



Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9489/04

Paper 4 Depth study

For examination from 2021

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

Specimen

This document has **22** pages. Blank pages are indicated.

Generic Marking Principles

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:

Rules must be applied consistently e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

Generic Levels of Response

AO2 – Demonstrate an understanding of the past through explanation, analysis and a substantiated judgement of key concepts: causation, consequence, continuity, change and significance within an historical context, the relationships between key features and characteristics of the periods studied.		
<i>This mark scheme assesses the quality of analysis demonstrated in addressing the question.</i>		
Level 5	<p>Answers demonstrate a full understanding of the question, are balanced and analytical.</p> <p>Answers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish valid and wide-ranging criteria for assessing the question • are consistently analytical of the key features and characteristics of the period • provide a focused, balanced argument with a sustained line of reasoning throughout • reach a clear and sustained judgement. 	13–15
Level 4	<p>Answers demonstrate a good understanding of the question, and are mostly analytical.</p> <p>Answers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish valid criteria for assessing the question • are analytical of the key features and characteristics of the period, but treatment of points may be uneven • attempt to provide a balanced argument, but may lack coherence and precision in some places • reach a supported judgement, although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated. 	10–12
Level 3	<p>Answers demonstrate an understanding of the question and contain some analysis. Argument lacks balance.</p> <p>Answers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • show attempts at establishing criteria for assessing the question • show some analysis of the key features and characteristics of the period, but may also contain descriptive passages • provide an argument but lacks balance, coherence and precision • begin to form a judgement although with weak substantiation. 	7–9
Level 2	<p>Answers demonstrate some understanding of the question and are descriptive.</p> <p>Answers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attempt to establish criteria for assessing the question but these may be implicit • show limited analysis of the key features and characteristics of the period, and contain descriptive passages that are not always clearly related to the focus of the question • make an attempt at proving an argument, but this is done inconsistently and/or may be unrelated to the focus of the question • make an assertion rather than a judgement. 	4–6
Level 1	<p>Answers address the topic, but not the question.</p> <p>Answers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focus on the topic rather than the question • lack analysis or an argument • lack a relevant judgement. 	1–3
Level 0	No creditable content.	0

AO1 – Recall, select and deploy historical knowledge appropriately and effectively.		
<i>This mark scheme assesses the quality and depth of knowledge deployed to support the argument made.</i>		
Level 5	Answers demonstrate a high level of relevant detail. Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is carefully selected • is fully focused on supporting the argument • is wide-ranging • is consistently precise and accurate. 	13–15
Level 4	Answers demonstrate a good level of relevant supporting detail. Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is selected appropriately • is mostly focused on supporting the argument • covers a range of points but the depth may be uneven • is mostly precise and accurate. 	10–12
Level 3	Answers demonstrate an adequate level of supporting detail. Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is mostly appropriately selected • may not fully support the points being made, may be descriptive in places • covers a narrow range of points • occasionally lacks precision and accuracy in places. 	7–9
Level 2	Answers demonstrate some relevant supporting detail. Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is presented as a narrative • is not directly linked to the argument • is limited in range and depth • frequently lacks precision and accuracy. 	4–6
Level 1	Answers demonstrate limited knowledge of the topic. Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • has limited relevance to the argument • is inaccurate or vague. 	1–3
Level 0	No creditable content.	0

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p>Assess the extent to which people’s lives improved as a result of Mussolini’s economic policies.</p> <p>It can be argued that it was never Mussolini’s intention to gear his economic policies to improving the lives of the people as a whole. The rhetoric about his successful economic policy did not match reality and the ordinary workers undoubtedly suffered.</p> <p>Agricultural workers fared the worst, especially in the south where Mussolini’s policies did not benefit poor and landless peasants. He never managed to solve the problem of dualism and he arguably lacked the commitment to do so. A law introduced in 1922 to break up the big estates and distribute them to the peasants was dropped. Mussolini feared the loss of political support from the landowners. The economic battles that Mussolini waged did little to improve the lives of the people. The Battle for Grain aimed to make the economy stronger and self-sufficient by boosting cereal production; many peasants switched from planting grapes and citrus to wheat which was harder to grow especially in southern Italy; this reduced their profits. Many small landowners fell into debt. The depression led to 20–40% cut in agricultural wages. Mussolini’s policy of autarky was formally announced in 1936 as self-sufficiency was important in his preparation for war, but while Italy became virtually self-sufficient in grain, it relied on imports for other basic needs.</p> <p>Industrial workers also faced hardship under Mussolini. In the early years of fascism laissez-faire policies were introduced; these favoured industrialists. Trade unions became weaker and worker organisations began to collapse. The right to strike was also abolished. In the 1920s indirect taxes were raised for the mass of the population. In 1926 Mussolini announced his Battle for the Lira and in December 1927 a new rate of exchange of 90 lira to the pound was set. Italian exports became more expensive and unemployment trebled between 1926 and 1928. Mussolini’s establishment of the corporate state was intended to eliminate industrial disputes and class conflict. In reality the employers retained control of their businesses. The Labour Charter 1927 set out the rights of workers but it turned out to be no threat to employers. They were not obliged to provide annual paid holidays and could change working hours without consultation. Industrial workers suffered a serious decline in their standards of living. The Battle for Births, designed to increase Italy’s population from 40 to 60 million by 1950 by offering tax incentives to couples to produce more children, failed and resulted in women losing their jobs.</p> <p>The Battle for Land was launched in 1928; it was a massive land reclamation project intended to make new land available for grain. Thirteen new towns were built; many of these were located in the area reclaimed from the Pontine Marshes. However, three quarters of the land claimed was in the north. It did, however, provide employment on the public works schemes. In the 1930s public works schemes were introduced involving the construction of autostrada and hydroelectricity plants. The aim was to put the unemployed back to work and it did have positive effects in putting more money into circulation and creating more jobs. In 1938 the workers were finally considered with the introduction of sick pay and national paid holidays. The middle class were less likely to suffer from unemployment. They benefited from the doubling of the number of government officials to a million; none of them were made redundant during the depression and wage cuts in the 1930s were not as severe as those for industrial workers. Thus it can be</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
1	argued that the Italian elite fared much better at the hands of Mussolini.	

