

# Markscheme

**May 2015**

**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.**

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| <b>16–20:</b> | 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.  |
| <b>13–15:</b> | 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.  |
| <b>10–12:</b> | 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.                    |
| <b>8–9:</b>   | The demands of the question are generally understood. Historical knowledge is present but is not fully or accurately detailed. Knowledge is narrative or descriptive in nature. There may be limited argument that requires further substantiation. Critical commentary may be present. There is an attempt to place events in historical context and show an understanding of historical processes. An attempt at a structured approach, either chronological or thematic has been made. |
| <b>6–7:</b>   | 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.  |
| <b>4–5:</b>   | 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.   |
| <b>1–3:</b>   | 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.  |
| <b>0:</b>     | Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks.   |

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

## Topic 1 Causes, practices and effects of wars

### 1. To what extent is the term “limited war” applicable to 20th century conflicts?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. As such, they will need to consider the merits of applying the term “limited war” to 20th century conflicts and assess these against any potential weaknesses.

Candidates should show understanding of the term “limited war”, for example: the limited aims of the parties involved; limited mobilization of the economy (including no recourse to conscription); restricted use of weaponry (for example not using nuclear weapons); limited impact on civilian populations.

The Cold War as a whole should not be used as an example. However, proxy wars which took place within the context of the Cold War could be argued to be limited wars; for example US support for Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion of 1979.

While many conflicts in the 20th century were clearly not limited wars, others are more debatable. For example, the Korean War was limited in that nuclear weapons were not deployed. However, the degree of destruction wrought on Korean society could make the argument that it was not just a limited war. Examiners should accept any valid examples (which could include civil wars; however clear links should be made to the question when using these as examples).

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2. Evaluate the role of technology in prolonging the First World War.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question; in this case, the impact of technology during the First World War and the extent to which various developments prolonged that war.

Candidates' analyses may incorporate the impact of various technologies, for example machine guns, pill boxes, hand grenades, poison gas, barbed wire, long range artillery, early tanks and aircraft, long range naval gunnery and submarines. However, the impact of these technologies must be examined in terms of their role in prolonging (or otherwise) the First World War.

Of relevance could be the "assembly line" production methods that allowed factories to produce seemingly endless quantities of armaments. This, perhaps, more than the nature of the arms was what allowed the fighting to continue. Another approach may be that technological advances in weaponry were often met, almost immediately, by counter-measures such as gas and gas masks; machine guns and tanks and so preventing any one technological advance from making a decisive difference that would have ended the war earlier.

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3. Examine the impact of resistance movements on the outcome of any **one** war.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question; therefore, the focus must be on resistance movements and these need to be addressed in terms of their impact on the outcome of the chosen war. A resistance movement can be considered to be any movement fighting against an established government or occupying power in a war. For balance, other factors should be addressed, including: economic strength; conventional military actions. However these should be used as comparative factors and the focus of the assessment should remain on the impact of resistance movements.

The Second World War is likely to be a popular choice and this could give candidates an opportunity to use knowledge gained of their own country's history; for example in Eastern Europe, Russia and the countries of the former Soviet Union or even the Far East. However, accept any valid choice and expect detailed historical knowledge rather than unsupported assertions.

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4. Compare and contrast the role of foreign intervention in the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970) and the Nicaraguan Revolution (1976–1979).

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. In this case, there should be an ongoing analysis of the similarities and differences in the role of foreign intervention in the named countries.

**Areas of comparison:**

In Nigeria, France sold arms to Biafra and Portugal permitted both Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome to act as staging posts for supplies to Biafra. Meanwhile, the Nigerian government under Yakubu Gowon bought arms from the USSR and maintained good relations with the US and the UK. African states were against support for Biafra as they were unwilling to set the precedent of allowing such a secession. Both sides in the conflict used foreign mercenaries.

In Nicaragua, uncertain US support for Somoza under Carter was replaced by strong support for the anti-Sandinista rebels, the Contras, under Reagan (in spite of the Boland Amendment of 1983). On the other side, Cuba assisted the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) before and after it took power.

**Areas of contrast:**

Economic interests were arguably of greater importance in the Nigerian case where the oil fields of the East were of great international interest. In Nicaragua, foreign intervention was motivated by ideology and the Cold War context of Latin America.

Other factors that had an impact on the conflicts could include: military strength; economic resources; popular support.

