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HISTORY **9489/43**

Paper 4 Depth Study 43 **May/June 2021**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

Published

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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.

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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.		
This mark scheme assesses the quality of analysis demonstrated in addressing the question.		
Level 5	**Answers demonstrate a full understanding of the question, are balanced and analytical.** Answers: ● 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	**Answers demonstrate a good understanding of the question, and are mostly analytical.** Answers: ● 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	**Answers demonstrate an understanding of the question and contain some analysis. Argument lacks balance.** Answers: ● 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	**Answers demonstrate some understanding of the question and are descriptive.** Answers: ● 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**

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.		
This mark scheme assesses the quality of analysis demonstrated in addressing the question.		
Level 1	**Answers address the topic, but not the question.** Answers: ● 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.		
This mark scheme assesses the quality and depth of knowledge deployed to support the argument made.		
Level 5	**Answers demonstrate a high level of relevant detail.** Supporting material: • 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: • 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: • 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: • 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: • Has limited relevance to the argument. • Is inaccurate or vague.	**1–3**
Level 0	**No creditable content.**	**0**

Question	Answer	Marks
1	**Analyse the impact of Mussolini's policies towards the Church.** As the Roman Catholic Church held such sway in Italy, it was vital that Mussolini foster a strong link with the institution, regardless of his beliefs or that of his dictatorship. He had to take note of the sheer amount of power the Church levied and could not afford to anger it. Mussolini opted to work with, rather than against, the Church, therefore ensuring that the Italian general public did not have to choose between his leadership and their religious beliefs. He set about encouraging the Roman Catholic Church to accept a Fascist state, while promising to fulfil the Church's requests. He also made public swearing a crime and shut the doors of many shops selling alcohol. He made public his disapproval of contraception, something that the Roman Catholic Church felt strongly about, and pushed for the institution of divorce to be banned across Italy. However, despite all these efforts, the relationship between the Church and Mussolini was not always smooth. One of the major issues that the two disagreed strongly over was that of education. Both the Church and Mussolini wished to have the power to control education in the country and the efforts to resolve this disagreement took three years to come to fruition and serve their purpose. In 1929, agreements called the Lateran Treaties were signed, which set out who would control education in Italy, as well as a host of other agreements. While the Roman Catholic Church had lost much of its land when Italy was unified in 1870, it was compensated to the tune of £30 million in 1929 and given land in Rome in which to construct the Vatican, the new papal state. On top of this, the Pope was given a small army, rail station and police force. The Lateran Treaties also specified that the Roman Catholic faith was to be the state religion, in a section called the Concordat. This set out rules around religion in Italy in that children in both primary and secondary schools had to have religious education at school. The Church was also given control over marriage and the appointing of bishops, though the latter still had to be agreed by the Government before the appointment could be finalised. Mussolini's efforts to retain a relationship with the Church seemed to have paid off during these years, and his popularity with members of the Italian general public – who did not have to split their loyalties between the Church and the Government – grew. The two were to still have disagreements though – one of the key ones being the Charter of Race, which was rolled out in July 1938 and removed the Italian Jews right of Italian nationality. These Jews had several restrictions placed upon them, including not being permitted to take state jobs, teach or be members of the Fascist Party. They could also not marry non-Jewish Italians. Such was the unpopularity of these rules that Mussolini received a protest from the Pope on behalf of the Italian Jews. By 1939, relations between the Catholic Church and Mussolini had deteriorated badly.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
