, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

This question requires candidates to present a well-structured response evaluating the role of economic policies as a means to retain power. “To what extent” suggests that candidates should also present other factors that contributed to the maintenance of power.

Candidates may challenge the question and state that economics do not play a large role but some discussion of the relative importance of economics must take place.

Hitler

Economic policies which supported his power may include, but not be limited to:

- reducing unemployment through government infrastructure projects; (*autobahns*, airfields, housing, *etc.*);
- trade agreements to boost exports; (Schacht’s New Plan to balance the budget and end the trade deficit);
- expanding the armaments industries, providing jobs and profits (The Four Year Plan);
- using the Central Bank to support and improve the economic situation in the 1930s;
- expanding pensions and other social welfare benefits to improve living standards;
- new economic opportunities in conquered territories such as Austria and Czechoslovakia.

All these policies provided employment, income, a rising standard of living and in some cases, a happier, more optimistic population, which made Hitler popular and reduced any opposition.

Candidates could also assess other factors that helped Hitler to maintain power. These would include, but not be limited to:

- support from the armed forces and industrialists;
- removal of political opponents – the one party state by July 1933;
- censorship; propaganda (particularly the promotion of the image of Hitler as a strong leader);
- coercion – concentration camps, the Gestapo, purging opposition within the party – the Night of the Long Knives;
- foreign policy successes;
- personal qualities and charisma.

Castro

The economic policies that supported Castro’s power could include, but not be limited to:

- land redistribution to peasants, lower rents and costs for electricity, taxes;
- elimination of foreign economic control and foreign companies;
- seizure and redistribution of American assets;
- developing export markets to replace the United States;
- improved pensions and social welfare benefits;
- support received from the USSR.

The non-economic policies would include but not be limited to:

- elimination of all political opposition;
- control of the armed forces;
- censorship and propaganda;
- popular support for Castro as a national hero;
- social reform programmes such as literacy and health care.

- 16. “Totalitarianism has had a significant impact on the lives of ordinary people.” With reference to *one* right-wing regime, evaluate the validity of this statement.**

Answers to this question should show an understanding of what the term “totalitarianism” entails. There are many ways of defining it, but the general understanding is that of a political system that seeks to mobilize entire populations in support of an official state ideology and is intolerant of activities which are not directed towards the goals of the state, entailing repression or state control of business, labour unions, churches or political parties.

Impact may include: control of education, the economy, work and leisure. The loss of civil rights and fear of the state may also be mentioned. Answers must be supported with specific detail.

- 17. To what extent did the policies of *two* rulers of single-party states, each chosen from a different region, affect the arts?**

The “arts” cover music, literature, painting, *etc.*. “Affect” may be interpreted as referring to prescriptions or guidelines; the themes a regime favoured and encouraged; or those which were forbidden. It might also take into consideration trends that reflected opposition, or how the arts changed when a regime was overthrown.

It could also be argued that attempts to control the arts led to vigorous subversive arts activities. Specific examples should be provided and “to what extent” should be addressed.

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

- 18. Evaluate the effects of the policies of *two* rulers of single-party states, each chosen from a different region, on the role and status of women.**

Answers to this question will probably consider the following: the role and status of women in areas such as education, work and political participation; economic policies that either opened up or closed off opportunities for employment; family conditions that may or may not have encouraged women to remain at home; social, economic and political equality/inequality with men; legal rights *etc.*. Candidates should identify the single-party state and use specific examples and evidence to support their arguments.

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

Topic 4 Nationalist and independence movements in Africa and Asia and post-1945 Central and Eastern European states**19. Analyse the impact of the Second World War (1939–1945) on independence movements in Africa and Asia.**

The Second World War had a dramatic effect on the movement for colonial independence. Candidates should be able to identify and analyse a number of significant factors which contributed to the development of independence movements after 1945.

These factors may include, but not be limited to:

- the loss of power and economic strength as a result of the war made it difficult to administer and control empires;
- the short-lived victories of Japan had damaged the myth of European supremacy and so undermined European imperialism in Asia;
- the contribution of the colonies, both militarily and economically, to the war effort had given them confidence and a sense of their own importance and capabilities;
- the sacrifices in the war brought a demand for recognition and respect in the form of independence/self-government;
- the US pressured the colonial powers to dismantle their empires;
- citizens of the colonial powers were no longer interested in maintaining empires in the post-war era.

Answers must be well-structured in a proper analytical format and supported by specific detailed evidence. Narrative accounts of post-war events will probably not score well.

If only one independence movement is discussed, mark out of [12 mark].

20. Discuss the effects of the dissolution of Yugoslavia on its successor states.

The effects of the dissolution of Yugoslavia on its successor states are numerous and severe. They may include, but not be limited to:

- economic problems inherited from the former Yugoslav state; the breakup of Yugoslavia led to the interruption of trade and transportation; small states had inadequate resources and capital and could not attract investment;
- armed conflict between states lead to extensive death and destruction;
- ethnic and racial conflicts resulted in large numbers of casualties and forced relocation of population;
- interference/intervention of foreign troops and agencies (UNO, NATO) caused more conflict, destruction and casualties;
- political instability in the successor states.