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5. With reference to **either** the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) **or one** of the Chinese Civil Wars (1927–1937 **or** 1946–1949), to what extent was ideology the major cause of conflict?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. They should focus on the issue of ideology as a cause of their chosen conflict and critically assess the strengths and weaknesses of arguing this to be the major factor.

**In favour of the statement:**

In all three cases, arguments which agree with the quotation should be relatively straightforward to produce. It is easy to argue that Spain was ideologically polarized in the years leading up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936. For both Chinese Civil Wars, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Guomindang, GMD (Kuomintang, KMT) had strong ideological differences over China's future development.

**Against the statement:**

For Spain, there were many deeply rooted social divisions that arguably had limited links to ideology; for example between Church and anti-clericals or between Catalonia/Basque country and central government authority. In China between 1927 and 1937, it could be argued that warlords played a significant role and many of them had limited ideological motivations for their actions with regionalism and the acquisition of power being more important. Finally, in China between 1946 and 1949, one could maintain that it was the vacuum of power left by the defeat and withdrawal of Japan that precipitated the conflict.

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6. Examine the social impact of the Second World War in any **one** country.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. In this case, there needs to be a specific and detailed analysis of the social impact of the Second World War on one country. Other factors may, briefly, be considered in terms of comparisons; however emphasis must remain on social factors.

The issues related to social impact may include: changes to the role of women (for example their entry into the labour force); reduction of class divisions; the growth of refugee populations; the increase of restrictions on civil liberties; the negative effect on minorities (either religious or ethnic). Popular countries could include the US, China, Japan, the UK, France, Germany, the Soviet Union or Poland but accept any valid examples. Candidates have the opportunity here to use knowledge of their own national histories. Responses should provide relevant, specific historical detail and not just generalities or unsupported assertions.

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## Topic 2 Democratic states — challenges and responses

7. To what extent did the constitution of Weimar Germany have more strengths than weaknesses?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. As such, there should be a focused and detailed discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the Weimar constitution with an assessment of their overall significance.

In their responses, candidates may challenge the commonly-held view that the constitution was an unqualified weakness in Weimar Germany, and will need to demonstrate detailed knowledge of both the constitution and its impact.

### Strengths

These may include: universal adult suffrage; that it was truly democratic; the rights of freedom of speech, assembly and *habeas corpus* were established; Article 48 was essential to enable decisive government in the face of crisis, as shown in 1923 to 1924; the strong showing by pro-Weimar parties in the early years; the survival of potentially fatal threats between 1919 and 1923. Further, proportional representation facilitated the representation of a broad range of opinion.

### Weaknesses

These may include: an ultra-democratic version of proportional representation led to a profusion of parties making majority government difficult; for a country used to authoritarian rule it was perhaps too rapid a change towards full democracy given German history before 1918; Article 48 was open to misuse.

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8. To what extent were social **and** economic challenges met in **either** India (1947–1964) **or** Canada (1968–1984)?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. They will need to identify the social and economic challenges faced by their chosen country, assess how the government attempted to deal with these and then consider the extent to which the challenges were successfully dealt with.

**India (1947–64)**

Nehru's government was guided by a concern for the poor, self-reliance and a distrust of western investment. A relevant social aspect where his government did not meet the challenge was on gender issues. Candidates may comment upon the development of infrastructure with state monopolies established in railways, atomic energy and defence manufacturing and government regulation of coal, steel, shipbuilding and communications.

In 1950 the State Planning Commission established a series of five year plans starting in 1952. However, there was a poor growth rate compared to other developing countries in Asia and a declining agricultural sector. The lack of foreign investment arguably hindered growth. The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act 1951 resulted in the dominance of the bureaucracy over the economy.

Nevertheless there was some progress such as steel mills, dams and Institutes of Technology.

Candidates may also comment on affirmative action on behalf of the lower castes, and on Nehru's huge achievement in building a cohesive secular state.

**Canada (1968–84)**

Major challenges were: rising unemployment; stagflation in the late 1970s; economic crisis in the early 1980s; migration to the cities; regional variations in economic performance; rising costs of welfare and medicare; the problems facing the First Nation peoples and the Inuit. 1968 to 1984 was dominated by Pierre Trudeau and the actions of his government included: further expansion of welfare provision; partial devolution of power to the First Nation peoples, but no progress for the Inuit; decriminalization of homosexuality; in the late 1970s, reduced spending on education and health; the failed National Energy Policy.

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9. Compare and contrast policies promoting **either** employment **or** social welfare in **two** democratic states.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. For this question, this entails an ongoing analysis of the similarities and differences of the chosen factor in **any two** applicable states. Responses should provide relevant, specific historical detail and not just generalities.