2	**Assess the extent to which the use of propaganda by Stalin's regime changed Soviet society.** Stalin used extensive propaganda throughout his period in office to buttress his own power and to create a Soviet Society that he wanted. Types of propaganda that might be examined include the media (Pravda, Izvestiya, Red Sport), speeches, radio announcements, and military parades. The Cult of Personality was a key element in the propaganda portraying Stalin as a benign father of the nation, family man, military leader as needed. Control of the Arts and Culture was crucial via Glavlit and the development of Socialist Realism. Literature, art, architecture, and music all had to represent the Soviet Union as Stalin wished. Stalin also wanted to sell his policies so posters and art were mobilised to support Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans and heroes created such as Alexis Stakhanov and the Stakhanovite movement to urge workers to work ever harder for Socialism in One Country. Once Stalin introduced The Great Retreat as a policy, he began to use propaganda to encourage family values and the value of children. The Komsomol was created to indoctrinate the young and the May Day parades in Red Square were a symbol of all the things that the Soviet Union valued, with young, women, workers, farmers, and military power on display. Propaganda could also be used to manufacture statistics as to how successful Collectivisation and the Five-Year Plans were. Propaganda was also used to disgrace rivals, for example, airbrushing Trotsky out of history or the Show Trials of the 1930s, as these were stated managed to portray a predetermined outcome. Certain projects were also undertaken to show the strength of the Soviet Union, for example, the building of the Moscow Metro. Attacks on the Orthodox Church also sought to portray the church as the enemy of the people, except during World War Two when it was asked to preach for war and mobilise the people. During the war, Stalin was shown as a great military leader and even shown as liberating Berlin, albeit he was in Moscow. Having examined the various methods and aims, it is important that their impact is assessed. Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union was a totalitarian single party state and propaganda was there to buttress the regime, but people were still aware of the hardships they endured including the terror and lack of freedom. As it was a closed society, people became accustomed to the nature and ideas of Stalinist Russia, but did they really change their mindset? People had to conform in public to survive and thrive in this society and there were no open revolts against Stalin's regime.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
3	**'The Great Depression was the key factor in Hitler's rise to power.' Evaluate this view.** This question requires an examination and assessment of the various causes for Hitler's rise to power and then a reasoned judgement on the significance of the Great Depression amongst other causes. This is a broad ranging essay, but factors to be examined might include: the impact of the Great Depression; appeal of the Nazis' policies; appeal of Hitler and his oratory; collapse of the Grand Coalition; instability in the period 1930–1933; ruling elite intrigues to look at Von Papen; Von Schleicher; Hindenburg; or fear of the communists. Hitler's use of propaganda, Goebbels, use of posters, the Swastika, films as well as the role if the Sturmabteilung (SA) all need examining. Lessons learned from 1923 Munich Putsch, funding, appeal, trying to make the Nazis a national party and the publication of Mein Kampf. The answer might usefully look at the lack of electoral success in 1928 with only 12 Reichstag seats, yet by 1930 it was 107 Reichstag seats, and by 1932 there were 230 Reichstag seats in the first elections. The answer may instead look at Hitler's very good showing in the 1932 Presidential election, or the formation of the Harzburg front. Clearly, the Great Depression must be analysed with the massive increase in unemployment and the loss of confidence in the Weimar Republic. It could be argued that democratic government ends in 1933, as Brüning had to resort to Article 48 regularly to govern and people were increasingly pushed to political extremes of the NSADP and KPD. The inability of the KPD and SPD to work together was crucial. The question invites a look at long term factors, such as policies of revising the Treaty of Versailles, returning Germany to being a great power and anti-communism and anti-Semitism, then a tighter focus on the period 1929–1933 and the impact of the Great Depression, gaining support of Big Business fear of communism and inability of the traditional Weimar politicians to solve the economic problems, and finally the events of 1932–1933 that lead to Hindenburg reluctantly appointing Hitler Chancellor in January 1933.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	**'The main cause of the General Strike was that traditional industries were in decline.' Assess this view.