If only one successor state is discussed, mark out of (12 marks)

21. Analyse the importance of *either* Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam) *or* Ben Bella (Algeria) in the struggle for independence in their respective countries.

Candidates should assess how significant a role each individual played relative to the other factors that contributed to the independence movement. Answers should be analytical in structure and avoid narrative accounts of the life of the chosen individual.

Ben Bella

In the case of Ben Bella, candidates may point out that his role was somewhat limited as he was imprisoned from 1956–1962, which were the key years of the independence struggle. Some may point out that, despite this, he made a significant contribution.

His contributions may include, but not be limited to:

- he helped found the FLN, which was the organization that fought for independence;
- he acted as a key spokesperson for the movement in Algeria and in other countries where he gained support for the movement;
- the circumstances of his imprisonment served as a symbol of French oppression;
- despite his imprisonment, he took part in the ceasefire negotiations which began in 1960.

Candidates may demonstrate that there were other important factors that contributed to Algerian independence, such as:

- the growing anti-colonial feeling in France after the Second World War;
- the cost and violence of the war created opposition to the war in France;
- the rise of De Gaulle marked a change in French policy;
- there was lack of unity in the forces opposing independence;
- increased anti-colonial attitudes in world opinion;
- the lack of success in suppressing the anti-colonial forces;
- aid to the rebels from foreign countries such as Egypt.

Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh played a significant role in the struggle for Vietnamese independence and is often regarded as the father of Vietnamese independence.

His contributions to the struggle may include, but not be limited to:

- creating the nationalist, independence movement the Viet Minh in the 1940s, which opposed the Japanese and then French reoccupation;
- expanding the Viet Minh in the 1950s and successfully ousting the French by 1954;
- assembling a broad-based coalition to achieve independence from France;
- organizing the National Liberation Front to overthrow the government in South Vietnam and unify the country;
- acquiring valuable support from Russia and China to unify Vietnam and oppose the USA without being controlled by Russia or China;
- providing ideology and political guidance for the independence movement.

Candidates may also comment on the significance of other factors which aided Vietnamese independence. These may include but not be limited to:

- the role of foreign powers from the 1940s to 1975;
- the weakness of the French regime post-1945;
- mistakes and poor policies of the South Vietnamese government;
- the contribution of other key figures, such as General Giap;
- The failure of the US to win the “hearts and minds” of the South Vietnamese population to support the government.

22. Compare and contrast the challenges faced by two post-colonial governments in Asia and/or Africa.

Candidates may select any two post-colonial governments in Asia and/or Africa. Candidates should select a number of key factors and compare and contrast how these were a challenge to the chosen governments.

Some of the key factors that could be chosen for comparison and contrast may include, but not be limited to:

- economic problems;
- foreign relations, wars and invasion;
- racial and ethnic divisions and conflicts;
- lack of political experience;
- health and welfare issues;
- social and cultural divisions;
- lack of effective leaders;
- environmental challenges.

Better answers will probably use a comparative structure. Simple descriptions or narratives are unlikely to score well.

If only one post-colonial government is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

23. Why was the independence process peaceful in Ghana but violent in Zimbabwe?

Candidates may be expected to explain the reasons for a peaceful transition in Ghana but a violent transition to independence in Zimbabwe and to identify the key differences between these states.

These may include, but not be limited to:

- the level of education and development of nationalist leaders prior to independence;
- attitudes of colonial officials in the colony to the independence movement;
- the level of economic stability and control of the economy by local businessmen;
- the presence of, and the political and economic power held by a large European population;
- the attitudes of the European population in the colony towards independence;
- the approach taken by the independence movement, either peaceful or violent.

In each case the various factors should be supported by specific evidence.

If only either Ghana or Zimbabwe is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

24. Assess the importance of the role of Walesa (Poland) or Havel (Czechoslovakia) in the movement to resist Soviet control.

Candidates should be aware that each of these individuals played a significant role in the resistance movements in their respective countries.

Walesa

Walesa is associated with the formation of Solidarity and the maintenance of its non-violent character. His diplomatic and negotiating skills won concessions and resulted in the sharing of political power. He acted as a key leader of the economic protest and its transformation into a political movement, with minimal violence. He was an important symbol in the struggle for rights and freedoms.

Candidates should judge the importance of Walesa's actions relative to other factors which contributed to the movements to resist and demolish Soviet control.

These could include, but not be limited to:

- the actions of other individuals – Jaruzelski, Gorbachev, Pope John Paul II;
- the weakening of the USSR;
- the influence of the United States;
- economic problems in the 1980s;
- support from the Catholic Church in Poland.

Havel

Havel was a leading dissident in Czechoslovakia and particularly influential amongst the intelligentsia – he formed Charter 77, which was critical of the regime's human rights record. Until the unrest of 1988/89 he was not the leader of a mass movement, then together with VONS and the Catholic Church the resistance movement became a more widespread popular protest movement. Mass demonstrations and unrest resulted in the formation of the Civic Forum, which unified the resistance movements. Havel was an important figure in the Czech resistance and became President on the collapse of communism, but events in Czechoslovakia were also influenced by external events such as the Gorbachev Doctrine and events in other Central and Eastern European countries.