### **Employment**

Measures taken might include: government support to struggling industries; protective tariffs; provision of training and education to the unemployed; attempts to create demand in the economy through schemes of public works or other types of government spending (governments may have cut interest rates or taxes).

### **Social welfare**

Welfare systems provided assistance, in the form of monetary payments (such as pensions or benefit payments), vouchers or housing assistance. Provision may have been made for the unemployed, the poor, the elderly, the disabled, those with dependants (usually children), and the sick. Candidates may analyse how welfare systems were financed (perhaps through an insurance system or general taxation), how generous they were, and how extensively they catered for the disadvantaged.

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10. Evaluate the success of education policies in **two** democratic states, each chosen from a different region.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. There will need to be a detailed appraisal of the extent of successes of the named factors in any two applicable countries.

Although examples will vary according to the countries chosen, a detailed analysis of various factors is expected and these could include: impact on literacy rates; access to primary, secondary and tertiary education; the use of selective or comprehensive systems; levels of educational achievement; range of provision; technical, vocational and “academic” education; the issue of whether or not there was equal access for boys and girls; and if there was equal access to pupils from different racial or ethnic groups.

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11. To what extent was the successful establishment of democracy in South Africa matched by social and economic change?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question; that is the extent to which social and economic change in South Africa kept up with the establishment of democracy in the country. Both factors mentioned in the question should be analysed and a conclusion should be reached.

When discussing social and economic policies, candidates may analyse the ambitious plans of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) including health care, land redistribution, house-building, and electrification. RDP was wound up in 1996, but candidates may assess the degree to which plans were achieved as the government adopted relatively conservative economic policies. Comment may be made on the slow pace of land reform despite the removal of restrictions on Black ownership, the desegregation of education (though questions remained about the level of progress made in the townships), the success of electrification, the volatility of the economy (in the 1998 crisis the government adopted strict monetary policies to control inflation; the price of gold fell but the crisis was short-lived and revival came quickly in 1999), and the thriving tourism, wine, fruit and armaments industries. However, by 2000 there were still questions on whether or not there had been sufficient economic growth to satisfy the many demands for improved social provision.

Some candidates may challenge the assumption that democracy was successfully established and this should be credited.

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12. Examine the impact of powerful pressure groups on democratic states.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. They will need to consider the positive and negative effects of powerful pressure groups and present a conclusion that is balanced and that draws upon detailed knowledge of named groups and their role in and relationship with a specific state or specific states.

Candidates may analyse the activities of well-known pressure groups such as the feminist and peace movements of the 1960s, campaigns against nuclear disarmament or in favour of human rights, **but there are plenty of other examples**. The evaluation of impact should include a judgment as to whether such groups have been able to affect government policies and legislation. Candidates may consider whether powerful pressure groups have more influence than political parties or indeed whether they can shape the policies of political parties.

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

13. Examine the political conditions that led to the rise of **two** authoritarian/single-party leaders.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. There could be an ongoing analysis of the similarities and differences in the political conditions that led to the rise of two authoritarian or single-party leaders. Narrative accounts with tagged-on conclusions are not as effective as responses that adopt a thematic approach.

Detailed knowledge and understanding of political conditions, and relevant links the rise of the chosen rulers is required and the political conditions that may be discussed could include: the unpopularity of previous regimes because of corruption; repression; a lack of civil liberties; constitutional deficiencies; divided opposition; the lack of political stability in government; the weak leadership of previous regimes; political threats to existing regimes, for example fear of revolution.

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14. With reference to **two** authoritarian/single-party leaders, each chosen from a different region, to what extent was complete totalitarian rule difficult to achieve?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. In this case, there should be a critical analysis of the merits (or otherwise) of the statement in terms of the chosen exemplars. Detailed knowledge of the chosen rulers/leaders is expected. The focus of the answers should be on the leaders’ time once in power.

There will need to be at least implicit understanding of “totalitarianism”, and answers will need to provide a focused critique of the level of totalitarianism in their chosen states. In doing this, candidates may evaluate the effectiveness of the methods used to establish totalitarian rule by addressing the following: did the ruler hold ultimate constitutional power? Was there a unified body of secondary leadership in support of the ultimate leader? Was there any sort of representative assembly? Did the ruler have authority over the armed forces? Were there any rival political parties or independent trade unions? How effective were the security forces? Was there any opposition? Was there an independent judiciary? Was there any criticism from religious leaders? Was the Church controlled or attacked? Did the ruler have control over the economy? Did any freedom of expression survive?

