M13/3/HISTX/BP2/ENG/TZ1/XX/M



International Baccalaureate® Baccalauréat International Bachillerato Internacional

MARKSCHEME

May 2013

HISTORY

ROUTE 2

Higher Level and Standard Level

Paper 2

27 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. Assess the role of *each* of the following in causing the First World War (1914–1918): the desire for revenge; economic motives; Balkan nationalism.

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Candidates should **focus on the three factors** noted. It is not necessary to deal with this as a "To what extent" question in which a template/pre-learned response answer on the origins of the First World War is reproduced.

The desire for revenge

For "revenge" candidates could refer to the revanchist feelings experienced by France since its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and subsequent losses of territory, money and prestige. The desire to gain revenge – or settle accounts – in the following four decades led to tensions between not only France and Germany but was also instrumental in shaping international diplomacy/alliance systems and producing fears (*eg* Berlin's fear of encirclement) which caused suspicions amongst the Great Powers. Some candidates may note the element of revenge in terms of the Black Hand's formation and actions after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908. Vienna's steps to avenge the death of the Archduke and his wife after the assassination at Sarajevo in June 1914 might also be considered. Be willing to accept other examples which may be raised as long as the aspect of "revenge" is clearly explained.

Economic motives

For "economic motives" candidates could deal with the economic aims of individual states – for example desires to maintain economic superiority which was threatened by the rise of "new" states, the drive to gain control of markets and resources in an increasingly competitive Europe in particular (the concept of a Mitteleuropa as noted by Bethmann – Hollweg) or some candidates may note the emphasis given to economic motives by Lenin and/or Marxist historians in their explanation for the Great War.

Balkan nationalism

For "Balkan nationalism" the emphasis should be on the significance of events in this area. It is not an invitation to deal with nationalism generally. The crucible of the Balkans produced the setting for much tension by the early twentieth century as a result of Ottoman decline, the rise of Slav nationalism and the desire for self-determination (in some cases gained by 1914, in other cases still desperately sought). The clash of such nationalism in the Balkans with the measures taken by Austria-Hungary to preserve its empire (and the tensions produced by Russian sponsored Pan-Slavism) provide candidates with the opportunity to examine and assess the contribution this Balkan nationalism made to what happened in 1914 when arguably a "Third Balkan War" developed into a continental/world war.

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

2. "The length and outcome of the civil war was dependent upon outside involvement." With reference to *two* twentieth century civil wars, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

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Twentieth century civil wars have invariably been subject to foreign interference/involvement – sometimes at the request of the parties involved in such a fratricidal conflict, sometimes because the chaos and dislocation caused by civil conflict has attracted outside intervention for the benefit of the outside force (for example Japan's involvement in China in the 1930s).

There is no regional requirement. Higher marks should be reserved for treatment of both length (duration) and outcome.

Popular choices are likely to be civil wars in Russia (1917/1918–1921/1922), Spain (1936–1939), China (accept 1927–1937, 1927–1949, or 1946–1949 periods for coverage), Korea 1950–1953, Vietnam (1960/1961–1975).

For duration, areas for consideration could be the amount of intervention – nature and extent of aid supplied to rival sides – in the civil conflict which permitted the war to extend beyond what might have been expected at the outset of the war. In Spain, for example, it can be argued that foreign involvement on Moscow's part was designed to prolong the conflict for Soviet interests rather than for the Republic – or Korea, where the South was rescued and supported by UN/US forces after the rapid progress made by North Korean forces in 1950).

The outcome of civil wars in some cases may be attributable to the help provided consciously (US aid to South Korea) or unintentionally (Japan's role in China). Yet outside involvement did not necessarily contribute to victory – witness the Allied Interventionist forces in Russia, US aid in Vietnam, aid to Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) in China. Other factors may also be considered in terms of duration and outcome: leadership of the sides in the civil war, ideology and its appeal, *etc*.

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

3. With reference to the period 1919–1939, analyse the factors which hindered the maintenance of international peace.

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Identification of such "factors" at the outset would provide a sound basis for analysis – and possibly a basis for a thematic as opposed to a chronological narrative/descriptive treatment. The end date of 1939 may lead some candidates to view this as a European focused task but this is a paper in which candidates are expected to be able to apply knowledge on a wider basis. Coverage of developments in the Far East up to this date therefore could be considered relevant to the response.

Factors could include: the Paris Peace Settlement and the revisionist/revanchist sentiments which it provoked amongst particular powers (victors and vanquished); the insecurity engendered by the failure of leading powers (*eg* France) to obtain guarantees of future security; the obstacles to successful collective security attempts by the League of Nations, most of which had less to do with the Covenant and structure than the pursuit of national self-interest by leading members which often paid lip service to the principles of the League or the failure of powers such as the US to join and support collective security; the economic crisis of 1929 onwards and its corollary the rise of political extremism and the willingness to use force as a solution to domestic problems (*eg* Japan); the pursuit of policies of appeasement (active and passive) by leading powers, *etc.* These areas for consideration are not exhaustive and candidates should be credited for other factors they may identify and analyse.

Having identified the areas, the task requires critical commentary (analysis) of how and why these factors proved barriers to the maintenance of international peace in order for answers to reach the higher markbands.

4. Analyse the reasons for, and results of, *either* the Indo-Pakistan wars (1947–1971) or the Iran–Iraq war (1980–1988).

The Indo-Pakistan wars

The Indo-Pakistan wars of 1947–1971 consist of three separate but linked conflicts: 1947–1949, 1965 and 1971. The estranged relationship that existed from 1947 was a product of the stresses of the partition of British India which led to the emergence of both states. From the outset, economic and territorial issues bedevilled relations – as seen especially in the case of Kashmir, a Princely state which with its Hindu ruler and Muslim majority was regarded by both New Delhi and Karachi as vital for their future. For both states Kashmir's location and control of the headwaters of the Indus was regarded as important for economic development because of the need for irrigation in the Punjab, the breadbasket of India. For India the decision of the Hindu ruler to opt for incorporation into India despite the wishes of the Muslim majority was upheld for fear that any popular secessionist movements such as those in Kashmir could encourage similar secession (on religious, linguistic grounds) in other parts of the new nation.

