

# Markscheme

**May 2015**

**History route 2**

**Higher level and standard level**

**Paper 2**

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

<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 did total war become the norm during the 20th century?**

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 candidates need to be able to assess both the nature of *total war* and the extent to which this form of war came to dominate warfare during the 20th century; if indeed, it did.

**Note:** Some candidates may – reasonably – include some discussion of why total war did or did not become the norm in the 20th century; however this discussion should not dominate their response.

Candidates' analyses may incorporate a definition of "total war" that may include some of the following: a high level of destruction of a country; high numbers of military and civilian casualties; the targeting of civilians by the bombing of cities and/or efforts to prevent the delivery of food supplies and other necessities; conscription for military service; a tightening of security by the government; the mobilization of economic resources. There may be a focus on the First and Second World Wars; however, one argument agreeing with the question could be that even so-called "limited wars" such as the Iran-Iraq War of 1980 to 1988 had some of the characteristics of "total war" in terms of the amount of destruction caused and the number of casualties. There may be consideration of how, especially after 1945, there were more "limited" wars but candidates may argue that even these often demonstrated some of the characteristics of "total war". Whatever the approach, candidates are expected to discuss "total war" and to consider its prevalence in the 20th century.

Answers should use relevant supporting examples and they should show a balanced approach that argues both in favour of and against the quotation.

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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 role of revolutionary movements in causing any **two** 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. They must clearly identify two conflicts and provide an analysis of how far revolutionary movements caused the two chosen conflicts. For balance, candidates may look at other factors that caused conflict, for example economic problems, repressive regimes, ethnic conflict and international factors; however, the focus of the response should be on the key issue. Candidates may also take issue with the word "causing" and they may argue that revolutionary movements were often responses to perceived misrule.

Among the possible movements that could be discussed, possible examples may include the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and/or the Communist Party in Vietnam. Nevertheless, accept any choices as long as factual material is provided to support the arguments made. If candidates refer to the NSDAP in Germany as a revolutionary movement, the response should focus on the period up to 1934 (Night of Long Knives) only and so it would be difficult to connect this directly to the outbreak of the Second World War. However, the Black Hand would be an appropriate example to be linked to the outbreak of the First World War.

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4. Compare and contrast the causes of 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. Therefore, the causes of conflict in both countries should be discussed with an evaluation of the similarities and differences in those causes.

### **Nicaragua**

One could plausibly maintain that causes stretch back to US intervention between 1927 and 1933, the death of Sandino in 1934 and the emergence of the Somoza regime in the 1930s. Other candidates may focus on more recent events and discuss the Cold War context in Latin America, especially the importance of the Cuban Revolution, as inspiration for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). With regard to Nicaragua in the 1970s candidates may examine the 1972 Managua earthquake after which the Somoza government is believed to have controlled aid money for their own purposes. This alienated many supporters of the regime. In 1974, Somoza was re-elected but only with significant repression. In 1978, the journalist Pedro Chamorro, a long term critic of the regime, was murdered and this triggered an increase in unrest, including a general strike. Criticism from the US government under Carter, the increasing military strength of the FSLN and broad popular discontent all contributed to the fall of Somoza in July 1979.

### **Nigeria**

It could be argued that long term causes go back to the nature of British colonial rule and the limited attempts to integrate the colony politically (for instance, the Macpherson Constitution of 1951). More immediate causes include the contested election of 1964 and the consequent unrest. This culminated in the coup of January 1966, leading to the Ironsi government. A countercoup followed in July 1966 led by Gowon and, in revenge for the killing of many Northerners in January, many Easterners were murdered. Ojukwu, the military governor of the Eastern region, declared Biafran independence in May 1967 and war broke out the following month.

### **Comparisons and contrasts**

For comparison, in both cases it may be argued that external powers played a role; however, there is much more to contrast. The Cold War context was very important as a cause in Nicaragua but not in Nigeria. In Nigeria, divisions were on regional/ethnic lines whereas in Nicaragua they were on political lines. A recent history of colonialism as a cause is another contrast between the two cases.

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5. To what extent was the peace settlement following the Algerian War (1954–1962) successful?

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, a clear emphasis on the successes (or otherwise) achieved by the peace settlement that followed the Algerian War should be expected and not an account of the war itself.