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15. “The nature and extent of opposition to Peron between 1946 and 1955 did not justify the measures he took against it.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. There should, therefore, be a detailed and well-supported analysis of the nature and extent of opposition to Juan Peron alongside a well-substantiated critique of the measures he employed to deal with it.

Until the last months of his rule Peron seemed in almost full command; Congress was dominated by his supporters while the opposition was fragmented and ineffective. The Supreme Court was also taken under Peronist control. Opponents were systematically denied the right to free expression; they found it almost impossible to stage meetings and demonstrations and the press, which had been sympathetic to the opposition, and radio were taken under government control. The Law of Disrespect was strengthened to silence opponents, many of whom fled into exile. Pro-government mob violence was used against the offices of the newspaper *La Prensa* and there were attacks on the *Casa del Pueblo*, *Casa Radical* and Jockey Club immediately after Eva Peron’s death.

Candidates may comment on the harsh treatment of the socialist politician Cipriano Reyes, who was tortured and imprisoned. The Labour Party was denied a license to fight elections.

Peron confronted the academic and intellectual community: 1500 university lecturers were fired, including the novelist Jorge Luis Borges. While relations with the Catholic Church had deteriorated, the Church could not be categorized as an “opponent” until Peron decided to confront it. The Church was defiant in the face of controversial laws to legalize divorce and prostitution. Peron genuinely saw the Church as a threat and candidates may discuss the validity of this perception.

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16. With reference to **either** Mao **or** Stalin, evaluate the reasons for, and impact of, his hostility to religion.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. As such, there must be a focused and well-supported appraisal of the motivation for and consequences of hostility to religion by the chosen leader.

In the case of both leaders, candidates may comment upon the communist attitude to religion, which was atheistic. In the Soviet Union the Orthodox Church had been associated with the tsarist regime and “bourgeois reaction” and had been attacked by the communist authorities before Stalin took power (there had been large-scale arrests of priests, the confiscation of property and religion had been banned from schools): Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) considered religion to be one of the “four bonds” that enslaved the peasantry and saw Western Churches as agents of imperialism. Outright proscription in both countries was thought to be politically unwise: freedom of worship was, theoretically, constitutionally protected by both rulers. Both rulers may have considered religious belief as a dangerous rival ideology, potentially damaging to their cult-of-personality propaganda.

### **Stalin**

Stalin extended the attack on religion. The vast majority of religious houses and churches were closed down; some were physically destroyed, while others were converted to anti-religious purposes. Tens of thousands of Orthodox priests and clergy were sent to prison, executed for counter-revolutionary activity or driven into hiding. A law of 1929 banned promotion of religion (church libraries, bible-reading groups, even the display of religious books in churches). The clergy was subjected to punitive taxation and lost the right to live in church property. Relentless anti-religious propaganda was led by the League of Militant Godless. Christmas Day was nicknamed the “Day of Industrialization” and so on. There was apparently some relaxation in 1937 with the recognition of Patriarch Sergei and 51 bishops as the central authority of the Church, but waves of arrests, church closures and anti-religious terror followed. There may be some comment on the harnessing of religious belief to the Patriotic War effort. Assessment may highlight the stubborn persistence of religious belief as shown in the 1937 census.

### **Mao**

The policies that could be analysed may include: the impact of the “Resist America and Aid Korea”, “Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries” and “anti-Rightist” campaigns on religious minorities; actions taken against foreign missionaries; the placing of the Catholic and Protestant Churches under the control of government bureaux; measures such as compulsory work on the Sabbath, mass accusation meetings where religious leaders were attacked by their own followers. Religious practice had to be within the framework of the Party line. The Cultural Revolution saw the closure of all places of religious observance and the wholesale destruction of religious property. There may also be comment on the persecution of Buddhism in Tibet. Mao came very close to eliminating religion altogether but there were remnants left and these saw a resurgence after his death.

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17. With reference to **one** authoritarian or single-party state, to what extent do you agree that the media was dominated by propaganda?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. The answer should critically assess the strengths or weaknesses of the statement in terms of the country chosen.

The term “media” applies to methods of mass communication, specifically the press, radio and, where relevant, television. Candidates could include cinema in this; however it is likely that this would be restricted to official newsreels. Other areas of cultural activity are not valid for discussion. Candidates are invited to challenge the perception that the media in authoritarian and totalitarian states was totally focused on propaganda, when the reality was that many regimes realized that there was a need to go beyond persuasion and that entertainment was needed too. Methods of entertainment included popular music, radio drama and other forms of light entertainment.