The first clash between the two nations resulted over the issue of Kashmir when a Karachi supported tribal invasion of the territory resulted in an eventual ceasefire and the division of the state into Kashmir and "Azad" Kashmir (the latter in Pakistan). A promised plebiscite which was supposed to be held did not happen, possibly due to Prime Minister Nehru's anxiety that such a vote would produce a majority in favour of union with Pakistan. The "sore" of Kashmir continued to sour relations from then till the present.

1965 saw the Pakistani leader Ayub Khan take advantage of what he perceived to be Indian weakness or unpreparedness (a poor Indian performance against China in 1962 and the death of Nehru in 1964) to renew attempts to "liberate" Kashmir. Pakistan misjudged India's strength and only a UN organized ceasefire prevented a painful outcome for Pakistan.

In 1971 conflict erupted again – this time involving Indian support for East Pakistani separatism in East Bengal which resulted in the emergence of an independent Bangladesh with India ensuring her status as the regionally dominant power and Pakistan being reduced in terms of population, resources and prestige.

Candidates could refer to the economic and political consequences for both states which have had to maintain significant armed forces, weaponry and military expenditure in the past – and present. This has meant less expenditure available for infrastructural development. Each conflict has been accompanied by refugee flight and the rise of Islamic radicalism over the issue of Kashmir has to a certain extent been mirrored by the growth of Hindu nationalism in an India which is nevertheless a self-declared secular state.

The Iran–Iraq war

The Iran–Iraq war of 1980–1988 was provoked by a dispute over mutual borders and control of waterways (Khuzestan and Shatt-el-Arab) which had been an issue even before the fall of Muhammad Reza Shah in 1979. Saddam Hussein rejected an earlier agreement (Algiers agreement) but arguably the driving force behind the conflict was the struggle for regional dominance at a time which Saddam Hussein thought favourable – an Iran with a new government (Ayatollah Khomeini) and a temporarily weakened Iranian military due to US withdrawal of support and the confusion caused by the removal of pro-Shah officers.

The calls by Tehran for Iraq's Shiite majority to rise against the Baghdad government also added to Saddam's desire to teach Iran a lesson and establish regional hegemony as well as gain oil resources.

The results of the conflict could be examined in relation to the results not only for each of the two states involved but also for other countries in the region – and the impact on the wider world due to threats to the disruption to oil production and export.

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Conservative estimates put war dead at over 360000 and 70000 wounded. The actual costs to Iran and Iraq were estimated at \$100 billion and \$150 billion respectively. Despite early successes for Iraq when it grabbed Iranian oil producing regions in 1980–1981, the stubborn resistance of Iran and the counter offensives resulted in the invasion of Iraqi territory. From 1983 until acceptance of a UN ceasefire resolution a war of attrition obtained with large losses on both sides. For both states the conflict produced disruption to economic development and a state of exhaustion which prompted a settlement only in 1990 when Iraq accepted Iran's terms.

For the region the war saw support for Iraq during the conflict as states such as Kuwait and the Gulf States provided economic support for Baghdad. Egypt and Jordan too provided backing for Saddam. Iran gained the support of states such as Syria and South Yemen as well as Arab states such as Libya and Algeria – though by 1987 Syria showed signs of worry at the prospect of a major Iraqi defeat and a political vacuum in the Middle East.

Western powers (France and the US) supported Iraq with military aid – as did the Soviet Union from 1982.

If only reasons or results are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

5. In what ways, and for what reasons, did the role and status of women change as a result of twentieth century total war?

The question states "total war" and most answers will probably regard this as being the two world wars of the twentieth century. Other wars could also be accepted. For example, for the populations of North and South Vietnam during the conflict in Indo-China there is a case to be made that this war experience constituted a total war experience. Candidates would be advised to explain quite clearly what is understood by the phrase "total war".

The task does not state a particular number of examples – candidates are free to illustrate their answers by reference to more than just the First or Second World War if they so wish. It is possible for an accurate, detailed and relevant treatment of one war to score highly. The task is to examine the impact of the selected conflict(s) upon women: how and why the war altered employment patterns, the perception of women's contribution to society; the self-perception of women as a result of entering previously male dominated areas of labour and, in terms of status, how women benefited in the shorter and longer term (or not depending on the example(s) selected) in areas such as suffrage, legal rights, educational and job opportunities.

Candidates who attempt this type of question often fail to provide sufficient historical detail to support the claims being made. Responses which are based upon sweeping generalizations cannot achieve a passing grade. Hard evidence is essential.

If only ways or reasons are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

6. Account for the use of guerrilla warfare in the Chinese Civil War (1927–1949) and estimate its contribution to Communist victory.

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Candidates could examine the circumstances in which it was felt necessary to adopt guerrilla warfare following the collapse of the (First) United Front of Guomindang (GMD) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The relative strengths of both sides as of 1927 and the "White Terror" of the Nationalists could be considered as well as the emergence of the Kiangsi (Jiangsi) Soviet and the evolution of guerrilla tactics to defend the "liberated zone". Some candidates may write a narrative of events 1927–1949 but this will not score well. The task is to examine the need for, nature of, and contribution to victory of such a method of warfare.

Other factors which influenced the outcome (possibly to a greater degree?) include the role of Japan in China which diverted the energies of the Nationalist regime and allowed the CCP to portray itself as a "nationalist" party as well as a progressive leftist party, the failures of the GMD in terms of application of Sun Yat-sen's original programme, the nature of the support base for the GMD which prevented radical reform, the programmes of reform instituted by the CCP in their liberated zones during the period, the transition from guerrilla warfare to conventional warfare by 1945/1946–1949, *etc.*

If only use or estimation of contribution is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

Topic 2 Democratic states – challenges and responses

7. To what extent did *one* democratic state, in the *first* half of the twentieth century, cope with the economic challenges it faced?