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p>Evaluate the reasons why Stalin was able to establish his dictatorship in Russia.</p> <p>Even before Lenin's death, Stalin was able to use his position as General Secretary of the Communist Party to control appointments. His protégés dominated the Central Committee and continued to support him throughout the 1920s. On Lenin's death in 1924, he showed his ability to outmanoeuvre his opponents; he ensured that Trotsky, who Lenin favoured, missed Lenin's funeral presenting himself as Lenin's natural successor. Lenin's testament, had it been widely publicised, could have been a threat to Stalin. It was written in 1922 and it made clear that Stalin was not his intended successor and recommended he be removed from his position as General Secretary. Lenin's wife had kept the document a secret hoping that he might recover from his stroke but following his death, Stalin was able to partially suppress it and forbid it from being discussed once he had assumed full power. He gave lectures on 'The Foundations of Leninism' and founded the Lenin Institute again presenting himself as Lenin's natural successor. In December 1924, Stalin first spoke about 'Socialism in One Country' which focused on building a successful Russia first rather than Trotsky's vision of a world revolution. Trotsky was removed from the Politbureau, expelled from the party in 1927 and later exiled. Stalin was a master of manipulation; he formed a triumvirate with Kamenev and Zinoviev against Trotsky and then used Bukharin against them. His clever manipulation of people and his ability to outwit them were vital in establishing his dictatorship.</p> <p>His ruthlessness in dealing with any opposition and in implementing his policies was also an important factor in him further establishing his dictatorship; he was not against eliminating those who had tried to help him and the succession of purges he conducted culminating in the show trials of 1936–38 showed that no areas were exempt not even the Communist Party. Stalin's rivals who he had defeated in the 1920s were still alive and in the early 1930s there were rumours about electing a new General Secretary with Sergei Kirov suggested as a candidate. On 1 December 1934 Kirov was assassinated; the assassin and his close family were also shot. This was the beginning of the 'Great Terror'; the NKVD were given targets that were out of proportion to any real opposition. The first of the show trials eliminated Zinoviev and Kamenev and their allies; they were accused of conspiring with Trotsky. They were offered leniency if they confessed but confession always resulted in death. More show trials followed including the deaths of leading army officers and Bukharin and his supporters. The Russians thus lived in a state of paranoia while Stalin portrayed himself among other things as the 'supreme genius of humanity' and rewrote history. Churches were also destroyed and priests arrested; he was ruthless in eliminating any possible threat including the kulaks who were opposed to collectivisation.</p> <p>Stalin also made full use of propaganda to establish his dictatorship. The image he presented was that of a peasant, the son of a shoemaker which was in sharp contrast to the rest of the party who were mainly intellectuals. He portrayed himself as a man of the people using propaganda to improve his image. He had cities named in his honour as part of the cult of personality surrounding him, and Soviet history books were rewritten to show him in a more favourable light. In addition, he had his name added to the Soviet national anthem. He was portrayed as the leader responsible for all of Russia's successes and propagandists presented him as the 'all-knowing leader'.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p>‘Popular support led to Hitler’s appointment as Chancellor.’ Assess this view.</p> <p>The Weimar government, never popular, struggled in the years following the Great Depression when US aid was withdrawn. Rising unemployment and a sense of despair over the long-term impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany contributed to growing support for Hitler. His anti-communist stance was popular with industrialists and his brand of nationalism appealed to many conservatives as well. Six million were unemployed by 1932, with hunger and deprivation again facing the Germans who were seeking solutions. Deflation was destroying much of the economy of Germany. The Weimar government had lost the confidence of the people; it was associated with Germany’s defeat. Hitler was prepared to blame the Jews and communists; he was fiercely nationalist and opposed to democracy. His ideas were the antithesis of those of the Weimar Republic; his 25 points written in 1920 sum up the programme of his movement. He offered people hope that the Treaty of Versailles could be reversed. His programme was largely ignored during the 1920s but once the depression started to hit Germany he was able to attract popular support.</p> <p>The Germans’ perceived poor experience of democracy under the Weimar Government made Hitler more appealing to the people. He exuded confidence and offered the Germans a solution to their problems. He was seen as a powerful charismatic speaker. His self-belief persuaded people to believe in him and he carefully stage-managed his rallies. His speeches, while lacking specific detail, tried to promise something to everyone from jobs to strong government to protection from communism and reprisals for the Treaty of Versailles. He also made full use of propaganda to gain support for the Nazi cause. Goebbels skilfully masterminded propaganda from 1928 through newspapers, posters, radio and films. The messages were simple, telling people what they wanted to hear. Hitler’s SA under Ernst Röhm created an atmosphere of fear and violence which Hitler told the people he could solve. They also dealt with the communists.