It will be necessary to identify the main propaganda messages and explain how they were promoted. In many states, rulers realized that their citizens would not tune into boring speeches or watch crude propaganda.

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18. Evaluate the extent to which the economic policies of **either** Castro **or** Hitler achieved their aims.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. They should appraise the economic policies of their chosen ruler and assess whether or not they achieved what they were designed to.

### Castro

The aims of Castro's economic policies should be identified: key areas being to end foreign ownership of Cuban resources including sugar plantations, tobacco plantations, to embark on land redistribution to the peasants by ending the *latifundia* system. This would improve the economic wellbeing of the peasants and retain wealth in Cuba.

In 1959 the First Agrarian Reform Bill was enacted, land was expropriated and redistribution in relatively small units began. Sugar plantations tended to be turned into cooperatives to try and maintain efficiency. All other foreign holdings in Cuba were nationalized. There was a central command economy and price control of rents and services. In 1968 the "revolutionary offensive" was implemented to try and increase productivity, thereby centralizing the economy even more.

A Second Agrarian Reform bill was passed, Five Year Plans were also introduced to try and industrialize further.

The success of these policies is debatable, certainly many landless peasants now gained land; however, some may argue that government control of prices discouraged anything more than subsistence farming. Cuba's economy remained dependent to a great extent on the sugar trade and there was limited money for other investment. The nationalization of foreign holdings resulted in the US trade embargo in 1960, which thus removed Cuba's major trading partner and made Cuba reliant on trade and aid, and especially oil, from the Soviet Union. Some candidates may consider the impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union on the Cuban economy.

### Hitler

Hitler's initial aim was to secure his political position and then to prepare the country for war. This meant rearmament and self-sufficiency. Reducing unemployment was an immediate priority and to that end, public works programmes such as the autobahns were important. Hjalmar Schacht's New Plan aimed to deal with the balance of payments crisis. Mefo bills were introduced to fund rearmament and from 1935 this was a priority. The Four Year Plan (1936), directed by Goering aimed to achieve self-sufficiency in key industrial products in preparation for war. Unemployment was eradicated, helped by conscription and the removal of women and Jews from official statistics and, by 1938, there was a labour shortage. Despite the scarcity of some basic foodstuffs, many Germans were pleased that the economic crisis seemed to be over and there was full employment.

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

19. Compare and contrast the methods used to achieve independence from British rule in India and Gold Coast (Ghana).

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. In this case, there should be a critical analysis of the similarities and differences employed by those who sought to achieve independence from British rule in India and the Gold Coast (Ghana).

**Areas of comparison:**

Candidates may initially identify the comparisons of British rule in both countries: often indirect and working through existing leadership and as well as the creation of an educated elite. Other comparisons may include: methods such as the use of non-violent protest such as strikes and mass demonstrations; the way that nationalist leaders challenged the British rule and were then imprisoned; the co-operation of nationalist leaders with Britain.

**Areas of contrast:**

The pace of the independence negotiations was different because in the Gold Coast (Ghana) it occurred in a relatively short space of time following the Second World War whereas in India it was a long-drawn-out process over decades; the granting of independence to India and Pakistan in 1947 influenced the British decision to dismantle its empire in Africa during the 1950s and 1960s; in India, the sectarian issues and violence ultimately influenced the form of independence and resulted in partition into India and Pakistan.

Candidates may compare and contrast the methods used by Gandhi and/or Jawaharlal Nehru and/or Jinnah with those of Nkrumah and/or other Gold Coast (Ghanaian) leaders.

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20. With reference to **two** colonial states in **either** Africa **or** Asia, examine the importance of armed struggle in achieving independence.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. They should consider the merits and demerits of the statement in terms of the impact that armed struggle had on the achievement of independence in their chosen states.

Candidates may choose any two colonial states in Africa **or** Asia. Candidates may choose to answer this question in a thematic way and may examine some of the following issues: the impact of the Second World War; the support for the philosophy/ideology of the nationalist leaders for example Ho Chi Minh's Marxism; the rise of a mass movement within the colonial state; the willingness of the imperial power to grant independence; the failure of the resistance of European settlers in the colonial state to the granting of independence; the impact of world opinion; the impact of the Cold War; and whether there was external intervention by other countries or agencies such as the United Nations.