In March 1962, the Evian peace accords were signed between the French government and the National Liberation Front (FLN). There were three main areas:

- The first was to allow for a referendum to determine the status of Algeria that France was bound to respect. This took place in July 1962 and Algeria's independence was formalized in the same month;
- The second was to protect the status of the *pieds noirs* settlers in a newly independent Algeria for a transition period of three years and to give an amnesty to the *harkis* troops who had served France during the conflict. This was less successful; the Oran Massacre of 5 July 1962 and the radicalization of the FLN led most *pieds noirs* to leave Algeria before the end of the transition period, while many *harkis* were murdered or left Algeria;
- The final area was French control of military bases for fifteen years and the assurance of Saharan oil concessions. In the event, France evacuated her military bases well before the end of the fifteen year period and in February 1971, Algeria nationalized 51 per cent of French oil and gas holdings.

The response should not be a simple description of the provisions of the Evian accords; instead candidates should use the material to provide an assessment of the extent to which the accords secured a lasting peace settlement.

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6. Examine the view that economic problems were the longest lasting results of 20th century wars.

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 focus is on economic problems and candidates should address the issue of “longest lasting”. As long as more than one war is discussed, that should be sufficient.

Responses should provide an examination of how and why wars in the 20th century created economic problems such as the loss of life that led to destruction of productive capacity in agriculture and/or industry, disruption of international trade and transportation, the cost of waging war on all countries involved (be they winners or losers). Post-war peace settlements, often led to a loss of territory and reparations for the losing parties. More generally, post-war adjustment had to deal with issues such as: the re-absorption of returning service personnel into the economy; the re-orientation of industry from wartime to peacetime; post-war debts to be repaid either to bond holders or to countries that had provided loans; resources needed to pay pensions and to care for the wounded; post-war inflation, as wartime shortages often led to price increases.

In order to examine whether economic problems were the “longest lasting” other factors may be discussed.

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**Topic 2 Democratic states — challenges and responses**

7. To what extent were the actions of political parties more important than economic factors in the collapse of Weimar Germany?

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 an analysis of political parties and economic issues in Weimar Germany and an attempt to assess the extent to which one of these factors, if either, was instrumental in the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Other factors may be considered, but only in comparative terms to those set out in the question. It is likely that the focus will be on the period 1929 to 1933, although some candidates may refer to earlier events to add context.

**Economic factors could include:** the impact of the Versailles treaty; the hyperinflation crisis of 1923 to 1924 that heightened fears; economic recovery during the “Golden Years” was not solidly based as it was reliant on loans from America; the agricultural sector was affected by falling world prices: the depression that followed the Wall Street Crash saw unemployment soar to at least 6 million; industrial production collapsed and two of the largest banks collapsed.

**Actions of political parties could include:** the collapse of Muller’s Grand Coalition over proposed cuts in welfare benefits; the failure of the Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democrats (SPD) to unite against the Nazis; the period of “rule by decree” as successive Chancellors failed to gain sufficient support in the Reichstag; the well-targeted campaigns organized by the NSDAP.

**Other reasons,** to be weighed against the above factors could include: political instability (a discussion of the impact of proportional representation and the weaknesses of the Weimar constitution could be relevant); the death of Stresemann who, as foreign minister, had been a consistent and moderating presence in successive governments; the electoral success of the NSDAP that was now supported by wealthy businessmen; the attitude of the army and the elites (including Hindenburg), many of whom wanted a more authoritarian government; Hindenburg’s reliance on von Papen and General Schleicher who wanted a more authoritarian government.

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8. To what extent were social **and** economic challenges effectively confronted in **either** Japan (1945–1952) **or** the United States (1953–1973)?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. With a focus on one of the named countries, candidates should critically examine the methods used to tackle social and economic challenges and assess the extent to which they were effective.

### **Japan**

In Japan, initial problems that resulted from war included: repatriation and demobilization of armed forces; exhaustion; food shortages leading, in extreme cases, to starvation among the populace. There was rampant inflation between 1945 and 1949, while economic activity in 1945 was under 70 per cent of pre-war levels. There was a need to demilitarize Japanese society. Rationing and price controls regulated food supply.

Under the Allied occupation (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, SCAP) important economic and social reforms and developments were carried out. These included: the new constitution of 1947, which enshrined sexual equality (progress was hampered by male resistance to changes to the role of men in the home); rights to collective bargaining (which was achieved in the short term though there was some regression after 1949); enhanced educational opportunities (there was compulsory education to 15 years and access to universities was improved); land reform was enacted, with lasting impact; SCAP wanted to reduce the stranglehold of *zaibatsu* (great corporations), but experienced limited success; the economy recovered in the short term, but declined again in 1948 to 1949, when inflation began to soar. There may be discussion of the controversial “Dodge Line” that was imposed to stabilize the economy.