** The roots of the General Strike lay in the structural problems of the coal industry, but there were political considerations in the way that the government saw the strike as a challenge to constitutional government. Encouraged by cabinet ministers such as Churchill, Baldwin failed to take steps to prevent a strike. He could have exerted more pressure on the owners to compromise or show a greater willingness to talk to the TUC. Instead, he gave the impression that the government wanted a fight with the unions, by the Emergency Powers Act 1921, to declare a state of emergency and abruptly ending talks with the TUC leaders. Another cause of the General Strike was that the miners were the most militant and unified of all work forces, which stemmed from the fact they worked in appalling and dangerous conditions and relied on each other for safety. The Miners' Federation had a history of militancy and represented workers who felt a high degree of bitterness and resentment, stemming from generations of dangerous working conditions, low wages, and poor investment management from the private owners. Another cause of the general strike was that Britain's economy suffered a decline and severe unemployment in its traditional 'staple industries' in the period after the First World War, caused by the declining export market in these industries. The response of factory owners was to reduce wages, which in turn caused industrial disruption. The coal industry was regarded as the 'battleground' of industrial conflict and it was problems in coal which were the root cause of the General Strike. The industry was one of the most adversely affected because of the conditions of world trade – exports had diminished, there was competition from gas, electricity and oil and also the German and Polish coalfields, which had introduced a greater degree of mechanisation. In contrast, only 20% of British coal was cut mechanically by 1925.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
5	**Analyse the reasons for the development of a distinct youth culture in the US in the late – 1940s and 1950s.** The explanations might weigh economic factors – greater prosperity and spending power of youth; social factors – greater independence in urban areas; the impact of war in reducing traditional social controls. Though the concept of a distinct youth culture developed in the 1920s, it was discouraged in the Depression years and during the Second World War and emerged more strongly in the 1940s and 1950s when the concept of 'teenager' emerged. Young people turned to music which was not enjoyed by their elders so much as such rock and roll and there were specific movies and TV programmes to appeal to them. Their clothing and use of language developed in a different way to that of their elders and in a broader sense a distinct youth outlook developed and was recognised more than just being rebellious or 'naughty' behaviour. From cultural change, such as the popularity of rock and roll, different attitudes to race and segregation developed. Explanations have been linked to economic and social change. The growth of consumerism led to advertising targeting a growing market as post war baby boomers grew up. The wider availability of TV and means of reproducing music also led to industries seeing the potential of a teenage market. The end of the harsher years of depression and the mood of serious national service led to a relaxation in social life and culture which Young people favoured the development of freer youth. The era of cheap fuel and accessible transport allowed greater physical mobility for young people. Traditional family disciplines had been eroded by war with fathers absent and the changes brought by war – with movements of workers and greater prosperity had an impact on young people. Young people were influenced by the post war demands for change as in the growth of the civil rights movement and by general trends towards more social and sexual freedom and challenge. They also found iconic cultural figures to represent their feelings.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
6	**Assess the impact of the oil crises of the 1970s on the US economy.** The Arab–Israeli War of 1973 led to OPEC countries imposing an embargo on the US as a result of the US of supplying the Israeli forces. Oil production was cut and shortages led to price rises, causing a serious effect on the US economy which had become dependent on low cost oil. The price of oil initially doubled and later quadrupled as OPEC pressured foreign companies to raise prices and increase contributions to local subsidiaries. This resulted in a major shift of power for oil producing countries. The crisis coincided with a devaluation and threatened a world recession. The Nixon administration was forced to make efforts to boost internal energy production – project independence and try to get an association of international consumers to control energy prices, but the overall effects of the price rises could not be easily addressed. The crisis was made worse by the floating dollar, inflation and an economy which was already suffering from low growth rates. This hastened 'stagflation'. Measures had to be taken, which indicated that the US was not the confident economic giant that it appeared to be, including a 55 mph speed limit, fuel economy standards and the attempts to establish a petroleum reserve. The oil crisis has been blamed for recessions, inflation, lower economic growth, reduced productivity, and has been seen as comparable to the Great Crash as a distinct event bringing severe economic consequences. It led to a rapid drive for diversity in the US energy industry to develop alternative sources, such as in Alaska, and maximise existing output. The end of the embargo in 1974 did not ease the long-term problem of the weakened dollar because of the crisis, and the ending of the gold standard made oil imports more expensive. Internal energy policy was drastically changed with rationing, restrictions, and controls. Internal markets were disrupted by problems of distribution. In 1976, there were grants for insulation to help avoid