A number of colonial states gained their independence only after armed struggle against the imperial power such as Algeria, Angola, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Vietnam. Sectarian violence occurred during the Indian independence struggle and at the end of the Second World War this proved to be a catalyst in the independence process. Armed struggle against the imperial power was not always the main reason for the achievement of independence and largely peaceful transitions occurred in countries such as Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria and some of the French North African colonies.

Some candidates may challenge the assumption in the question and choose two countries where armed struggle was not the main factor in the granting of independence and they should be credited for this.

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21. Evaluate the importance of external factors in the achievement of independence from French colonial rule in **either** Algeria **or** Vietnam.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. They should appraise the importance of external factors as the main contributor to the achievement of independence in their chosen country, and whilst they should refer to internal factors, this should be done in a comparative sense with the focus on external factors retained. Candidates may decide that either external or internal factors were more important or they may conclude that it was a combination of both that led to independence.

### Algeria

**External factors:** growing anticolonial sentiment in France since the Second World War; opposition to the cost and violence of the war; the collapse of the Fourth Republic; and De Gaulle's presidency was welcomed by the *colons* (French settlers) and the army. However De Gaulle began to negotiate with the National Liberation Front (FLN); realising that military victory over them was unlikely he offered self-determination. This policy had great popular support in France with a referendum returning a vote of 90 per cent in favour. In 1962 the final conference led to the Evian Agreement; Algeria was granted independence and Ben Bella became the first President.

**Internal factors:** Demands for independence had begun to emerge in the interwar years with a number of different leaders (Messali Hadj, Ben Badis, Ferhat Abbas) with a range of different goals from complete independence to political emancipation within a French framework. The *colons* did not accept the idea of an Algerian state as they believed that Algeria was part of France.

In 1945 the brutal suppression of the Setif uprising led to increasing support for various nationalist groups. Between 1945 and 1953 the various groups increased demands for independence and paramilitary groups were formed by Ben Bella, eventually forming the FLN, which began using guerrilla tactics against the French administration. Ben Bella was imprisoned between 1956 and 1962.

Ferhat Abbas joined the FLN and supported the armed struggle, which became increasingly ferocious; the Battle for Algiers, Barricades Week (1960) and the formation of the Organisation de l'armée secrete (OAS).

### Vietnam

**External factors** include: the impact of the Second World War and Japanese occupation. The Japanese slogan "Asia for the Asians", as well as the Japanese administration, inspired nationalist groups, but there was also resistance to the Japanese occupation. After the defeat of the Japanese, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnamese independence in September 1945, but President Truman did not recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, instead supporting the return of the French. This led to the Vietminh struggle against the French between 1946 and 1954, which resulted in a Vietnamese victory at Dien Bien Phu. The 1954 Geneva Conference divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel: North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh became the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV); South Vietnam was proclaimed the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) under Ngo Dinh Diem.

**Internal factors:** Ho Chi Minh created the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League in 1925 in China. In 1927 another group, the *Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang* (VNQDD), modelled on the Guomindang, GMD (Kuomintang, KMT) was formed and led violent protests, but was crushed by the French in 1930. Ho Chi Minh founded the Indochinese Communist Party and developed peasant support throughout the 1930s. A communist-led coalition of Vietnamese nationalists, the *Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh* (Vietnamese Independence League), known as the Vietminh, was formed by Ho Chi Minh in 1941 with the aim of fighting both the French and the Japanese.

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22. Examine the reasons for, and the consequences of, **one** Central/Eastern European state’s challenge to Soviet control between 1950 and 1968.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. In their responses they should, therefore, analyse and assess why, and with what effect, their chosen country challenged Soviet control within the set period.

Popular choices may be Hungary or Czechoslovakia, but candidates may choose any Central or Eastern European state. Candidates may initially explain establishment of Soviet control. The treatment by the Red Army along with implementation of communist economic policies in industry and agriculture; the loss of liberties; the isolation from the West; the non-acceptance of Western aid; the beginning of the Cold War; the establishment of the Warsaw Pact; the suppression of national identity; and the shortages of material goods all contributed to the growth of resentment towards Soviet control.

**The challenges to Soviet control** were varied: the Hungarian Revolution occurred in 1956; there were riots in East Berlin in 1953 and in Poland in 1956; and the Prague Spring was in 1968. Candidates will need to examine the specific reasons leading to the challenge in the chosen country.