### **United States**

For the US the main social challenge was civil rights, and candidates will probably focus on this extensively. Themes may include: the challenges of addressing poverty; franchise issues; and equality of educational and other opportunities (there was only limited progress under Eisenhower and Kennedy before Johnson passed the Civil Rights Act, 1964). It may be relevant to point out that African American organizations and leaders were in the vanguard of change. Cities such as Detroit and Los Angeles saw massive demonstrations of African American unrest; Dr Martin Luther King’s peaceful approach was not shared by the Black Panthers or the Nation of Islam. While Lyndon B Johnson had focused on African American issues, his successor, Richard Nixon, did not. Resistance to further progress for African Americans came from working class groups, who saw the urban migration of African American people as a threat to their jobs and security.

Social tension was high in the 1960s, not only because of the civil rights agitation, but also because of the divisive Vietnam War and concern for the rights of women. Mass demonstrations were common and a generational divide had apparently opened up during a time of permissiveness and challenge to conventional authority. Furthermore, the assassinations of John F Kennedy, Dr Martin Luther King and Robert F Kennedy shocked the country. In the 1970s Nixon appealed to the “silent majority”, while negotiating the Peace of Paris (1973). He also passed legislation that prohibited discrimination on the grounds of gender or race.

The economy as a whole prospered during this period in the prolonged post-war boom, and this prosperity reached an increasingly large proportion of society, including an emerging African American middle class. However growth began to slow down by the late 1960s, with increased imports of foreign cars and manufactured goods. The government response was to establish tariff barriers to protect American industries. Economic problems, such as inflation because of the increasing cost of the Vietnam War, were tackled by interest rate rises. The greatest challenge was the over-reliance on imported oil and the significant impact of the initial rise in oil prices by the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC).

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9. Examine the success of policies promoting **either** health **or** gender equality 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 issue raised by the question; for their chosen policy they need to provide a detailed analysis of how effective it was in dealing with issues in both their chosen states.

#### **Health**

Candidates may analyse the ways in which healthcare was financed, how extensive and accessible it was, and how effectively the health of a nation’s population was promoted. There may be a focus on care during childbirth or numbers of doctors per capita.

#### **Gender equality**

Gender equality could be promoted through legislation but implementation often foundered on both male and female conservatism and a failure to prioritize gender equality. Indices of effectiveness could be accessibility not only of work, but also to managerial and senior positions, beyond traditional areas such as education and health. Female involvement in politics could also be assessed. Social attitudes towards divorce and abortion, as well as changes to the legal framework, and access to childcare may also be relevant factors.

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10. Evaluate how effectively the rights of ethnic **and** religious minorities have been protected 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; that is how far has there been protection of the rights of the two minority groups mentioned? In their responses, candidates should show both knowledge and understanding of the issues in some detail and not resort to vague generalities.

**Ethnic minorities**

For this factor, candidates may analyse a range of factors including, legal protection and its enforcement, discrimination, especially in the work-place, ghettoization of ethnic minorities and political representation.

**Religious minorities**

For this factor, candidates may analyse a range of factors including legal protection for the freedom of religious expression (and enforcement of that law), the extent of religious worship, the attitude of the political class towards religion (the existence of an established Church), faith-based education being permitted (or not) and conscientious objection on religious grounds being permitted (or not).

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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 that are 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 healthcare, 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.

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12. “Stable democratic states rely on a strong party system and an effective opposition.” With reference to **two** states, 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. There must be a focus on strong party systems and effective opposition as key aspects of stable democratic states; however other stabilizing factors may be drawn upon to form the overall assessment. In their responses candidates are expected to refer to two exemplar states for which detailed knowledge and understanding should be employed to support the argument.

The stability of the chosen states should be assessed, along with the contribution of the party system. Factors that may be examined include the ways in which parties function (for example, membership, leadership and stability), the ability of opposition parties to challenge government and hold it to account and the role of parties in electoral systems. Where democracies proved unstable, candidates may consider how far a weak party system was responsible.

It would be relevant to consider other factors promoting stability, such as economic performance, and/or whether or not there was a tradition of, for example, parliamentary government.

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

13. Examine the importance of economic conditions in the rise to power 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; that is the extent to which economic conditions were important in the rise of single party or authoritarian leaders. Candidates are expected to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of economic factors and their role in the rise to power of the two chosen leaders.

It is rare for single-party and authoritarian leaders to rise to power during a period of economic prosperity, but the nature and severity of economic crises can vary. Candidates may analyse unemployment levels, trade slumps, the economic aftermath of revolution and/or war, trade balance, inflation, the standard of living, inequitable distribution of wealth and the economic dominance of foreign powers. It could be relevant to weigh economic factors against other factors such as political stability or relations with other nations.