N.B. Answers which deal with post-1950 examples cannot be credited.

Popular choices are likely to be Weimar Germany, the United States in the post-First World War period and the Great Depression but accept any democratic state affected by economic crisis/crises before and after the two world wars.

The nature and extent of the economic challenges need to be identified and examination of the government policies undertaken. Whether the responses to the specific challenges were successful or not requires consideration.

Whichever state is selected, answers require relevant historical detail to support the argument.

8. In what ways, and with what success, did de Gaulle deal with the challenges faced by France (1958–1969)?

De Gaulle was President of the Fifth Republic from 1959–1969. His earlier unsuccessful involvement in politics (1945/1946), when the Constituent Assembly did not accede to his ideas on a constitution that would increase the powers of the executive branch of government, resulted in a period of relative inactivity during the Fourth Republic.

Answers need to identify the challenges faced by France during the period. These could include the problems associated with the Fourth Republic up to 1958/1959 as well as those associated with the period of de Gaulle's rule. Such areas could include: political instability during the Fourth Republic (23 governments between 1946–1958); the growth of the PCF (Communist Party) which became increasingly hostile towards the Republic; problems associated with colonial nationalist movements in Indochina, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria; the humiliation to French prestige caused by the Suez debacle, *etc.* Despite some economic progress made in these years, the financial and manpower drain of empire and the political divisions caused in metropolitan France and the French military establishment, especially over the Algerian war for independence, led to President Coty, in 1958, approaching de Gaulle to lead a new administration. De Gaulle accepted, proposed a new constitution for a Fifth Republic to the Assembly and this was accepted by late 1958.

For ways (and assessment of success) reference could be made to the new constitution implemented which removed the political instability of previous years; the resolution of the crisis in Algeria (Evian agreements 1962); the relatively peaceful decolonization of French West Africa – while simultaneously maintaining close economic links and cultural ties to these former colonies; the restoration of French prestige by establishing an independent nuclear deterrent; improved relations with the Federal Republic of Germany; economic growth – though not always beneficial to all sectors of society, *etc.*

By 1968 his achievements were overshadowed by a series of student demonstrations and strikes. Despite a short-term recovery, his subsequent attempt to introduce changes to the bicameral system to limit the power of the Senate resulted in a defeat in a national referendum – and his resignation.

If only ways or success is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

9. Analyse the reasons for, and results of, the failure of democratic government in Nigeria (1961–1966).

Nigeria became independent in 1960 under the leadership of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Economically the new state, with its oil resources, appeared to have the potential for a prosperous future. The new democratic and federal state was divided into regions – the Northern Region, the Western Region and the Eastern Region – also the repository of the bulk of the oil resources. The regions were associated with major tribal and/or religious groupings: in the Muslim North, Fulani and Hausa, in the West the Yoruba and in the East the Igbo (or Ibo). The much more populous North was dominant in the federal system. This proved a matter of contention as resentment grew, fuelled not only by fears of Northern political domination but also economic problems associated with a recession by 1964.

Nigeria's problem of regional disunity was added to in 1966 by a military coup. Balewa – a Northerner and a Muslim – was killed by the largely Igbo-led coup leaders and the establishment of a military government under General Ironsi (an Igbo).

Northern fears of possible Igbo domination produced a Northern military officers' counter move which removed Ironsi and replaced him with General Gowon – a Northerner and a Christian. Attacks in the Northern Region upon Igbos working and resident there could not be prevented by Gowon. In May 1967 General Ojukwu, military governor of the Eastern Region declared independence on behalf of the newly named state of Biafra. The three year civil war which followed led to an estimated two million deaths – civilian and military – as a result of a particularly bitter civil war.

By 1970 the war was over and Gowon attempted to pursue a policy of reconciliation in order to heal the rifts established over the previous decade. A new federal system, recognition of the need to conciliate the defeated Igbo population and an upturn in the price of oil helped contribute towards recovery though democratic/civilian rule was not restored.

Candidates could identify areas such as the relevance of parliamentary government for Nigeria at the time of independence, the issue of tribalism/regionalism, the role and involvement of the military as self-appointed guardians of the state in terms of its claims to rescue the state from crisis, *etc.* Results of the failure of democracy obviously will focus on the breakdown of consensus and the emergence of tensions leading to conflict and war.

Candidates may legitimately go beyond 1966 and deal with the Civil Strife (Biafran War).

If only reasons or results are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

10. With reference to *one* democratic state in the twentieth century, examine the reasons for, and success of, movements for the attainment of civil rights.

Possible examples could be civil rights movements in the United States, Northern Ireland, the movements associated with indigenous peoples in Australia/New Zealand, Canada, *etc*.

Candidates need to identify the specific reasons when and why these movements emerged (for example grievances linked to lack of equitable treatment in areas such as education, employment, housing, religion, obstacles to social and political advancement). The success of such movements in terms of organization, the methods pursued and whether the goals set were attained or not, and why, require consideration for an effective answer.

Whichever movement is selected, specific, relevant historical detail is needed to substantiate claims made.

If only reasons or success are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

11. "Internal political extremism was the main challenge to democracy in the twentieth century." With reference to *one* democratic state, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

Possible examples for consideration could include: Germany 1919–1933, Spain 1931–1936/1939 – or after the end of the Franco era; France in the 1930s; Italy 1919 – approximately 1926; Great Britain and Northern Ireland 1967–1990 – but accept any other relevant example.

Candidates may legitimately choose to argue that the main challenge to their chosen democratic state was not a product of internal political extremism but was due to other factors: external extremist pressure; economic crisis or the result of war and "liberation"/occupation (for example Czechoslovakia post-First and Second World War).