</p> <p>Hitler’s success can also be attributed to those who financed him. He was able to attract millions of Marks to fund his election campaigns and to fund the SA. Among his sources were Hjalmar Schacht, Head of the Reichsbank, Alfred Krupp the owner of the Krupp steel firm as well as the German car firm Opel. He also raised money from owners of foreign firms. There was press support as well from men like Hugenberg while the army, judiciary and police often turned a blind eye to his disregard for the law.</p> <p>The lack of support for successive chancellors, Brüning, von Papen and von Schleicher, who were unable to offer any solution to the crisis, also aided Hitler’s rise. In addition in 1932, the Nazis became the largest party in the Reichstag but without an overall majority. In that year Hitler had also stood against Hindenburg in the presidential elections gaining 13.4 million votes to Hindenburg’s 19.3 million. This further demonstrated that Hitler did have popular support. However, it was the conservatives in the German government who thought that they would be able to control Hitler because of his inexperience. They believed that an alliance with his party would bring them support in the Reichstag and persuaded von Hindenburg to appoint him. Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p data-bbox="304 232 995 266">Analyse the causes of the General Strike in 1926.</p> <p data-bbox="304 304 1326 1128">It has been argued that the origins of the strike can be traced back to the period of militant activity which began in 1910. Tom Mann developed his Industrial Syndicalist Education League derived from the French ideas emphasising the need to work with trade unions, to create a parliament of unions, call a general strike and overthrow capitalist society. Although this movement was virtually dead by the outbreak of the First World War, there was concern about its revival when the Miners Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen and the National Transport Workers' Federation formed the Triple Alliance in 1914; this was a loose association for support during strikes but its influence ultimately appeared to be marginal. Industrial militancy did continue throughout the war even though the Trades Union Congress had announced an industrial truce and it seems to have peaked in 1921 when almost 86 million working days were lost due to strikes. However, the government was committed to returning Britain to the gold standard which it did in 1925. This contributed to severe unemployment and wage cuts as Britain's exports fell. Another reason put forward for the general strike is the influence of communism. Even though the Communist Party of Great Britain consisted of only 5000 members on the eve of the strike (compared to five and a half million trade union members), middle class fears of its perceived importance and reach led to a hardening of positions and made people less sympathetic to the workers; this fear of communist involvement in the strike was exacerbated by the publication of a letter in the Daily Mail in 1924, supposedly from the Russian communist leader Zinoviev, urging British communists to begin a revolution; this also led to distrust of unions.</p> <p data-bbox="304 1167 1318 2098">It was the government's determination to bring about wage cuts, the mine owners' intransigence and the willingness of the TUC to call a strike which resulted in the events of 1926. On 31 March 1921, the coal industry was formally returned to the coal owners; workers who would not work at lower rates of pay were locked out. Hopes of the Triple Alliance coming to the aid of the miners proved futile when on Black Friday, 15 April, such support was rejected. However, in June 1925 the mine owners proposed further wage reductions. In July the Transport and General Workers Union pledged its support for the miners followed by the railway unions who were to place an embargo on the moving of coal. The miners adhered to their slogan of 'not a minute on the day, not a penny off the pay'. Baldwin refused to subsidise the industry and the embargo began. On 31 July, Red Friday, the government agreed to an enquiry into the coal industry and to a subsidy until 1 May 1926. The Samuel Commission was published on 10 March 1926; it recommended that the government withdraw its subsidy and the miners' wages should be reduced but their hours should not be increased. The mine owners rejected this compromise. Baldwin and his ministers continued to attempt to negotiate with both sides but the Mining Association issued new terms of employment, cutting the wages by between 10% and 25%. If the miners did not accept these terms they would be locked out of the pits; the lockout began at the end of April. A TUC conference on 1 May announced that a general strike would begin on 3 May. The TUC continued to negotiate with the government but Baldwin ended negotiations as a result of a dispute at the Daily Mail. The dispute hinged around an article 'For King and Country' denouncing the trade union movement as unpatriotic. The workers in the machine room objected to the article but their request to have it changed was rejected and they stopped working. Although the strike was unofficial, Baldwin refused to continue with</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	the negotiations, regarding the action of the workers as interfering with the freedom of the press.	