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14. “Popular support, rather than the use of force, was vital to the establishment of single-party states.” With reference to **two** states, each chosen from a different region, 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. In this case an analysis of the role of popular support and the use of force in the establishment of single party states, each from a different region, with an assessment of which was the more significant contributory factor. Candidates should show a detailed understanding of the two factors mentioned in the question and demonstrate this knowledge in their discussion of two applicable states.

It may be that candidates, in addressing the question, go beyond the initial emergence of a leader and continue until a single-party state is established. This can be taken as, for example, July 1933 in the case of Hitler or as late as 1921 in the case of Lenin.

Please be aware that Stalin, would not be an appropriate example as he did not establish the single-party state in the Soviet Union.

#### **Popular support**

This could be shown at the ballot box, in mass demonstrations, through a growth in party membership or by participation in a revolution. It would be relevant to analyse which groups supported the winning party, or why popular support had been lost by the outgoing ruler.

#### **The use of force**

This could take the form of the threat of force, armed takeover by a guerrilla force or by a conventional army, paramilitary forces attacking opponents’ meetings and creating a climate of fear.

It would be relevant to show in suitable cases, that violence was **not** used, and that peaceful means were preferred, probably through the ballot box.

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15. Examine the view that internal opposition to Hitler had little impact.

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 focus on internal opposition to Hitler and an assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

Examples of opposition may include military plots (the Beck and July Plots), religious opposition (Confessional Church, papal pronouncements, Galen and euthanasia) and youth opposition (Swing Youth, White Rose, Edelweiss Pirates). There was also opposition from within the Nazi Party, for example the Night of the Long Knives. Whichever elements are chosen, candidates should go beyond description to examine their impact of these on the Nazi regime.

Consideration should be given to the extent of opposition and the degree of threat that it posed. Probably the most serious threat was military opposition, for example, Hitler was nearly killed in July 1944. However other modes of opposition also had some impact, for example religious opposition caused the Reich Church to fail and Galen persuaded Hitler to moderate the euthanasia policy, at least in public.

In their responses, it would be relevant if candidates were to show how effectively the authorities acted against opponents, supported by a huge number of informers, almost unlimited police powers (including protective and preventive custody) and a legal system that was no longer impartial.

Candidates may focus on the rise to power of Hitler and opposition from within the NSDAP up to his appointment as Chancellor; however linkage to the question would need to be clearly established.

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16. To what extent did the economic policies of **either** Mao **or** Castro contribute to the maintenance of his power?

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 importance of economic policies in the maintenance of power of one the above mentioned leaders. Candidates should be able to link economic policies clearly to the maintenance of power and balance these against other relevant factors.

### **Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)**

When he came to power, Mao was faced with sky-rocketing inflation, a war-damaged economy, and poverty among the peasantry. Inflation was cured swiftly; there was substantial land reform and the period 1949 to 1954 saw economic recovery, when GDP grew strongly and Mao harnessed the abilities of the bourgeoisie. Mao had also secured loans from the Soviet Union, and leaned heavily on Soviet technical expertise. The problem of peasant poverty could not be quickly solved, but at least the promise of land reform was kept. Both the First Five Year Plan and the Great Leap Forward (GLF) were important policies and candidates may assess how far these helped Mao to maintain power. It is likely they will see the GLF as ending in a weakening of Mao's authority and contributing to the Cultural Revolution when economic policies were subsumed by revolutionary zeal. It would be relevant to point out that after both the GLF and the Cultural Revolution, moderate policies were introduced to restore economic stability.

Outside of economic policies other factors could be assessed; for example, mass mobilizations against real and perceived enemies including former supporters of the Guomindang, GMD (Kuomintang, KMT). Mention of the Hundred Flowers Movement and the subsequent anti-Rightist campaign could be relevant as methods used by Mao to maintain power.

### **Castro**

Fidel Castro was faced by extensive poverty. Economic dependence on the US and an over-reliance on sugar were serious economic issues as was the lack of heavy industry. Immediately after the revolution Castro addressed some of these issues, but with varying degrees of success.

US-owned businesses were taken under Cuban ownership, and Che Guevara embarked on a programme of industrialization. Urban and rural land reform was successfully undertaken, creating a substantial body of support. Industrialization failed, however, and dependence on sugar continued. Before long, rationing had been introduced, and the USSR had become Cuba's chief foreign supporter. In the longer term Cuba's economy remained dangerously reliant on sugar and foreign support, and crashed spectacularly when Gorbachev removed Soviet subsidies in the mid-1980s. Despite the economic turmoil that followed, Castro's position was almost unchallenged.