12. Identify the social and economic problems facing South Africa (1991–2000) and evaluate the policies adopted to deal with them.

Social and economic problems which could be addressed include areas such as: income disparity; the question of land distribution and the need for improvement in terms of provision of better facilities for health care, education, housing, running water, employment, *etc* for a population much of which believed that the end of White rule heralded a new dawn. High expectations in terms of improvements in the standard of living were apparent but it did not prove easy to realize such expectations.

Under Mandela (until 1999) and his successor Mbeki, South Africa's attempts to tackle social and economic problems by policies of affirmative action in the civil service, universities and state controlled industries produced an outflow of whites from not only managerial positions but from the country itself. This led to disruption as those replacing them did not have the training and experience. Talk of establishing a socialist style economy ceased as it became increasingly obvious that in order to deal with the demands for improvements in living and employment conditions, foreign investment was needed. Privatization of previously state controlled industries and a focus on exports as well as financial inducements to attract foreign investment were emphasised. Yet by 1999 South Africa witnessed worker unrest as noted in strikes organised by Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in response to lowered wages. Failure to deliver in terms of the provision of an improved standard of living for the majority led to dissatisfaction and an increase in crime.

One particular area for concern during the period was the spread of AIDS in the country - a spread which Mbeki in particular did little to combat in terms of the provision of funding for treatment and education.

N.B. The interrelationship between social and economic problems is great and candidates may not always specifically and clearly differentiate. Be generous in interpreting their treatment of these.

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

13. To what extent did *two* single-party rulers, each chosen from a different region, fulfil the promises made during their rise to power?

The question requires coverage of aspects of both rise and rule. Candidates should identify the promises (or main policies advocated) by the chosen leaders during the period of rise. Often such promises or policies were linked to addressing specific political and/or economic problems faced by the existing government – offering the prospect of rapid resolution. Such problems could include issues related to minorities, unemployment, inequitable distribution of wealth/land, inflation, the need to restore national pride after an unsuccessful war or extrication from a devastating war, resentment over peace settlements, nationalism, *etc.* Domestic policies will probably be the main focus for many candidates but foreign policy as a means of acquiring prestige for the state and/or the leader, or for reasons of distraction from the failure to successfully implement other promises may be considered.

Whichever rulers and promises are identified, candidates are required to comment critically on the extent to which the promises which were made were in fact honoured in full, partially or not at all once in power.

Evidence of specific application of policies to fulfil the promises made is required – or alternatively there could be consideration of why policies became modified (or ignored) for pragmatic reasons.

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

14. By what methods, and with what success, did *one* single-party leader try to eliminate domestic opposition?

Note that the focus of the question is the period of <u>rule</u>, not rise!

For methods, candidates could consider a variety of means such as the use of force (secret police), arbitrary arrest and repressive laws, the fear induced by imprisonment/concentration camps (or labour/re-education camps), propaganda and the promotion of a personality cult, education and youth movements. Depending on the leader chosen, there could be examination of economic and social policies which did benefit the population (or at least sections of the population) in terms of employment, social advancement, *etc.* In some cases foreign policy was used not only to address national grievances but also to divert attention from domestic failures of the regime and promote the prestige of the leader.

The extent to which such methods were able to eliminate opposition needs to be addressed. Candidates are expected to identify groups/individuals/institutions which were perceived as opponents and explain how these threats – real or imagined – were dealt with.

Whichever leader is chosen, detailed supporting and relevant historical knowledge is required.

If only methods or success is addressed, mark out of maximum [12 marks].

15. Compare and contrast the social and economic policies of Perón and Castro.

Candidates could deal with this task either thematically or in an end-on treatment.

Areas for investigation which could be addressed for economic policies could include: policies of nationalization to free the economy from foreign control; programmes of land reform; attempts to industrialize or alter the balance of the economy in terms of reducing dependency on particular commodities or foreign trading partners; wealth redistribution in favour of specific groups or classes; price controls and wage rises; schemes to promote employment and tackle inflation, *etc*.

For social policies, candidates could refer to policies implemented in relation to the alleviation of poverty and inequality in the fields of education/literacy, housing, medical provision, gender, race, *etc*.

The policies adopted by Perón and Castro offer an opportunity not only to identify specific programmes but also to make critical commentary on the ways in which the aims were similar/different and the extent to which these policies were successful.

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

16. Assess the importance of *each* of the following in the rise to power of Stalin: errors made by rivals; the use of propaganda; popular support.

Emphasis in responses should be on the **three stated areas or factors**. Candidates are not required to examine other areas. The task requires candidates to analyse -i.e. to identify the nature and extent of errors/propaganda/support and then make critical commentary on the role each factor played in the rise to power of Stalin.

Rivals should be indicated and an assessment made of the errors made in relation to their dealings with Stalin (up to 1929 approximately). Individuals (such as Trotsky) or groupings which included Kamenev and Zinoviev could be examined and the reasons for their underestimation of the Stalinist danger explored. Linked to the question of the errors/mistakes of rivals is the area of propaganda – whether associated with the funeral of Lenin in 1924 and the (self) promotion of Stalin as the "natural successor" to Lenin – or in the setting out of the programme of "Socialism in one country" which was identified with Stalin in opposition to Trotsky's "Permanent revolution/Export of revolution" platform. Whether popular support was in fact necessary in a single-party state is questionable and better candidates could comment on the extent to which popular appeal/support was much less important than support within the Party – a support which Stalin had cultivated since 1922 and his appointment as General Secretary of the Party with the power of patronage it provided him.

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

17. With reference to *either* Hitler *or* Mao, examine the reasons for, and results of, educational policies in the single-party state.