In either case candidates must present an analytical assessment of the role of the chosen individual. Simple narratives of their careers will probably not score well.

Topic 5 The Cold War

25. For what reasons, and to what extent, did the Potsdam Conference of July 1945 contribute to the development of the Cold War?

The agreements reached at Potsdam and the events that occurred there should form the basis of the answer. Candidates should examine the context in which the agreements took place and the issues over which the Allies disagreed.

Areas of agreement may include: Allied control of a defeated Germany under a four power Allied Control Commission; denazification; demilitarization.

Areas of tension may include: personal relationships; America had successfully tested the A bomb; there were tensions over Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland where a pro-Soviet government was being installed; there was no clear agreement on reparations although it was agreed that each power would take reparations from their own zone and the Soviet Union was to receive an additional amount from the other zones.

Candidates may also address “to what extent” by referring to later events such as the Sovietization of Eastern Europe, the division of Germany by 1949, *etc.* but they should trace the links back to the successes and failures of the Postdam Conference.

26. Compare and contrast the reactions to peaceful coexistence during the 1950s and 1960s in any two countries.

Peaceful coexistence was suggested by Khrushchev in 1956, who believed that peaceful relations were possible despite ideological differences.

Answers to this question should identify the term “peaceful coexistence” and address how the selected countries reacted to it. “Reactions” refer to actions taken as a result of the policy and these can be positive or negative. The Chinese reacted negatively while other countries reacted more positively. Social, economic, political and diplomatic reactions may be considered. International relations and foreign policy changes within a country may also be discussed. Long-term effects of that reaction, as in the case of the Sino–Soviet split, may also be included. Candidates might also provide a background of the selected countries to explain the effects of peaceful coexistence, but the focus should be on the reaction and its results.

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

27. “Brinkmanship was an effective deterrent to escalation.” With reference to *two* examples, assess the validity of this statement.

Candidates should approach this question by defining the term “brinkmanship” and by applying it to selected examples.

Secretary of State Dulles defined the policy of brinkmanship as “the ability to get to the verge without getting into the war”. The concept implies pursuing negotiations or diplomatic exchange to the brink of war in order to force the opposition to make concessions.

Brinkmanship prevented escalation of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, where the US and the USSR were pushed to the “brink” of a nuclear war until Soviet leader Khrushchev finally compromised with the US. Another example could be the threat of US and Soviet intervention in the later stages of the 1973 Middle East conflict, but credit any valid examples.

28. How significant was Vietnam in the development of the Cold War?

Candidates may assert that US involvement in Vietnam was a direct result of the Cold War, but that events in Vietnam did/did not contribute directly to the development of the Cold War.

Also within the context of the Cold War, the United States’ decision to intervene and escalate its involvement in Vietnam was the result of its fear of Communist expansion and an application of its policy of containment. This policy was continued by Eisenhower in the 1950s and Kennedy and Johnson in 1960s. Candidates may also refer to the domino theory and the impact this had upon US policy making.

During the 1960s and the early 1970s, the US sought the containment not just of the Soviet Union but also of China. American leaders made the connection between China’s presumed expansionist tendencies and the need for US intervention in Vietnam.

Nixon adopted the policy of détente with the Soviet Union and rapprochement with the People’s Republic of China in part because the problems faced by the US as a consequence of its involvement in Vietnam. In this instance, Vietnam had a significant impact on Cold War relationships. On the other hand, the Cold War continued for nearly fifteen years after the end of the Vietnam conflict.

29. How did events in Eastern Europe contribute to the end of the Cold War?

In 1989, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania experienced the collapse of their pro-Soviet Communist regimes and were joined by Bulgaria in the middle of 1990. Unpopular and economically inefficient governments collapsed under the weight of popular protest and Gorbachev made it clear that he would not use the Brezhnev Doctrine to maintain control over Eastern Europe. The destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was the most potent symbol of the collapse of Communism.

In some respects, the collapse of Eastern Europe's Communist governments no longer posed a threat to the US or Western Europe but 1989 is often considered to be the end of the Cold War.

An alternative view could be that arms limitation agreements between US and the USSR signaled the beginning of the end of the Cold War and that the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe followed on from this key initiative. Candidates may offer different "end points" to the Cold War and these could be 1989, 1990 (the reunification of Germany) or 1991 (the collapse of the USSR).

Some candidates may focus on events in the USSR and some credit may be given for this.

30. With reference to *one* country, assess the social impact of the Cold War.

Social impact could imply areas such as: education; employment; propaganda; fear; stereotypes; demographic changes; conscription and the return of soldiers after a war; degree of access to consumer goods; prosperity or poverty; changes in the role of women *etc.*

There is a wide range of examples to choose from but answers should focus on the question and include relevant detail.