wasting energy and there were major changes to the automobile industry with the change to smaller and more fuel-efficient vehicles. There was a stimulus to new forms of energy – nuclear for example and in conservation led by a new Energy Department. The whole post war premise of an economy dependent on prodigious use of cheap energy changed, but it is doubtful if a long term overall strategy emerged. The fall in auto exports and the restriction of economic activity and the higher price of production resulted in financial policies which led to lowering interest rates. This not only caused inflation but contributed to economic stagnation, as it shielded producers from the need for innovation. The rise in oil prices also led to oil producers accumulating large trade surpluses which were recycled, causing a considerable growth in the US capital market. Analysis might draw a distinction between the immediate effects of the crisis on the US economy and the longer term developments and changes brought about.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
7	**Assess the reasons why gender inequality continued to be a cause of concern in the 1980s.** Factors might include the new wave feminism; limitations of progress; the context of social change in other areas. The failure to secure an Equal Rights Amendment and a conservative backlash against feminism meant that the large number of women who were participants in some form of women's organisations by the late 1970s still had concerns despite the progress made. The progress in education did not mean an end to older attitudes and there were relatively few women in science and engineering courses which remained dominated by men. Fewer than 8% of engineers were women in 1990. Most women studied traditional 'female subjects' and went on to work in traditional 'female occupations', despite the changes brought about in the Second World War. Despite the achievement of political rights, there were limited numbers of women in the 1980s in decision-making positions either in a political context or in influential areas of economic life. The Equal Pay Act had been passed in 1963, but women were paid on average 32% less than men. There were indications of change with the first woman Supreme Court Justice in 1981, the first major diplomatic post going to a woman – Jeanne Fitzpatrick being ambassador to the UN and the first vice presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 – but the isolated nature of these 'landmarks' drew attention to the general lack of progress. There were only two women senators by 1990. Wholesale changes in women holding government posts, having key roles in local and national government, or having equal pay had not come about by the end of the 1980s. Progress in attitudes by men had been made with the casual sexism of the 1950s and 1960s, giving way to more respect and more men being part of family life, but this was not universally established in the 1980s and there were considerable differences depending on region and social class. All this was a cause of concern, not only because of the situation itself, but because of the publicity and support for previous change and the development of new wave feminism, so achievements led to the desire for even more equality and set a precedent to demand changes. There could be a discussion about what were the most significant reasons for discontent and whether it was the disappointing results of change or the greater awareness of the need for change that was more significant.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
8	**'His handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis was a triumph for Kennedy.' Discuss this view.** Arguments supporting his high reputation might be that he took a strong line against soviet ships carrying missiles while restraining military excess. Criticisms might be that he had helped to provoke crisis and that the settlement not favourable to US. The deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962 followed an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Castro after years of US hostility. As the US seemed to be threatened by missiles just 90 Miles away, Kennedy was placed in a difficult situation. To accept the situation would be politically impossible, but the aggression shown in the Bay of Pigs raid made the US lose the moral high ground. Khrushchev was defending his ally, Castro and trying to close a nuclear gap heavily in the US's favour because of an arms build-up. To make a pre-emptive strike, as some of Kennedy's military advisers suggested, was a highly dangerous move because there was no guarantee that an attack would remove all the bases and no knowing what the reaction of the USSR would be. The pressure for decisive action was huge and included, initially, Robert Kennedy who urged an attack. John Kennedy's handling of the crisis was seen initially as being high-skilled and successful, and the influential Thirteen Days of Theodore Sorenson portrayed a measured response which showed the determination of the US while successfully negotiating a way out of the crisis which removed the imminent threat of nuclear war. There were voices in the committee that was advising Kennedy that argued that a full scale invasion of Cuba would be tantamount to Pearl Harbor. Robert McNamara urged the point that the US would bear the responsibility of starting a third world war if it assaulted