Reasons for the adoption of educational policies could include the desire of either leader to ensure support for the regime or for that particular ruler and his ideology. Education could also be seen as a way in which to build the strength of the nation in economic terms in order to fulfil particular domestic or foreign policy goals. Policies were not always confined to youth but also promoted adult literacy – as could be seen in China. Outside of formal schooling education in terms of extra-curricular activities for youth movements was used for the purpose of indoctrination and the promotion of values which the leader wished to instill.

Results could include examination of the changes made to school curricula: the introduction of particular areas for study; the emphasis on ideology; the reorganization of the teaching profession at all levels to ensure the effective transmission of the leader's message(s); the fall in illiteracy rates and the growth of a labour force necessary for the implementation of economic aims; the discouragement of individualism in favour of the demands the community or class; the enforcement of conformity.

If only reasons or results are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

18. Analyse the impact of single-party rule upon minorities in *two* single-party states, each chosen from a different region.

Minorities could include religious or ethnic minorities, or groups identified as "class enemies" (for example the Gentry class in China after 1949 or the Kulak class in the Soviet Union in the later 1920s and early 1930s). Some candidates may deal with the persecution of minorities which were singled out because of homophobic policies of the single-party regime.

Popular choices are likely to be the treatment of the Jewish population in Hitler's Germany – but this does not require a long description of the horrors of the Holocaust in occupied Europe. As noted above, there is likely to be some consideration of the "dekulakisation" undertaken in the USSR or the "Speak Bitterness" meetings in China after the coming to power of the CCP. Other areas could be the treatment of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam post-1975, urban dwellers in Pol Pot's Kampuchea (Cambodia) or any other appropriate example – for example tribal/ethnic groups in newly independent African states which were discriminated against in some cases, though there were significant exceptions (Nyerere's Tanzania).

The impact should be covered by reference to the changes in the social status, living conditions, political standing, economic level, *etc* of the selected groups. Some candidates may wish to provide a brief explanation as to why these particular minorities chosen were victimized to the extent they were. This is acceptable but note the emphasis of the task on the impact.

Candidates must substantiate the points raised by accurate reference to specific minorities.

N.B. Women cannot be considered a minority for the purpose of this question.

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

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

19. "Political and economic instability in the decade after independence was the colonial legacy." With reference to *two* post-colonial states, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

The question requires examination of the progress of newly decolonized states in the 10 years following the achievement of independence. Note there is no regional requirement.

In some, though not all cases, new states faced problems which threatened successful performance in terms of stable governmental and economic systems.

Ex-colonies were often hindered in their early years because of the colonial legacy. Often, the metropolitan power established an economic system in the colony(ies) which was beneficial to an imperial economic system, but which did not provide the basis for a balanced economy in the new state. Heavy reliance on primary production and the vagaries of world commodity prices could undermine the economy of the ex-colony. Lack of educational provision by the metropolitan power could lead to a lack of trained personnel to administer the new state.

Colonial borders often overlooked religious, tribal and ethnic rivalries which surfaced after independence in the form of civil strife and secessionist movements which endangered the integrity of the state. Similarly, in some cases the "importing" of labour from outside the colony led to the establishment of groups whose presence was resented in the period after independence.

Not all ex-colonies lapsed into chaos (and credit candidates who can illustrate this) but the first 10 years was frequently a time of great instability. "Other factors" apart from those involved with the colonial legacy could be considered: the impact of external aggression by neighbouring states; the influence of Cold War politics; the role of the military in political life; corruption and inequitable distribution of resources in the new state, *etc*.

If only one post-colonial state is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks]. If two states are addressed, but only economic or political issues are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

20. Compare and contrast the methods used to attain independence in Ghana and Algeria.

The question requires identification of the methods used by the nationalist movements in these states to win freedom from colonial rule and the similarities and differences which characterized these methods.

The most obvious difference/contrast would be the use of armed force to pressure the metropolitan state into relinquishing control (as noted in Algeria between 1954 and 1962 where a war of independence occurred) and the comparatively peaceful road to independence witnessed in the Gold Coast/Ghana in the post-Second World War period up until 1957 when Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party assumed power.

Candidates could examine the types of methods used by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) in Algeria: armed force/guerrilla warfare against a militarily stronger enemy; the use of support from neighbouring states/organizations such as Tunisia, Morocco and also Egypt and the Arab league; "terror tactics" to pressure the government in Paris as well as the large settler (colon) population in Algeria – and comment upon the reasons for such methods being used.

In the Gold Coast, "Positive Action" campaigns by the CPP, a populist movement led by Nkrumah, resulted in a different type of pressure being applied upon the metropolitan state: waves of strikes and boycotts as opposed to armed revolt. Though in both cases violence was evident, the experience in the Gold Coast/Ghana was much less bloody in terms of casualties and reaction by the colonial authorities.

Nkrumah's success in 1957 was partly due to unrelenting pressure upon a London government already reconciled to granting independence whereas in Algeria there was dogged resistance to quitting Algeria until the coming to power of de Gaulle in 1958.

The contrast element will probably be most evident. For comparison, however, candidates in both cases noted above could refer to the period before the outbreak of the war of independence in Algeria when peaceful methods were followed (without success) by Messali Hadj who continued, even after 1954 to pursue a peaceful path. It was the failure of France to adequately respond to such methods that resulted in the emergence of a much more radical movement (FLN), angered not only by French (and settler) intransigence, but inspired by the defeat of France at the hands of the Vietminh in Indochina in 1954.

The more peaceful path to independence in the Gold Coast should not overlook the more aggressive actions of 1948 when riots occurred, linked with the recently formed United Gold Coast Convention Party (UGCC). These resulted in a crackdown and arrest of leaders by the colonial administration.

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

21. For what reasons, and with what results, were there challenges to Soviet control in Eastern Europe up to 1968?

The sovietization of Eastern Europe after 1945, it is argued, was undertaken by the USSR as a means of erecting a security barrier against possible future threats from the West as well as promoting Moscow's vision of socialism in these states. States liberated from Nazi control found themselves with a new political order bolstered by Red Army presence on their territory.