Other factors could include: the flight of the middle class to Florida; show trials; coordination of trade and student unions; establishment of a single-party state; taking the armed forces under control; Castro's charismatic leadership; the US trade embargo also united the population against "imperialism" and in support of Castro.

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17. To what extent did authoritarian and single-party leaders have a negative effect on the arts?

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issue raised by the question. Candidates may challenge the conventional judgment that single-party and authoritarian rulers had a negative impact upon the arts and that there were no positive achievements to balance the argument.

Most rulers realized that wholesale suppression of the arts was a bad idea, as evidenced by the protection of “highbrow” culture (the Bolshoi Theatre in the USSR, ballet in Cuba, western classical music and, perhaps, traditional Chinese opera in China) and that, perhaps, access to such culture may have widened. Furthermore some totalitarian art could be regarded as distinguished. Education in the performing arts may have been promoted and most rulers allowed popular culture such as film to flourish. Some even permitted considerable freedom of musical expression.

Nevertheless, rulers often did suppress creativity in the arts; leading performers emigrated, freedom of speech and artistic innovation was limited, architectural styles were often uniform and bland or gargantuan and intimidating and there was often an emphasis on utilizing an art form for propaganda or as a tool to heighten conformity. There was also censorship and government control through ministries of culture or similar organizations.

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18. With reference to **either** Peron **or** Nasser, to what extent do you agree that his economic policies failed?

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 be a focus on the economic policies of the chosen leader and an evaluation of their successes and failures.

### **Peron**

Candidates may analyse: the extent of the fulfilment of his First Five Year Plan (which focused on increased pay, full employment, industrial growth and improved infrastructure; all of which would affect standards of living); his methods (for example the control of investment through the Argentine Institute for the Promotion of Trade (IAPI) and nationalized central bank); tariff protection; the nationalization of foreign assets (such as telephones, gas and railways); his preference for self-reliance, and the consequences of this; the impact of his rule on inflation, real wages, and standards of living; the impact of the Workers' Bill of Rights, including the minimum wage; the extension of social security; healthcare, housing and the provision of electricity. The Eva Peron Foundation epitomized the regime's focus on welfare. Controversy surrounded Peron's economic policies, which were much less successful in his second term, when he struggled to control inflation, create growth and revive the agricultural sector. Inefficient industry, increased labour unrest due to wage controls and higher taxation, and economic stagnation characterized Peron's final years.

### **Nasser**

Nasser's economic policies were fundamentally socialist with substantial direct government investment and control. Nasser inherited an economy where living standards had been falling, a huge gap had developed between rich and poor, 15 hour working days and child labour were common, less than a third of children were receiving secondary education and industrial workers comprised only one-tenth of the work force.

Nationalization of large-scale manufacturing plants took place and there was a focus on heavy industry, supported by trade and aid agreements with the USSR (1964 and 1970), for example, the iron and steel complex at Hulwan and the aluminium complex that used power generated by the Aswan High Dam. There was state control of the banking system: the National Bank of Egypt was nationalized in 1960 along with all other financial institutions. The nationalization of the Suez Canal was also an economic policy although its intended purpose of financing the Aswan High Dam was not achieved but depended on Soviet loans.

The Aswan High Dam, contributed to the modernization of village life. Land reforms were implemented: cooperatives provided cheap credit, fertilizer and seeds but still half the population remained landless. Increasingly, the state controlled communications, the cotton trade, and foreign trade as a whole. Personal income, as well as land ownership, was strictly limited whilst the National Charter promised universal healthcare, affordable housing, vocational schools, a minimum wage, profit shares for workers and free education. Between 1952 and 1962 the industrial sector increased production significantly and real wages rose 44 per cent between 1952 and 1967.

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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 reasons for opposition to French colonial rule in Algeria and Indochina.

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 focus on both Algeria and Indochina and an evaluation of the reasons for opposition to French colonial rule in both. The achievement of independence is, therefore, not relevant to this question.

**Area of comparison:**

Candidates may initially identify the comparisons of French rule in both countries; it was direct, bureaucratic, included the policies of assimilation and/or association and was encapsulated in the concept of *France d’Outre-mer* (Overseas France or Greater France). Nevertheless there are a number of other comparisons that candidates may identify, such as the impact of the First and Second World Wars, the growth of nationalism during the inter-war years, the emergence of leaders (in Vietnam Ho Chi Minh dominated whereas in Algeria there were various leaders such as Ben Bella and Boumediene), the importance of the colony to the French economy and the reluctance of the French to grant independence after the Second World War.