**The consequences** also varied; from the overt use of Soviet military force in the cases of Hungary and Czechoslovakia to the tightening of repressive measures and purges in other countries. The construction of the Berlin Wall, and the brutality towards those who tried to escape to the West, may also be seen as a consequence. The Soviet desire to reinforce a buffer zone around its borders and the increasingly bitter rhetoric of the Cold War shaped the consequences of internal challenges to Soviet control.

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**23.** Examine the reasons for conflict among the successor states of Yugoslavia.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. In this case, there should be a critical assessment of the various reasons why the successor states became involved in conflict.

Candidates may trace the reasons for conflict amongst the successor states of Yugoslavia to the problems that existed before dissolution and war. After the First World War, Yugoslavia was created as a pan-Slavic country that comprised six federal states and two provinces. Overall, it was multi-ethnic and multi-religious, but the regions or states had antagonisms towards, and historical differences with, each other. These differences were never fully resolved, but during the Tito years from 1948 to 1980 they were controlled and unified by the dictatorship. After the death of Tito, different political leaders such as Tudjman in Croatia and Milosevic in Serbia pursued economic and social policies that accentuated these differences and thus weakened the overall unity of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia and Croatia became independent in 1991, but Serbia invaded Croatia due to its high proportion of ethnic Serbs. Ethnic and religious differences became particularly important after the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, because conflict developed initially between the minority Orthodox Bosnian Serbs, the majority Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) and minority Roman Catholic Croats. The policies of ethnic cleansing and relocation were pursued by opposing armies. Other reasons included: the economic problems inherited from the former Yugoslavia; the interruption of trade and industry; the lack of resources in the smaller states and thus the lack of foreign investment; the political instability in each state. All of these increased the intensity of the conflict. Candidates may also argue that foreign recognition of the independence of states such as Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was a significant reason for the development of conflict.

Answers should not go beyond the year 2000.

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24. Examine the changes in social and cultural conditions since independence in **one** post-colonial **or** new Central/Eastern European state.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. They must select one appropriate state and consider how the social and cultural conditions of that state have changed (for better or worse) after it achieved independence. Discussion of political and economic developments may be allowable, but they need to be in the context of social and cultural change.

Most post-colonial states experienced social changes due to the new political administration: there may have been a shift in the balance of power and status within the different religious or tribal or ethnic groups; social and economic inequalities may have become more or less, accentuated. New governments may have introduced policies to improve education, welfare, health and infrastructure and this may have had an impact on social mobility. Economic issues such as trade with the former colonial power, investment, and the challenge of competing in the world economy may have had both a positive and/or negative impact on living standards.

Changes in cultural conditions may include the rise of nationalism, a focus on the teaching of national history and local languages, the development or recovery of unique national cultural traditions such as the revival of the arts, the rise of a tourist industry, the promotion of sport and involvement in world sporting competitions as a way of fostering national unity.

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## Topic 5 The Cold War

25. Examine the reasons for, and the impact in Europe of, the formation of NATO.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. There should be a detailed consideration of the rationale for the formation of NATO as well as an analysis of the consequences of its formation on Europe.

This should not be an essay on the origins of the Cold War.

The short term circumstances in which NATO was formed are likely to be well known and should be addressed. They include: the alliance was an extension of the Brussels Defence Pact (1947); it was formed in the aftermath of the Berlin Blockade and the establishment of the West German state; member nations included the major powers and other smaller nations such as Portugal, Denmark and Norway; a joint NATO military command was formed and the founding treaty stated that an attack on one member was an attack on all NATO members. West Germany joined in 1954 and it could be argued that it formed part of the policy of Containment.

The NATO alliance was very clearly a defensive alliance; however it was also a very public confirmation to Europe that in the longer term the US would not revert to isolationism (the Marshall Plan had been temporary). It had the effect of reassuring various nations (for example the French were reassured that a rearmed West German state would not be a threat). In the short term NATO contributed to the notion of a unified Europe. Economic benefits also resulted from the alliance: trade between member nations increased; it stimulated economic recovery (for example the alliance led to orders for West German machine tools). It also helped to maintain the influence of the US on European affairs. As such, although the alliance was primarily a defensive one, it was also a means to maintain and extend US influence in Europe.

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26. Evaluate the influence of Cold War tensions on **two** military conflicts, each chosen from a different region.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. They should provide a clear appraisal of the various effects of the Cold War on the chosen countries.

In their responses, candidates could use a number of possible examples including: Korea; conflicts in the Middle East (Suez, 1967 or the 1973 Arab–Israeli conflicts); Vietnam; Chile; Angola; Afghanistan; Congo.