In the period 1945–1968, Soviet control via Soviet style regimes established by Moscow was challenged with limited, or no success, in cases such as Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia 1949–1952, East Germany in 1953, Poland and Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia 1968.

In some cases the challenge to Soviet control was linked in Moscow's eyes with suspicion of "Titoist deviationism" as witnessed in the purges of political leaders and party members in the satellite states of Hungary (arrests and execution of Rajk and Kadar respectively), Czechoslovakia (execution of Slansky), Bulgaria (execution of Koslov), Poland (jailing of Gomulka). In these cases the "challenges" to Moscow were challenges associated with support by the above victims for the Titoist belief in the right of socialist states to pursue their own path to socialism.

In 1953, the rising in East Germany was linked partly with resistance to Moscow's control but also with resentment of the imposition of work quotas and collectivization policies. It was crushed.

Hungary's revolution in 1956 and the crushing of Czechoslovakia's "Prague Spring" in 1968 with the implementation of the Brezhnev Doctrine may well form the basis for most answers to this question. In both cases the results of challenges to Soviet control was the brutal repression of movements which attempted to question Moscow's control.

In both cases disillusionment with repressive political systems operated by hardline Stalinist leaders as well as poor living and working conditions served as the basis for challenges. In the mistaken belief that after Stalin's death in 1953, and Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" of 1956, the USSR would be more willing to tolerate changes in the satellite states, Hungarians under Nagy attempted to implement policies (political pluralism, withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact) which were unacceptable to the USSR. The crushing of the Hungarian rising resulted in death (20000), imprisonment and a refugee (200000) outflow as Moscow reasserted control.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968 a similar fate befell attempts by Alexander Dubcek to promote "Socialism with a human face" in reaction to the repressive regime of Novotny. Fearful of the spread of ideas such as freedom of speech and economic liberalization to other satellites, Moscow and other Warsaw Pact states suppressed the movement, ensuring the removal of Dubcek and his replacement with Husak who was a loyal supporter of Moscow.

Some candidates may however note that in the case of Poland in 1956, there was a willingness on the part of the USSR to permit limited challenges to Soviet control – but Poland was not a "front line state" and Gomulka was careful not to adopt policies which would antagonize Moscow.

If only reasons or results are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

22. With reference to *one* post-colonial state which gained independence after 1945 in *either* Africa *or* Asia, examine how the Cold War helped *and* hindered its development.

Emphasis in this question is on investigation of how East–West tensions of the Cold War era affected the development of one state. Consideration could be given to the ways in which the state benefited from economic/military support provided by the East or Western bloc – or alternatively how the state suffered as a result of its association with one particular side in the Cold War. In addition to economic and military aspects candidates could also examine how the political system of the state was impacted by the Cold War conflict – whether the government or regime was strengthened or subverted as a result of its allegiance to a particular side.

Suitable examples for this answer could include: The Congo from 1960 onwards, Vietnam 1945–1975, Angola from 1975 onwards, Ethiopia 1974–1991, *etc*.

Whichever state is chosen, specific detail needs to be supplied as to the impact of the Cold War on the country. Reference could be made to how the state's economic infrastructure was strengthened or weakened by outside aid, whether the state became a theatre for a proxy conflict and the effect this had on its population/demography, *etc*.

If only "helped" or "hindered" is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

23. To what extent was the dissolution of Yugoslavia the result of the rise of long suppressed ethnic and separatist movements?

Established after the First World War, the state of Yugoslavia – the "South Slav" kingdom which was the aim of pre-1914 Serbian nationalists was arguably less an example of self-determination than the establishment of a Greater Serbia. The new nation consisted of a variety of ethnic and religious groups that coexisted, at times uneasily. Past enmities existed which were not effectively dealt with, either before or after 1945, when Tito became leader until his death in 1980.

In Yugoslavia, Serbs were politically and militarily dominant and the relationships with the Muslim population (from Ottoman times) and Croats were strained – as witnessed in the Second World War when antagonism between Serbs, Muslims and Croats was apparent in bloody confrontations leaving hundreds of thousands dead (mainly Serbs).

The rule of Tito from 1945–1980 restored order – and indeed the federal system, which was the basis for government (representing the six "republics" of Yugoslavia and two "provinces"), was intended to ensure that regional and minority tensions would be alleviated by recognition of differences. With Tito's death in 1980, the cement which held the federation together crumbled.

Yugoslavia experienced the rise of older tensions exacerbated by economic problems (unemployment, inflation, regional disparity in terms of wealth) and the policies of Slobodan Milosevic, who became increasingly associated with a Serb nationalism, which alienated other groups.

The break-up of Yugoslavia was triggered by a referendum held in Slovenia in which a majority supported the call for an independent state. When Slovenia declared itself independent (June 1991) a brief military confrontation occurred, but Slovenia was successful in achieving independence. The backing of the European Community for Slovenia's independence bolstered the movement for independence in other republics. A similar declaration by Croatia which contained a significant Serb minority was forcefully resisted leading to a Serb-Croat war which was temporarily halted by a ceasefire in February 1992 backed by UN peacekeeping forces. Violence resumed in March that year when Bosnia-Herzegovina declared itself independent. The conflict drew in Serbia in support of the Bosnian Serb minority, Croatia in support of Bosnian Croats and the forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina's freedom was dealt with by 1995 in Paris, following a conference organised in Dayton (United States) the previous month, the settlement was precarious.

Kosovo became (from 1995 onwards) the scene of new conflict between Milosevic's forces and the Albanian majority in that province. NATO involvement to protect the Albanians in Kosovo and air attacks and economic boycotts on Serbia produced a Serb withdrawal from the province in 1999.

Candidates could therefore investigate the nature of the state since its establishment, the extent to which the different groups/minorities were accommodated, the question of resentment of Serb dominance, the resurgence of Serb nationalism under Milosevic, the economic motives which spurred on Slovenia, the importance of foreign involvement which may be seen as encouraging break away movements as well as subsequently providing protection in the ensuing civil war situation.