Cuba. Kennedy heeded the advice of the more moderate member of the committee. The policy of blockade, rather than attack on either the missile bases or invasion of Cuba, derived from Kennedy accepting the key arguments made. At a crucial stage, when Khrushchev wrote letters stating that the USSR promised to withdraw the missiles if the US promised not to invade, and offered a deal involving the US withdrawal of Jupiter Missiles from Turkey, Kennedy sided with the realists and accepted the first letter, ignored the second letter but later withdrew the missiles. The key argument in favour of John Kennedy's wisdom was his change from favouring military action to the decision to adopt a blockade and to stand up to opposing views. The broadcast on 22nd October, where he swayed the nation into support for his policy is seen as an example of highly effective communication. The way in which the Khrushchev offers were handled is again seen as highly effective. Accepting the offer, involving a US pledge not to invade in public while secretly assuring the USSR ambassador that the Turkish missiles would be withdrawn, meant that Kennedy was seen not to have made too great of a concession, listened to Khrushchev and maintained a firm stance with the blockade, which led to a Soviet climb-down while rejected the much more dangerous course of armed attack. Kennedy learnt from the crisis and adopted a more conciliatory policy towards the USSR might be seen as relevant. The counter arguments might stress that Kennedy initially did not favour a moderate policy but changed his mind; his policy was also that of key advisers, his unwise policy towards Cuba provoked the crisis and that the concession of the withdrawal of the Jupiter missiles amounted to a de facto defeat.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
9	**Assess the extent to which Khrushchev was responsible for causing the Cuban Crisis.** Khrushchev's determination to help Castro, spread communism and appear militarily stronger than the US as well as his secrecy in deploying nuclear missiles in Cuba so close to the US created a situation that the US found impossible to ignore. However, Kennedy's obsession with defeating Castro provided Khrushchev with the opportunity to become involved. The Cuban Revolution in 1959 brought Fidel Castro to power; he had close links with Moscow and began to establish a left-wing dictatorship. In February 1960, Cuba signed an agreement to buy oil from the Soviet Union. The US-owned refineries in Cuba refused to process the oil and Castro seized the firms. The US broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba. Castro proclaimed himself a communist, formally allied his country with the Soviet Union, and seized remaining American assets. Kennedy inherited from Eisenhower the CIA's Bay of Pigs plan to overthrow Castro which proved to be a complete failure. Kennedy believed that the US needed to be uncompromising with dictatorships like those of Castro. He also believed that Castro would support communist revolutions throughout Latin America and that Castro's Cuba was a dangerous extension of Russian influence so close to the US. Kennedy pledged to take strong action to overthrow Castro, if elected president, and once elected he felt compelled to support the CIA plan. Kennedy made a mistake by not listening to those who were against the plan. He believed it would work because he thought Castro would be assassinated. However, he not only tried to remove Castro through the CIA-engineered assault on the Bay of Pigs, but he also launched another top-secret CIA programme directed against Cuba, Operation Mongoose. He was obsessed with defeating Castro and removing any communist threat so close to the US. This provided the opportunity for Khrushchev to become involved to protect Cuba and try to secure a cold war victory. Khrushchev certainly misjudged the situation in 1962. He felt justified in helping to spread communism and protecting Castro. The crisis began with his decision to install intermediate and medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba. Kennedy saw U2 pictures of the missiles on 16th October 1962 which had been secretly deployed by Khrushchev in April. The Americans had been lied to about the Soviet intentions making a US response inevitable. Such missiles could threaten most US cities. It has been argued that Khrushchev saw Kennedy as a weak president and took advantage of this to gain domestic approval. However, he could have defended Cuba and Castro with conventional weapons. It seems likely that Khrushchev wanted to appear to have greater military strength than the US, particularly when U2 spy flights had shown that there was a missile gap in the US favour. Domestically, Khrushchev was under pressure to adopt a more hard-line approach to the West and he needed to be successful to silence his critics.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
9	Appearing to defend the Cuban Revolution gave Khrushchev the opportunity to try to score a nuclear success over the US. He felt justified in his actions as the US had stationed Jupiter missiles in Turkey so the US would not have strong grounds for objecting to his actions. However, he underestimated the US' reactions to threats in their own backyard and he also underestimated Kennedy. Kennedy did not want to be accused of weakness at home nor to be seen as weak in deterring the communist threat.	