**Areas of contrast:**

The role of leadership was different because Algeria initially had a number of nationalist leaders (Messali Hadj, Ben Badis, Ferhat Abbas, Ben Bella) with varying philosophies whereas in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, with his Marxist philosophy, became the dominant leader very quickly; the Japanese occupation influenced events in Vietnam (Ho Chi Minh’s declaration of independence immediately after the Japanese defeat was ignored and the Allied powers supported the return of the French); in Algeria the proportion of French settlers was higher than in Vietnam and this led to the formation of the Secret Army Organization (OAS), a terrorist group made up of *colons* and army officers opposed to Algerian independence; the religious and ethnic differences were greater in Algeria; the reluctance of the French to give up Algeria was influenced by their previous defeat in Vietnam; French internal politics also had an impact on the bitter war in Algeria and on the final resolution.

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20. With reference to **one** African country **and one** Asian country, to what extent was the achievement of independence in colonial states determined by the ideologies of their nationalist 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. That is, the impact of nationalist leaders' ideologies on the achievement of independence from colonial control. Other contributory factors should be discussed, but need to be placed within an analysis of the importance (or otherwise) of the key issue. Candidates may choose any two colonial states but one must be from Africa and one must be from Asia

Candidates may answer this question in a thematic way and may examine some (but not all) of the following issues: the impact of the First and Second World Wars on the respective nationalist leaders; the philosophy and/or ideology of the nationalist leaders for example Ho Chi Minh's Marxism; Gandhi's *satyagraha*; Nkrumah's belief in liberal democracy; whether the level of violence used in the independence struggle was directly linked to the ideology of the nationalist leader; the rise of a mass movement within the colonial state; the willingness of the imperial power to grant independence; the amount of preparation for the responsibilities of government given by the imperial power; the increasing frustration of the nationalist leaders with the pace of the independence process; 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.

Some responses may identify many changes in the nationalist leader's stance and also acknowledge the significance of other leaders within the country.

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21. Evaluate the importance of **either** Gandhi (India) **or** Nkrumah (Ghana) to their country's struggle for independence from colonial rule.

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, an assessment of the significance of either of the individuals in their respective country's struggle for independence. Other contributory factors are likely to be discussed; however the emphasis should be on an evaluation of the contribution of the named people.

### **Gandhi**

There should be an assessment of his role and importance in relation to other factors that contributed to Indian independence. Gandhi's role in the struggle for independence may include: his ideas and philosophy; the *satyagraha* campaigns 1917 to 1922; his support for the Khilafat issue; the boycott of foreign goods; the khadi movement; the Salt March 1930 and the Civil Disobedience campaign; the development of mass support for independence; the Gandhi–Irwin Pact (March 1931); Round Table Conferences and Gandhi's popularity in Britain; the 2nd Civil Disobedience campaign; Gandhi's use of fasting; the deterioration of relationships between Hindus and Muslims and Gandhi's attempts at unity; the Quit India Campaign (1942).

Other factors to consider may include: his relationship with Congress; the roles of Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru; reaction to the Government of India Acts (1919, 1935); the impact of the Second World War; the role of Jinnah and the All India Muslim League; the demands for the creation of a separate Muslim state; the change of government in Britain and the actions of Wavell and Mountbatten.

Candidates will need to come to a conclusion as to how important or otherwise Gandhi was to the achievement of Indian independence in 1947. Some candidates may make distinction between Gandhi's popular and symbolic appeal and the actual political process.

### **Nkrumah**

There should be an assessment of his role and importance in relation to other factors that contributed to Gold Coast/Ghana's independence. Nkrumah's role in the independence struggle may include: his Pan-Africanism and the fact that he was a founding member of the Pan-African Congress in 1945; his work for the United Gold Coast Convention; his creation in 1949 of the Convention People's Party; his organization of a "People's Assembly" and his 1950 "Positive Action" campaign when the British rejected its recommendations; his appeal in urban areas; his use of mass action to put pressure on the British; and the subsequent arrest that made him a hero and popularized his party. In 1951, the British administration acknowledged Nkrumah's importance when he was released from prison to become leader of the Legislative Assembly with which the British aimed to negotiate a constitution for an independent Ghana. Nkrumah was elected Prime Minister in 1952 and continued to work towards independence. This was finally achieved in 1957.