Responses should make clear links to the Cold War as a cause, catalyst and/or an ongoing facilitator of the conflicts being discussed but they could also argue that some conflicts were much more to do with local tensions and/or problems and that Cold War tensions were less significant. Also, please note that the examples chosen should be military conflicts. For example, the Berlin Blockade and the Cuban Missile Crisis would not be suitable examples as although they were crises, they were not military conflicts.

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27. “Stalin and Truman were equally responsible for the emergence of the Cold War.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. They should critically assess the merits (or otherwise) of the given statement and provide a well-supported and consistent argument about whether or not Stalin and Truman were equally responsible for the emergence of the Cold War.

In their responses some candidates may consider longer term tensions dating back to 1917. They may refer to the establishment of Comintern; the Riga Axioms; Soviet support for the Republic in the Spanish Civil War; wartime tensions over the delay in the opening of the Second Front; and Soviet actions in liberated nations.

The immediate causes of tension were events in Germany between 1945 and 1949; tensions over reparations; the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan; the establishment of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers’ Parties (Cominform) and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON); the Sovietization of Eastern Europe; the formation of Bizonia and Trizonia; and the Berlin Blockade.

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28. With reference to **two** Cold War crises, to what extent did brinkmanship risk direct superpower conflict after 1956?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. For this question, this entails the critical assessment of the role of brinkmanship in heightening tensions between the superpowers in the context of any two Cold War crises.

The two major Cold War crises where brinkmanship seemed to make war a real possibility were Berlin in the years 1958 to 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis 1962, although some candidates may well cite the 1973 Arab–Israeli Conflict when it seemed that the US and the Soviet Union might go to war in support of their client states in the region.

Whatever examples are chosen candidates should have specific knowledge of events, including the build-up of the crisis, the level of military preparedness of each power and the way in which war was avoided.

If Berlin and Cuba are chosen as examples candidates may argue that the threat of war was much greater over Cuba because of the danger to the continental United States. However in the case of Berlin and despite much public support for West Berlin and a series of bad-tempered summits (Paris, Vienna) that seemed to indicate an escalating crisis, in the end Kennedy promised to defend access to Berlin from West Germany but **not** access from West to East Berlin. This gave Khrushchev and Ulbricht what they wanted: a means of halting refugees fleeing to the West. In August 1961 the Berlin Wall was built and, although he condemned its creation, Kennedy took no action as a war over Berlin would have been relatively unpopular at home.

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29. Evaluate the contribution of the local Communist Party to the Sovietization of **one** state in Central /Eastern Europe in the years 1944 to 1949.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. There should, therefore, be an appraisal of the role of the local Communist Party in the Sovietization of the chosen state. Other Sovietizing factors (for example, the presence of the Red Army and Soviet “Advisers”) should be considered, but only in terms of their relative importance. As such, emphasis should be retained on the importance (or not) of the key factor.

Chosen examples could include Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria; however the Baltic States are not valid examples as they were annexed by the Soviet Union. In many of the relevant states the Communist parties were small (Czechoslovakia was the exception), and in the post-war period coalition governments were established. In most cases the local Communists sought control of key ministries that would enable them to extend their power. These included the Interior, Justice and Agriculture ministries, for example.

Elections were held in most cases by 1946/1947 and in each case it was clear that the Communists were unlikely to gain control via the ballot box. Subsequently the pattern of intimidation, rigged elections and the fusion of Communist with often much larger Socialist parties began. This in turn led to Communist-dominated governments and the formation of so called People’s Democratic Republics.

The local Communists were the means by which the Soviet Union was able to establish and maintain control without the overt use of force.

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30. With reference to **one** Central/Eastern European state, examine the economic impact of the break-up of the Soviet Union.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. There should, therefore, be a critical analysis of the how the break-up of the Soviet Union economically affected the candidate's chosen country.

The economic impact could include: much greater freedom to trade, national economies being dominated by market forces that often led to inflation and had an impact on standards of living; the emergence of large companies that ran major industries; economic disparity in society with the emergence of the very rich (oligarchs); the establishment of western companies/chains in Eastern Europe. Some candidates may argue that much of the economic change was largely focused in urban areas and that in rural areas the agricultural economy was weak and that there has been limited economic change.

The privatization of previously state-run agencies and enterprises and the emergence of big-business should also be considered. Responses should be supported with specific detailed evidence relating to the chosen exemplar.

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