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p>Analyse the reasons for the rapid growth of the suburbs and exurbs in the late 1940s and 1950s.</p> <p>The rising demand for housing following the end of the Second World War accompanied by a population growth created the demand that fuelled the rapid growth of the suburbs and exurbs. However, it was a range of factors from government intervention to the use of new technology that enabled this to become a reality.</p> <p>The necessity of finding a solution to the post-war housing crisis, resulting from mass demobilisation, spurred on the growth of the suburbs and exurbs. It was estimated that there was a shortfall of 5 million homes. There was a marked rise in the marriage rate and the period saw the highest rate of births in four decades, the so-called ‘baby boom’. People were attracted to life in the suburbs as it enabled them to separate work life from home life. Fear of crime in the cities and the belief that the suburbs and exurbs were safer also encouraged mass migration to these areas. Many factors came together to ensure that moving to these areas was within the means of many Americans. Some Americans, however, were further encouraged to move to these areas because of the attraction of segregation and this exacerbated the segregation of races. William Levitt who played a huge role in the building programme refused to integrate his developments and placed restrictive covenants on homes, thus denying them to minorities. This ‘white flight’ set back racial integration.</p> <p>The government was in favour of the growth of the suburbs and exurbs; a partnership between government and private enterprise was established. The federal government introduced policies that revolutionised home building and lending, subsidised home ownership and created the infrastructure that enabled people to live in these areas. Private enterprise played its part by utilising mass production techniques to enable homes to be built more quickly. The availability for less expensive land in the suburbs provided a further attraction to both purchasers and builders. In 1944 the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act was passed (the GI Bill) presenting veterans with opportunities to adjust to life as a civilian. One provision of this act was to enable veterans to have low interest loans for the purchase of family homes. As a result, the price of home ownership was brought within reach of millions of families. The Federal Housing Administration enabled people to have low-interest mortgages over a 25–30-year period with just a 10% deposit. In addition, it granted low-interest construction loans to builders. The mass marketing of the automobile made commuting a realistic alternative for many Americans and the infrastructure was put in place to support this. The Federal Highways Act 1956 enabled a new interstate highway system to be built. It extended the highway construction begun in 1944 when the Federal Aid Highway Act provided federal funding for the construction of 41 000 miles of highway. The Levitt family was responsible for building more than 18 000 houses. They built the first Levittown in New York in 1947, the second in Pennsylvania in 1952 and two more in New Jersey and Puerto Rico. They designed homes that could be built on an assembly line and delivered to the site. They were able to build 30 houses a day and sell them at affordable prices.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p>Assess the reasons why the USA experienced such severe economic problems in the 1970s.</p> <p>By 1970 the USA had lost its uncontested economic, political, and military dominance over the capitalist world. Having encouraged the reconstruction of the economies of Western Europe and Japan to ensure support for capitalism, it now faced competition from these countries with the revival of manufacturing and the USA commitment to free trade via GATT. In particular it faced competition from the Japanese car industry and its ability to produce cars more economically. US imports were exceeding exports and US companies were also struggling to access cheap materials and energy resources. For the first time in many decades, the USA imported more goods than it sold abroad. International confidence in the dollar also declined which led to US gold reserves being depleted. By August 1971, the situation was so serious that President Nixon took the US dollar off the international gold standard, introduced a wages and prices freeze and a 10% import duty in what became known as the 'Nixon Shock'. The USA was also relying more on foreign oil imports, 30% of its oil consumption was imported in 1973. In that year, following the Yom Kippur war, OPEC placed an embargo on western buyers resulting in the price of oil rising four-fold. This coincided with the ending of direct US military involvement in Vietnam followed by its ultimate defeat in 1975. The Vietnam War had placed great pressure on the economy; it was paid for by borrowing rather than taxation, putting the government budget into deficit and further weakening the dollar.</p> <p>Thus, the USA faced rising international competition and soaring energy prices alongside increasing inflation (10% in 1974) and unemployment (8% in 1975). There was a further oil crisis in 1979 at the time of the Iranian Revolution which sparked further price rises and caused panic among consumers. From the mid-1970s the economy was hit by stagflation, a combination of low economic growth and high unemployment with high rates of inflation. The USA had not invested in the latest manufacturing methods and governments did little to address the problems especially in the half of the decade when foreign policy and the Watergate Scandal preoccupied them. In addition, LBJ's Great Society gave welfare benefits to many Americans but its unanticipated costs affected the federal budgets.</p> <p>Gerald Ford had attempted to focus on inflation with a 'Whip Inflation Now' campaign; this called on Americans to save money rather than spend it. He also reduced spending and interest rates were raised. However, the recession worsened. He then attempted to stimulate the economy through a large tax cut. On assuming office in 1977, Jimmy Carter was highly critical of Ford's failure to control inflation and reduce unemployment but the situation worsened under him with the annual inflation rate reaching 11% in 1979 and about 8 million people out of work. The 1970s was a time of great economic difficulty for the USA. When high rates of inflation and unemployment appeared simultaneously, the government seemed incapable of producing an effective solution. However, external factors beyond their control also exacerbated the problem.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p>Evaluate the claim that ‘Reagan was re-elected as President in 1984 because he was <i>The Great Communicator</i>’.</p> <p>Reagan’s undoubted ability to establish a rapport with the electorate, stemming from his experience of being a television personality as well as acting in Hollywood movies, gave him an advantage over his opponent Walter Mondale. He achieved a landslide victory winning 49 states. In his first term in office he had worked with both Congress and Cabinet successfully. This gained him respect and his theme of peace and prosperity attracted the popular vote. He reminded people of the high tax rates and high inflation under the Carter administration and he made full use of his ability as a ‘good communicator’ to win over the American people who saw him as sincere. He pursued an optimistic and positive campaign; it was light on facts and statistics but designed to win over the people. He focused his campaign on making the people feel good using soundbites such as ‘your hopes are our hopes’ and ‘your destiny is our destiny’ demonstrating his ability to communicate to the American people that they were all in it together. He knew how to engage the voters with commercials such as ‘The Morning in America’ commercials which were set to music showing images of American life from buying a house to washing cars. He was even able to turn his age to his advantage; when the issue was raised whether at 72 he would be too old to be president, he retorted ‘I am not going to exploit, for political purposes, my opponent’s youth and inexperience’.</p> <p>The economy was one of the central issues in the 1984 election campaign. Reagan promised economic growth and although he had created a spending deficit during his first term, he promised economic growth and maintained that deficits would not cause any harm. His foreign policy of peace through strength also appealed to the American people as well as the fact that the international situation had remained relatively stable. There was also a perception among the people that there was an economic upswing. Many southern whites and northern blue collar workers, who were often referred to as ‘Reagan Democrats’, voted for him because they held him responsible for the economic recovery and national security. His conservative economic policy, often referred to as ‘Reagonomics’, was designed to reduce the government’s influence on the economy. The economic boom in the mid-1980s only increased support for Reagan.</p> <p>It can be argued that although Reagan won this election with a landslide victory, his success was also due to the weak performance of Mondale. In contrast to Reagan, Mondale lacked media presence. His Equal Rights Amendments proposal was unpopular in Middle America and his choice of a female Vice President, Geraldine Ferraro, was unpopular. Reagan criticised him for the high tax rates and inflation under Carter and for not being strong enough on national security. Even within his own party, Mondale was not popular and in the Democratic primaries three out of five voters failed to vote for him. The Democrats were perceived as supporting the poor and minorities at the expense of the middle class. Mondale was relying on a large union vote and hoped that the nomination of Ferraro would attract female voters but his strategy failed. In contrast to Reagan, many thought he came across as nondescript. Reagan was able to attack him as a typical free-spending Democrat asking ‘Now that our country is turning around, why would we ever turn back?’ Mondale’s attempt’s to counter Reagan’s commercials proved equally futile. He tried to attack Reagan on the deficit, the increasing gap</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	between rich and poor and the issue of arms control. One advertisement maintained that 'Reaganomics' was unfair to the middle classes but Reagan was able to counter this by maintaining that 'Mondalenomics' just meant higher taxes.	