24. With reference to *one* ex-colonial African or Asian state *or one* Central and Eastern European state before independence, assess the contribution of social and economic issues to the growth of nationalism.

Candidates need to ensure that the focus is the period before the achievement of independence. Candidates are not being requested to narrate the rise of an independence or nationalist movement in the selected state but to make an assessment of the contribution of specific issues. While candidates may question the extent of the contribution of these issues in terms of importance, they are required to deal with such issues in their assessment.

Economic issues could refer to: exploitation in terms of employment (wages, working conditions, seasonal or underemployment, *etc*); the structure of the economy of the ex-colonial or Central/Eastern European state which was imposed by the metropolitan or foreign power for its own benefit (*eg* monoculture and/or specialism in production as part of a larger imperial economic system with little consideration for the ex-colonial state itself); fluctuation in living standards due to over reliance on commodity production which was subject to vagaries in world market prices; repatriation of profits to the disadvantage of the population, *etc*.

For social issues areas such as discrimination (based on race, religion, language) could be examined alongside resentment of treatment of indigenous cultures as inferior by the dominant power. Lack of educational opportunities on offer or the insistence on a curriculum stressing the culture and values of the dominant power could also be investigated.

Candidates could also identify other areas as being more, or less, significant, for example: the impact of war in weakening the physical power or will of the dominant power to resist nationalist movements, the importance of outside aid in promoting the movement for independence; the emergence of charismatic leadership, *etc*.

Be generous in interpreting what constitutes "social/economic" because of the interrelationship of such policies.

Topic 5 The Cold War

25. "Post-war enmity was the product of longer term ideological differences." To what extent do you agree with this statement on the origins of the Cold War up to 1949?

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The differences in ideology of the protagonists in the Cold War could be defined/explained at the outset: the belief systems associated with the East and West represented by the USSR and the USA. Without clear identification and awareness of what constituted "differences" answers are unlikely to prove effective. Candidates may refer to the issues of political pluralism (or lack thereof), economic organization, the question of what constituted civil liberties, *etc.*

The division between the capitalist/democratic and the socialist worldview which was evident during the years following the Second World War existed earlier – though the intensity of struggle and confrontation was less marked. Candidates are required to examine when and why enmity, resulting in the Cold War, originated.

Some candidates may trace the enmity back to 1917 and the Bolshevik Revolution which produced a state whose ideology was antithetical to that of Western nations, noting the levels of mutual suspicion which characterized the relationship from then up until the Second World War where mutual suspicion was replaced by a "marriage of convenience" to defeat a greater enemy. Apart from ideology, candidates may argue that it was the power vacuum established by the defeat of Germany which led to what became known as the Cold War. The vacuum produced, and the prospect of rewards in economic and strategic terms, could be seen as setting the scene for confrontation. The issues of changing attitudes due to leadership change in 1945, mutual fear in the new atomic age, and the search for security could all be examined.

Regurgitation of historiography: that is summarizing of historians' interpretations (Traditionalist/Revisionist/Post Revisionist views, *etc*) is not what is required. Such views should be used to supplement historical detail, not to replace it. Candidates who present responses which do little more than list or parrot such views will not score highly.

26. For what reasons, and with what success, did the United States adopt a policy of containment between 1947 and 1962?

The introduction of the policy of containment in 1947 with the Truman Doctrine (and then added to by the Marshall Aid programme) was originally meant for the European theatre. Candidates could examine the situation in Europe 1945–1947 which galvanized US involvement in this particular sphere and comment upon the rationale (overt and covert) for the adoption of such a policy. The question does not require a narration of crises from 1945–1962 but rather the selection and deployment of historical knowledge to allow for critical assessment of why the original doctrine was implemented and its subsequent adoption outside the original intended sphere – for example Korea 1950–1953 and, by 1962, Cuba.

The task also requires consideration as to whether the policy was successful in achieving its aims in terms of containing Communism. Candidates could illustrate this by referring to places/incidents where it did rescue states from a perceived threat (for example Greece, Korea) or where it was less successful (the "loss" of China, Vietnam up to 1962 for example).

This period of the Cold War is well resourced and likely to be well known by candidates who have specialised in Topic 5. Expect specific detail and judicious selection of content. Descriptive accounts of 1947–1962 are unlikely to score well.

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

27. Account for the change in Sino–Soviet relations after the death of Stalin in 1953.

The nature of Sino–Soviet relations before the death of Stalin is the obvious starting point since the question's focus is "change" after March 1953. Comment could be made on the period from 1949/1950 and the Sino–Soviet Treaty and what it revealed about the political, economic and personal relations between the two states and leaders.

N.B. While there is no necessity to go into great depth on the Soviet–Chinese Communist Party (CCP) relationship before the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, some candidates may argue that the relationship between the USSR and Mao prior to 1949 was marked by actions which suggested a less than fraternal relationship, on Moscow's part, towards the CCP and its leadership.

The relationship from 1950–1953, at least on the surface suggested a partnership (albeit a junior partnership in the case of the PRC as far as Moscow was concerned) and candidates could refer to the \$300 million loan (at 1% interest per annum) by Moscow, solidarity in relation to support for North Korea in the Korean War – Soviet help in China's First Five Year plan (1953–1957) and the provision of training for Chinese workers in the USSR seemed to indicate continuing economic and political support.

Yet from 1953 onwards, ideological differences which had in the past provided grounds for suspicion (Stalin's criticism of Mao's "peasant heresy" for example) were noted in: the breakdown of relations over Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" with its attack on the cult of Stalin and advocacy of "peaceful coexistence"; the withdrawal of Soviet aid from China and Moscow's criticism of the Great Leap Forward; the failure of Khrushchev to provide help in the construction of atomic bomb technology; Moscow's failure to support China in the Sino–Indian dispute in 1962; China's perception of Soviet weakness in defence of socialism at the time of the Missile Crisis in Cuba.