Other factors to consider may include: the economic problems faced by Britain after the Second World War; the impact of Indian independence; changing public opinion; and the growth of independence movements across the world. The absence in Ghana of a large white settler minority that might have opposed change and Britain's decision to work with the leaders to bring about independence also contributed to the peaceful transition of power.



Candidates will need to come to a conclusion as to how important or otherwise Nkrumah was in the achievement of Ghanaian independence in 1957. Candidates may decide that it was a combination of factors.

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22. Evaluate the threat posed by opposition groups to Soviet control in **one** country in Central/Eastern Europe between 1968 and 1989.

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, candidates need to identify and assess the threat to Soviet control that was posed by opposition groups within one country of the region. They may assess the extent of this threat in the context of wider factors but the emphasis of the discussion should be on the key issue.

Popular choices may be Czechoslovakia or Poland, but accept all other relevant examples. Many candidates will cite the 1989 fall of communism as evidence of the ultimate success of opposition groups, others may argue that Soviet control remained in place until Gorbachev renounced the Brezhnev Doctrine and that therefore opposition groups posed little threat.

**Opposition to Soviet control may include:** attempts to oppose this control and its subsequent consequences (such as the 1968 Prague Spring, the strikes in Poland and the imposition of martial law); non-violent forms of protest such as the Worker’s Defence Committee and Solidarity in Poland; Charter 77 and pop music in Czechoslovakia; intellectual organizations; labour unions; the use of the underground press to distribute material; links made with organizations in the West; the growth of nationalism; the support of religious leaders both local and international such as Pope John Paul II; mass protests. The role and impact of individuals such as Walesa or Havel may also be examined.

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23. To what extent were religious issues the main cause of the dissolution 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. There will, therefore, be a focus on religious issues; however analysis could also encompass a range of other factors.

Candidates may give some background to the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Yugoslav state. The southern areas contained a high proportion of Muslims whereas Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia had large Orthodox or Roman Catholic communities. During the Second World War the Axis Powers invaded Yugoslavia and there were significant tensions as some groups collaborated and others resisted. These differences were never fully resolved, but during the Tito years the country was controlled and unified by the dictatorship.

More specifically, candidates may refer to the resurgence of religious issues, linked to ethnic differences after the death of Tito. Political leaders such as Tudjman in Croatia and Milosevic in Serbia pursued policies that accentuated these differences and which challenged the autonomy of the states and thus the unity of Yugoslavia. Slovenia and Croatia became independent in 1991, but Serbia invaded Croatia because of its large ethnic Serb population. Religious differences became particularly important after the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, because conflict developed between the minority Orthodox Bosnian Serbs and the majority Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) alongside minority Roman Catholic Croats. The policies of ethnic cleansing and relocation were pursued by the opposing armies and this aspect escalated even further when the alliance between the Bosniaks and Croats broke down with the ensuing Croat–Bosniak War.

Other factors that candidates may refer to include economic disparity, territorial disputes, the distribution of political power and foreign recognition of the independence of states such as Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which accelerated the rate at which dissolution occurred.

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24. Examine the changes in social **and** cultural conditions since independence in **one** post-colonial African **or** Asian 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.** Evaluate the successes and failures of the Marshall Plan.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. The main focus of responses should be an appraisal of the Marshall Plan with a focused discussion of its successes and failures. Discussion should not be focused on the causes of the Cold War; however it would be reasonable to place the plan into its context, that is, the post-war conditions and rising Cold War tensions. It would also be reasonable to mention that the policy of containment, of which the Marshall Plan was a part, formed the basis of United States foreign policy – preventing the spread of Communism.

In 1947 the Truman Doctrine emerged, linking financial and military aid to containment of communism. The Marshall Plan may be considered to have been the economic expression of containment, aimed at fostering European economic recovery and unity. Economic assistance tended to favour nations outside the Soviet sphere of influence but was not enough to facilitate full reconstruction and economic recovery. Initially it was aimed towards “all countries west of Asia” but Soviet participation was never likely and the Soviet Union applied pressure to Eastern European nations not to participate.

**Note:** Do not expect equal treatment, but both successes and failures should be considered.

**Successes could include:** the weakening of the political left in countries such as France and Italy as a consequence of the beginnings of recovery; the beginnings of economic growth and stabilization in the western zones of Germany; close economic links between the western European democracies and the United States, which benefitted the US economy; it helped fulfil the goal of containment.

**Failures could include:** only western European and some southern states benefitted from the Marshall Plan; it increased tension with the Eastern Bloc as the Marshall Plan was labelled, “dollar imperialism”; it contributed to the long-term division of Germany.