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p>‘Public opinion lost the USA the Vietnam War.’ Evaluate this claim.</p> <p>The USA was involved in the Vietnam War to contain communism and to prevent its spread. They supported the undemocratic government of President Ngo Dinh Diem, refusing to listen to the views of opposition groups which formed the NLF. Diem was an anti-communist catholic who was opposed by the Buddhist peasants in South Vietnam. It was the assassination of Diem in 1963 and the anarchy it created that led to rising US involvement. Lyndon B Johnson mistakenly believed that the Americans could quickly crush the Vietcong. When North Vietnamese torpedo boat attacked a US destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin, Johnson persuaded congress to give him unlimited power to direct events in Vietnam. ‘Operation Rolling Thunder’ was launched against North Vietnam. Factories and fuel dumps and supplies routes were bombed. He sent in large-scale ground forces to fight the Vietcong. Vietcong fought a guerrilla war; they were able to retreat into the jungle and lure US troops into booby traps and were supported and sheltered by the people. US troops were inexperienced with an average age of 19; the terrain was unfamiliar to them and they found it difficult to adjust to the climate. The Vietcong mingled with the peasants wearing the same clothing as them. They also received aid from both China and the Soviet Union and used the Ho Chi Minh Trail to receive supplies. The Vietcong were fanatical in their determination to win; they were fighting to unite their country.</p> <p>It is argued that the tactics deployed by the USA were not suited to the war. They made use of B52 bombers which dropped both explosives and napalm. Napalm killed animals and burnt people; Americans were accused of violating international law. This hi-tech war was perceived to demoralise the Vietnamese who were often the victims and it had little impact on North Vietnam. The US sent out search and destroy patrols looking for the Vietcong but they were easy to ambush because they were visible. Many US troops became demoralised leading to catastrophes such as ‘zippo raids’ to burn villages and the massacre of peaceful villagers like at My Lai in 1968. Bombing raids on Laos and Cambodia caused an international outcry against the US Government.</p> <p>There were protests in the USA against the war, especially by students, who though exempt from being drafted, believed it should be a personal choice whether or not to fight for their country. Over 9000 men were prosecuted for refusing to fight for their country including Muhammad Ali the world heavyweight boxing champion. The media’s portrayal of the war aimed to turn the public against it. Heroes of the war were seen on television throwing away their medals; the war was being fought in people’s living rooms. The biased way in which the media reported the ‘Tet Offensive’ in 1968 when Hanoi had lost on the battlefield convinced the US public that the war was being lost. However, opinion polls suggested that the tax increases to pay for the war and the death of someone they knew, were far more influential than the mass media in changing people’s attitude towards the war. Soldiers themselves also opposed the war. Over 500 000 members of the armed forces deserted; many thought that people were dying in vain and that the war was morally wrong. In 1967, ‘Vietnam Veterans Against the War’ was formed and they demonstrated all over the USA, evoking hostility to the war as people saw their injuries. When Nixon became president he began the process of ‘Vietnamisation’ pulling troops out of Vietnam, but this policy failed. The US had lost 58 000 troops and ultimately the war.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p>‘Ronald Reagan was more responsible than Mikhail Gorbachev for ending the Cold War.’ Discuss this view.</p> <p>Ronald Reagan was widely praised by Margaret Thatcher among others for being in the words of The Economist ‘the man who beat communism’ by winning the Cold War. However, Reagan himself when he visited Moscow in 1988, commented that Gorbachev ‘deserves most of the credit’. In November 1985, Reagan and Gorbachev met at Geneva; this summit is now recognised as the start of the process that led to a thawing of the Cold War. Further summits took place and in December 1987 they agreed to the INF treaty limiting their intermediate range nuclear weapons. Reagan, however, insisted that SDI could not be part of any arms control negotiations. The end of the formal Cold War was declared at the Malta Summit in 1989 and Bush signed a START agreement in 1991.</p> <p>Reagan was influenced by Thatcher’s view of Gorbachev that ‘we can do business together’; he realised that there was the potential to negotiate with Gorbachev. At the start of his presidency, Reagan had adopted a hawkish stance towards the USSR with his comment ‘we win and they lose’ and he had also denounced it as ‘an evil empire’. He had supported anti-communist forces in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and Cambodia; the Reagan Doctrine, while forcing the Russians to spend millions of dollars, also resulted in the Russians pulling out of Afghanistan, a democratic government being elected in Nicaragua and the removal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Soviet economy could not sustain this expenditure. ‘Voice of America’ and ‘Radio Free Europe’ were also used to encourage anti-communist sentiment in Eastern Europe. Once Gorbachev became the leader, Reagan’s stance changed as he realised that there was the potential for negotiation, but he was able to negotiate from a position of strength. George Bush later stated that the USA had not listened to the nuclear freeze crowd and that ‘peace through strength’ had worked and this triumphalist view was supported by many. However, Reagan himself was deeply opposed to nuclear weapons, considering them immoral; his hatred of communism had driven him to pursue the arms race but he realised that he could negotiate with Gorbachev.