Candidates may go further chronologically to cover tensions in the later 60s over the use of the Brezhnev Doctrine, border clashes and Soviet anxiety due to improving Sino–US relations. The resumption of better relations post-Mao may be an end point for some respondents.

N.B. No end point is given in the question so allow for candidates to explain/justify the end point they select – but it is important that the nature of, and reasons for, changing relations pre- and post-1953 are dealt with.

28. Assess the contribution of *one* of the following to the development of Cold War tensions: Truman; Mao; Castro.

Whichever leader is selected it is important that the focus of the response is upon that leader's contribution to Cold War tensions. Answers which narrate the life story or background of the leader will not score well. Obviously the choice of leader dictates the material which will be focused upon.

Truman

Candidates could consider the importance of the Potsdam Conference and the changed US attitude towards perceived Soviet expansion, the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan and the impact on East–West relations that this had, the adoption of the containment policy (Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan), its implementation in Europe and its extension to the Far East. How Moscow, and by 1950, Beijing reacted to such policies could be examined in determining the extent to which such policies (which could be interpreted as reactions to the spread of communism and/or the promotion of "dollar imperialism" and US expansionism) contributed to the tensions between East and West.

Mao

Candidates could refer to: the importance of the "loss of China" and the US view of "monolithic communism" which accompanied this; China's role in the Korean War; the Sino–Soviet split and its repercussions for relations with both Moscow and Washington; Sino–American rapprochement which resulted in tension between Moscow and Beijing, *etc*.

Castro

Candidates could examine: the programme of Castro and how it was seen by Washington after Castro's coming to power (Washington's perception of Castro as a threat to US economic and strategic interests); US resentment of policy of nationalisation and subsequent economic embargo by President Eisenhower leading to Havana's friendship with the USSR; the Bay of Pigs invasion and missile crisis from 1961–1962 and its consequences. While many candidates will go no further than this, the role of Cuba in Africa and in Central and Latin America could also be examined in terms of Cold War tensions (Castro being seen as a Soviet surrogate in cases such as the Congo, Angola's civil war, *etc*). Castro could also be seen as an agent for the promotion of communism in Bolivia, Nicaragua, Grenada which led to US involvement to either destabilize or overthrow Marxist type regimes.

Each leader offers the opportunity to examine the manner in which tensions were intensified as a consequence of the policies/actions of the leader.

29. Analyse the reasons for, and results of, Soviet involvement in the war in Afghanistan (1979–1988).

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The Communist coup of 1978 in Afghanistan which resulted in the ousting of Daud Khan was followed by a flurry of reforms by the new regime which proved less than popular in the country. A civil war situation occurred as Shiite rebels and mutinous troops from the Afghan army challenged the new government of Muhammad Taraki who appealed for Soviet assistance. Initially reluctant, Moscow did not send troops until the overthrow of Taraki by his deputy Hafizullah Amin who was regarded as a liability by Moscow.

Moscow backed the removal of Amin and his replacement with Babrak Karmal. This did not however prevent the growth of resistance to the communist regime in Afghanistan by the Mujahedin rebels.

Reasons for Soviet involvement could include: Soviet anxiety over the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, which if not checked, could spread to the Soviet Central Asian republics; the suspicion that Amin was involved in negotiations with Washington; the (mistaken) beliefs that the invasion and settlement of problems in Afghanistan would be short-lived and that foreign reaction would be critical but not necessarily serious or long lasting; the Soviet need to support its socialist "ally" in Afghanistan; Moscow's view that the process of détente with the US was floundering (SALT II failure) and that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan would not hinder a process already in trouble, *etc*.

Results could include: the results for not only the Soviet Union and Afghanistan but also the impact on international relations as the US reacted quickly to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan from late December 1979 onwards. Candidates could note the impact of invasion and war upon Afghanistan in terms of the guerrilla war fought against the Moscow supported Karmal regime (destruction of villages, massive refugee problems as by 1982 an estimated 20% of the population crossed into neighbouring Pakistan). As well as Afghan casualties (some commentators have claimed anything up to 1 million) the USSR also admitted officially to losses of over 13 310 dead, 35 000 wounded and 311 unaccounted for. For Moscow the war, which was embarked upon in the belief of a quick victory, sapped not only military strength but also military morale and financial resources contributing, along with the policies of Gorbachev, to the decline of the Soviet Union. It became obvious that Gorbachev's decision (announced to the *Politburo* in November 1986) to pull Soviet forces out of Afghanistan by 1988 marked the end of the Brezhnev Doctrine as far as Moscow's "defence" of Communist states under threat was concerned.

For the United States, the conflict in Afghanistan, from Carter's State of the Union address in January 1980 where he declared the invasion of Afghanistan to be the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War, to 1988/1989 was a success of sorts: US backing of the Mujahedin rebels via Pakistan helped tie down Soviet forces in a draining war; Moscow's image was damaged in the eyes of Third World states which showed their displeasure at Soviet actions in the General Assembly of the UNO though the promotion of Islamic radicalism was to prove a double edged sword for the future.

N.B. Do not expect all of the above but do reward answers which offer a balanced reasons/results approach for more than just one state.

If only reasons or results are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

30. With reference to *two* states, each chosen from a different region, examine the cultural impact of the Cold War.

Cultural in this question can be taken to mean areas such as literature, art (in a variety of forms – from painting to collage to sculpting for example), theatre, song, film, radio, television. This is a specialized type of question and candidates do require specific historical detail to support the response. Generalized coverage that provides no underpinning by reference to examples and how these reflect the impact of the Cold War will not score well.

Some candidates may see the term "cultural" and write about the Cultural Revolution in China but the focus of the question is the Cold War and such responses will be unlikely to deal effectively with the demands of the question.

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