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Question	Answer	Marks
10	**The US was unsuccessful in Vietnam primarily because it lacked the support of the South Vietnamese people.' Evaluate this view.** The US became involved in Vietnam to contain communism, prevent the takeover of South Vietnam by North Vietnam, and contain China. However, it underestimated the strength of the North Vietnamese will and turned a local civil war between two conflicting ideologies into a major conflict; it overlooked the fact that Vietnam was seeking independence. Following the defeat of the Japanese at the end of World War II, the US decided to assist the French in regaining control of Vietnam and refused Ho Chi Minh's request for help in evicting the French. Following the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, it subsequently supported the division of Vietnam as Eisenhower himself admitted that in national elections the Viet Minh would have received 80% of the votes. It seemed that one colonial power had been replaced with another. Eisenhower imposed Ngo Dinh Diem, a Catholic, as ruler of the South when most of the Vietnamese were poor Buddhist peasants. He gave land to his wealthy friends whereas Ho Chi Minh took land from the French and gave it to the people. The US therefore failed to achieve political legitimacy. The US government argued that it wanted the people of South Vietnam to control its own destiny, yet it supported undemocratic regimes in the country. Nationalism increased in South Vietnam. The 'Struggle Movement' campaigning for democracy and reform, led by Buddhist monks, developed into a mass movement believing that a democratic Vietnam free from foreign interference would achieve reform; the US administration viewed the movement as a threat to the stability of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) and repressed it. To the Vietnamese the National Liberation Front known as the Viet Cong (VC) seemed the only alternative. The RVN's pacification programme was unpopular; it ordered peasants to relocate to areas within the RVN sphere of influence. Many men of military age left to join the Viet Cong. The peasants were also antagonistic to the RVN because of its failure to offer compensation for land destroyed by the US. Furthermore, communes were created in villages under VC control which benefited the peasants. 'The VC was a political movement of the people'. Vietnamese joined irrespective of its communist ideology due to the wide appeal it generated by representing national liberation as well as land reform. VC guerrillas were predominantly drawn from the villages and members not only lived among the peasants but helped them grow food, provided medical services and schooling. The VC overcame their technological disadvantage with night attacks, tunnel networks and jungle ambushes. The US solution of deforestation and aerial bombing only attracted more recruits to the VC. Due to its high level of morale and the growing discontent among the population, the VC could afford to have a drawn-out conflict. The army of the RVN was not made up of volunteers like the VC but of draftees; their morale was low and desertion rates was high. The war became unpopular in the US. Incidents like the Tet Offensive led many to become active in the anti-war movement. By 1971, 71% of Americans felt that the war in Vietnam was wrong.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
10	The US military was unable to pursue total war; the methods left at its disposal proved ineffective and low morale was a major factor in defeat. US tactics were totally unsuited to the type of war fought in Vietnam and they should have realised that they needed the support of the people and ensured that reforms were carried out.	

Question	Answer	Marks
11	**China's involvement in Africa was motivated entirely by its own selfish interests.' Evaluate this view.** China saw itself as a third force in Africa and an alternative to the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War years. However, it was not until the 1960s that China's African activities increased. It saw Africa as a continent where it could achieve its political and ideological objectives. It had seen how Taiwan had managed to ensure its seat in the United Nations with African support and it hoped to be able to replace Taiwan. Africa also became a battleground as a result of the Sino-Soviet split as China aimed to exclude the Soviet Union from Africa. The Cultural Revolution caused China to stop many activities in Africa, but during the 1970s, these resumed which was due to its deteriorating relationship with the Soviet Union. China sought support from Africa and devised the theory of the three worlds which Deng put before the UN in April 1974. The First World was the US and the Soviet Union, the second was Canada, Europe, Japan and Oceania and the third was the developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Mao placed China in the latter. China was hoping for an international united front against the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union. With African support, China replaced Taiwan in the United Nations in 1971. China's involvement in Africa went beyond self-interest. China was committed fully to the revolutionary struggle. It supported Africa's aims of removing colonial control and attaining full independence. Zhou Enlai spoke about Third World unity which he believed was essential to combat imperialism and colonialism. China placed itself in the Third World and it began a major aid campaign, and in 1967 agreed to build the Tanzania-Zambia