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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. “Truman caused the Cold War and, in 1962, Kennedy resolved its greatest crisis.” 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.

Candidates may challenge the statement with regard to Truman and argue that both Stalin and Truman were equally responsible for causing the Cold War citing, for example, Truman’s hardline stance against the Soviet Union at Potsdam, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, support for West Germany and support for South Korea. Counter-arguments may include Soviet actions in Eastern Europe after 1945, the establishment of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers’ Parties (Cominform) and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). Further, the imposition of the Berlin Blockade could be cited as evidence of Stalin’s, rather than Truman’s, responsibility for Cold War tensions.

As for Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis, the main focus should be on how the crisis was resolved. Some detail of the events of October 1962 and the actions of both Kennedy and Khrushchev should be analysed. Once Soviet missiles were discovered on Cuba events moved rapidly: Kennedy imposed a “quarantine”; on 24 October Soviet ships on their way to Cuba turned back; on 26 October Khrushchev sent a letter offering to withdraw the missiles under certain conditions followed by a second letter that demanded the removal of NATO missiles from Turkey. Secret discussions between Robert Kennedy and Dobrynin (the Soviet Ambassador) ensued in which the US promised to remove missiles from Turkey and not to invade Cuba. Khrushchev then agreed to remove Soviet missiles.

Candidates could argue that Kennedy made the resolution of the crisis possible by imposing the quarantine rather than immediate military action and then made concessions that allowed Khrushchev to withdraw. Some may also argue that Khrushchev was instrumental in resolving the crisis by turning Soviet ships back and making the first contact by writing to Kennedy.

Both leaders made a peaceful resolution possible by resisting the demands of the military for more aggressive action.

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28. Evaluate the reasons why **two** nations, each chosen from a different region, joined the Non-Aligned Movement.

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 this case, there should be an appraisal of the rationales of two nations for joining the Non-Aligned Movement. Examples could include Egypt, India, Yugoslavia, Cuba and Indonesia.

Candidates may start by indicating a broad understanding of what the Non-Aligned Movement was, that is, a movement that maintained a neutral stance in a bipolar world. However, the focus should be on why nations joined the Movement. Relevant analysis could include how the Non-Aligned Movement grew out of the conference in Bandung in 1955 and was consolidated at Belgrade in 1961, the nature of the movement itself (it maintained an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist stance) and its aims to promote Afro–Asian cooperation.

Reasons why specific countries joined the movement may include: a determination to maintain recently-won independence; a desire to resist domination by the superpowers; the wish to maintain flexibility in foreign policy; to achieve opportunities to trade and seek aid from both sides in the Cold War. In the case of some leaders such as Nehru, Non-Alignment gave them credibility as a mediator between the superpowers.

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29. Examine the internal **and** external factors that led to the establishment of the Warsaw Pact.

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 consider both the internal and external factors that led to the establishment of the Pact and they should attempt to discern if, how and with what effect, these factors were interwoven.

**External factors** could include: increased American influence in Europe; the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany and the NATO alliance in 1949; in 1954 the Federal Republic of Germany joined NATO and was allowed to re-arm; to emphasize to China the power of the Soviet Bloc.

**Internal factors** could include: the need to tighten control in Eastern Bloc nations (protests in Poland, Berlin and Bulgaria in 1953) as the Pact maintained the presence of Soviet troops in satellite states; to strengthen economic links between the Soviet Union and her satellite states – a unified military would help achieve this; to present a counter to NATO in Europe.

Candidates may, reasonably, conclude that external factors were more significant but the Warsaw Pact also strengthened Soviet control of the Eastern Bloc.

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30. Examine the social **and** cultural impact of the breakdown of Soviet control in any state you have studied in Central/Eastern Europe.

Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the requirements of the question and effectively deploy knowledge of the key issues raised by the question. As such, the emphasis must be on the social and cultural impact of the breakdown of Soviet control in the chosen state with a detailed and focused study of the various consequences.

Cultural activities that may have been affected are wide-ranging but could include the revival of national memory through education and cultural organizations and in the press, more religious freedoms, the removal of censorship, which opened up the arts and literature, the freedom to travel outside the Eastern Bloc could also, arguably, have had an impact on culture.

Social impact could include increased social mobility, greater political accountability, which may have improved the quality of health and education, a greater emphasis on human rights and environmental issues, the emergence of powerful elites (oligarchs), the development of huge economic disparities between different societal groups, and/or a decline in welfare provision such as health, education and housing. The impact on society will vary considerably from state to state depending on whether new government decided to retain any of the old systems.

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