</p> <p>In 1985, the USSR’s domestic economy was failing; heavy military expenditure on the war in Afghanistan and the prioritisation of military and industrial goods over consumer goods had resulted in grave shortages. Gorbachev realised that the economic problems needed to be addressed and that it was impossible for the Soviet Union to maintain its high expenditure on defence. He was prepared to negotiate on arms limitation. His policies of <i>perestroika</i>, the restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system, and <i>glasnost</i>, an effort to make government more transparent and open to debate, acted as a catalyst for the non-violent revolutions that took place in Eastern Europe. These also had an impact in the USSR. <i>Glasnost</i> gave people the opportunity to say what they were thinking and by the summer of 1989 East Europeans had received a greater degree of freedom. Gorbachev had intended to reform communism, not replace it, but his reforms led to a revolution that was driven by the people not controlled from above. The Soviet people – who believed they were living in a successful communist state – began to compare their lives to those in the capitalist West. Gorbachev thus precipitated the end of communism through the internal policies he adopted in the USSR.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p>Assess the effectiveness of Britain’s attempts to re-establish colonial control in the Malay Peninsula after the Second World War.</p> <p>During the Second World War, opposition to British rule in Malaya grew and there was an upsurge in nationalism. The British were to face protracted opposition from the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), which they dealt with successfully while at the same time working at both re-establishing their rule and preparing for Malayan independence.</p> <p>In January 1946, the Malayan Union Constitution was published. The two straits settlements of Penang and Malacca and the nine Malay states were to form the Malayan Union. Citizenship would no longer be restricted to natives; there would be equal rights regardless of race or creed. The Sultans would also lose their power. This caused a storm of protest as the special rights and privileges of the Malays would be lost. In March 1946, Data Onn bin Jaafar became the first president of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) and began a policy of non-co-operation with the British proposals. The British feared that if they ignored the opposition it could lead to violence or allow more extreme parties like the Communist Party of Malaya to gain support. They gave in. New proposals were prepared resulting in the Federation of Malaya being formed on 1 February 1948 despite opposition from non-Malay groups like the AMCJA.</p> <p>Despite the British concessions, the new federation was still under their control. Chin Peng, the new leader of the CPM, took militant action to establish the Communist Republic of Malaya. There were strikes and anti-British demonstrations. A guerrilla army was formed to disrupt the economy by attacking tin mines and rubber plantations. Three European planters were murdered in Perak. On 19 June 1948, a state of emergency was declared and the CPM was declared illegal. Troops were to guard the estates and ID cards were introduced. In April 1950 Sir Harold Briggs, the new Director of Operations in Malaya, planned to stop contact between the jungle farmers and communists by establishing New Villages surrounded by barbed wire and protected by troops. He also began ‘Operation Starvation’ providing the Malayan people with ration cards and placing strict control on the sale and transport of food. The CPM decided to adopt new tactics by targeting leading figures in the enemy ranks. In 1952 Sir Gerald Templar was appointed to deal with the emergency; he set up war executive committees and used psychological warfare to win the hearts and minds of the people. By 1954 he was so successful that they were able to designate parts of Malaya as areas free of communism. Peace talks held with China in 1955 and 1957 failed but the communists were becoming weaker and most of the Malays did not support communism.</p> <p>In 1948 the British had promised that independence would be granted to Malaya after a period of preparation and the events of the 1950s showed that the British were able to stand by their promise. Tunku Abdul Rahman became president of UMNO and spearheaded alliances with the Malayan Chinese Association and that of Malayan Indian Congress. His Alliance Party won a resounding victory in the 1955 election. His Merdeka Mission to London resulted in the British agreeing to grant independence on 31 July 1957. Lord Reid was to head the commission to draw up a constitution. It had to ensure that the rights of the Malays, non-Malays and the Sultans were protected.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	The Alliance Party was unhappy with the draft and Tunku Abdul Rahman's second visit to London resulted in the Merdeka Constitution. He became the first Prime Minister of Malaya.	