Railway. Nevertheless, China also considered its own interests and by the mid-1960s, it had chosen to switch aid to liberation movements that rivalled the Soviet-backed organisations. In South Africa, China supported the largely ineffective Pan African Congress (PAC) while the Soviet Union supported the African National Council (ANC). Preferring to support active guerrilla armies which would raise its prestige, China focused most of its aid on the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in Rhodesia, while Moscow supported the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). ZAPU was expected to come out on top in the independence struggle, but ZANU's was victorious and Robert Mugabe became President maintaining relations with China. In Angola, China supported UNITA, while the Soviet Union supported the MPLA and in Mozambique, China support the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) providing military training for FRELIMO fighters. When Mozambique became independent in 1975, it immediately recognized Beijing. China granted an interest-free loan of $56 million and sent in medical teams. In the 1980s, there was a thawing of Sino-Soviet tensions, and in 1983, China announced a new policy in which all liberation organisations were to be treated equally without discrimination. In 1989, China began to explore renewing economic ties with South Africa. In 1992, Mandela visited China and he thanked China for its role in the anti-Apartheid struggle. In the 1980s, China adopted a new political and economic approach towards Africa. Premier Zhao Ziyang visited 11 African countries in 1982–83. China wanted a foreign policy without any attachment to a big power governed by the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence'. It continued to share a common struggle with the Third World against colonialism and imperialism, but its emphasis was on mutual benefit.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
12	**Assess the extent to which the Palestine Liberation Organisation had achieved its aims by 1979.** The PLO was established in 1964 by the Arab League, as a response to the growing importance of the Palestine question in Arab politics, and with the aim of controlling Palestinian nationalism while appearing to support their cause. The 1968 PLO charter considered the partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel illegal and rejected any plans to resettle refugees in Arab nations and called for the elimination of Israel. Syria, Jordan and Egypt were all key supporters of the PLO but they sustained heavy losses in the Six-Day War of 1967 when Israel took over the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights. Egypt and Syria were more concerned about the lands that they had lost to Israel than about the Palestinian refugees. Jordan continued to support the PLO until 1970 but King Hussein was afraid of Israeli reprisals because of Palestinian attacks being launched from Jordan. The King also felt that members of the PLO were behaving as though they ruled much of Jordan and were challenging his authority; a civil war in 'Black September' followed, resulting in the expulsion of the PLO. The PLO was an umbrella organisation with Fatah, led by Yasser Arafat, emerging as the leading faction by 1969. Arafat rejected Arab meddling in the PLO's affairs. Under him, the PLO aimed to the liberate Palestine and establish a secular, democratic state for Arabs and Jews. However, Black September emerged as a group within the PLO which resorted to violent tactics. In September 1972, it seized eleven Israeli athletes as hostages at the Olympic Games in Munich. All the athletes and five Black September operatives later died during a gun battle with the West German police. The insurgency against Israel inside the newly occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and the international acts of violence failed to gain much success for the PLO, which gradually turned toward political solutions after the early 1970s.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
12	Following its expulsion from Jordan, the PLO established itself as a 'state-within-a-state' in Lebanon from where it attacked Israel. In 1975, the US promised Israel not to recognise the PLO until it accepted UN resolution 242 and recognised Israel's right to exist. Yasser Arafat realised that the PLO would have to adopt a more moderate approach; he aimed to maintain PLO unity and gain international respectability. The defeat of the Arab armed forces in the October 1973 war led Egypt to make a deal with Israel in return for US aid, isolating the PLO. From 1974, the PLO began to move towards a two-state solution that called for a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Arafat advocated an end to the PLO's attacks on targets outside of Israel, and sought the acceptance of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In 1974, the Arab heads of state recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of all Palestinians, and the PLO was admitted to full membership in the Arab League in 1976. The UN resolution 3210 of October 14, 1974 recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the UN invited Arafat to address the General Assembly. However, at the Camp David Summit in 1978, the Carter administration abandoned its support for Palestinian self-determination, blocked the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in Gaza, and the West Bank perpetuating the indefinite Israeli occupation of the occupied Palestinian territories.	

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