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p>‘Non-alignment in Sub-Saharan Africa was more idealistic than realistic.’ Evaluate this view.</p> <p>The Second World War had a major impact on colonialism as Africans returned from the War with ideas which were completely opposed to the traditionalist values that had governed their lives previously. Several factors led to the creation of an African ideology which was opposed to alignment with either of the superpowers. These included social and economic factors as well as a psychological bond which united them on racial grounds and on their history of subjugation and fight for independence. In the late 1940s Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Nyerere were all firm advocates of African states asserting their freedom and identity internationally. They had no wish to become involved in issues which they did not consider to be their own during the Cold War era. Following the independence of Ghana in 1957, Nkrumah advocated the unity of independent Africa. He supported the integration of the whole of the African continent with united African nations having the economic, political and social weight to compete with Europe and the United States. In 1958 an All-African People’s conference was held in Accra hosted by Nkrumah. Its theme was ‘hands off Africa’ and it called on groups from all over Africa to attend to discuss the final overthrow of colonialism and imperialism. In 1959 the presidents of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia signed the Sanniquillie Declaration; this outlined the principles for achieving the unity of the independent African states while maintaining their own identities and constitutions. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed in 1963. Its aims were to safeguard the sovereignty and territory of the member states and to affirm a policy of non-alignment regarding all blocs. Its clearest success was with the United Nations where regional bodies such as the OAU were given a role in the settlement of disputes and a lesser one for the maintenance of peace. In addition, African countries also became members of the Non-Aligned Movement established in 1961.</p> <p>However, in practice the problem for African countries was that political independence did not go together with economic prosperity. The continued need of the newly-independent states for outside assistance indicated that the realisation of non-alignment in Sub-Saharan Africa was ‘more idealistic than realistic’. Many countries’ urgent need of foreign aid meant that they could not be non-aligned. In addition, the Cold War conflicts also affected Africa. Examples include the involvement of both the United States and the Soviet Union in the Congo crisis as well as in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. A desire to free Africa of all foreign interference was the rationale behind the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity. In practice, however, it often proved difficult to avoid involvement, especially with the continued need for economic assistance in all independent countries. African countries realised that essential aid could only be obtained from the more advanced, developed areas of the world. They needed financial and technical assistance as well as help with defence and military support. This made it much more difficult for the newly-independent states to adhere to non-alignment and to not remain indebted to their benefactors. In addition, African countries had different political systems and disparities in wealth which made a united front on non-alignment difficult. Although Africa gradually won the right to settle its own conflicts, this did not lead the great powers to refrain from all intervention.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
11	Very rarely since it began had the OAU dealt with an issue that was not purely African and when it came to issues that were strictly non-African, although of crucial importance for the peace and security of the world, the OAU consistently remained on the side-lines.	

Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p data-bbox="304 237 1329 304">Analyse the reasons why Israel launched a pre-emptive strike against its neighbours in 1967.</p> <p data-bbox="304 338 1315 752">The continued challenge by the Arabs of the legitimate right of the Jews to inhabit Israel, combined with Israel's attempts to deal with all of the security challenges that this rejection entailed, ultimately led to the launch of a pre-emptive strike in 1967. The growth of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Arabs' ultimate intention to bring about the liquidation of Israel and the preparations Egypt, Syria and Jordan were making for battle led to Israel making the first move. Israel's new Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan, realised the danger of Israel being attacked first and Israel decided to launch a pre-emptive strike in order to gain the upper hand. A new government of national unity overrode Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's insistence of trying diplomacy before military action and opposition leader Menachem Begin was brought in as the cabinet expanded to a national unity government.</p> <p data-bbox="304 786 1315 1234">In 1964, the leaders of the Arab states met in Cairo. They spoke of the existence of Israel being a danger to them and that once they had made military preparations they would have the means to conduct 'the final liquidation of Israel'. The Arab leaders also set up the PLO with the aim of winning back land that the Palestinians had lost in 1948–49. Fatah was part of the PLO with bases bordering Israel in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. The group conducted armed raids into Israel. The only country that Israel was not attacked from was Egypt, as UN troops were placed on the border following the 1956 war. President Johnson had tried to convince Nasser and the Soviet leadership to work towards regional arms control but without success, so in 1965 he agreed to sell Israel M48A3 tanks, followed by A–4 Skyhawk aircraft in 1966. Israel had the means to launch a pre-emptive strike and knew that the Arabs were not fully prepared in June 1967.</p> <p data-bbox="304 1267 1315 1715">In February 1966, a new radical party came to power in Syria calling for the liberation of Palestine and Nasser signed a defence agreement with Syria in November. On 12 May 1967, an Israeli general threatened to occupy Damascus and overthrow the Syrian government. Although the Israel government criticised him, the Arabs interpreted this as a sign that Israel intended to attack Syria. The USSR also became involved; it warned the Egyptians that Israel was moving its forces to the Syrian border. This was not true but the story spread quickly. Nasser then embarked on a policy of brinkmanship; he moved 100 000 Egyptian troops into the Sinai, he asked the UN commander to remove UN troops from Egypt and he closed the Straits of Tiran, which led into the Gulf of Aqaba, to Israeli shipping. The Israelis feared a repeat of the events of 1948 as they were surrounded by Arab states that were becoming increasingly aggressive and wanted to prevent this.</p> <p data-bbox="304 1749 1315 2085">On 29 May, Nasser spoke in the Egyptian parliament asserting that Egypt was ready to confront Israel to support the rights of the Palestinian people. King Hussein wanted to remain neutral, but half of his population were Palestinian; on 30 May Jordan signed a defence treaty with Egypt. On 31 May an Israeli delegation went to Washington to seek help over the Straits of Tiran, but the US response was that Israel should act alone. Israel saw this as a sign of US support and on 5 June the Israeli air force destroyed the air forces of Egypt, Syria and Jordan within 4 hours. Although the war lasted six days, the Israelis had made such significant gains on the first day. Their decision to act first before they were attacked had resulted in victory.</p>	30

BLANK PAGE