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HISTORY **9489/42**

Paper 4 Depth study **May/June 2025**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

Published

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge International will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

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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 descriptions 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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Annotations guidance for centres

Examiners use a system of annotations as a shorthand for communicating their marking decisions to one another. Examiners are trained during the standardisation process on how and when to use annotations. The purpose of annotations is to inform the standardisation and monitoring processes and guide the supervising examiners when they are checking the work of examiners within their team. The meaning of annotations and how they are used is specific to each component and is understood by all examiners who mark the component.

We publish annotations in our mark schemes to help centres understand the annotations they may see on copies of scripts. Note that there may not be a direct correlation between the number of annotations on a script and the mark awarded. Similarly, the use of an annotation may not be an indication of the quality of the response.

The annotations listed below were available to examiners marking this component in this series.

Annotations

Annotation	Meaning
EXP	Explanation (an explained valid point)
	Unclear
AN	Analysis
^	Unsupported assertion
K	Knowledge
NAR	Lengthy narrative that is not always answering the question
	Use with other annotations to show extended issues or narrative
	Factual error
JU	Judgement
NAQ	Not answering the question/lacks relevance to specific question
L0	Level 0
L1	Level 1
L2	Level 2
L3	Level 3
L4	Level 4
L5	Level 5
On-page comment	Allows comments to be entered in speech bubbles on the candidate response.

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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**

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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**

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Question	Answer	Marks
1	**Assess the view that by 1941 Mussolini had failed to create a nation of fascists.** Mussolini's goal was to consolidate his control of Italy and social policies were intended to instil fascist values into the population to help to achieve this. Responses are expected to provide a balanced assessment of the extent to which this was achieved. Responses might disagree with the statement by examining the role of education and the attempts by the regime to create a loyal generation of fascists through changes made to the curriculum and textbooks used in schools and the increased control over teachers and university professors. There could also be discussion of the role and effectiveness of youth groups such as the ONB, which aimed to indoctrinate the youth of Italy with fascist ideas. There were some 8 million members of this organisation by the late 1930s. Examples of attempts to gain the support and loyalty of adults and control of leisure activities through the Dopolavoro, with a focus on culture and sports, could be included and it would be valid to discuss how Mussolini attempted to use sporting success in areas such as football to reflect the virtues of fascism. The control of the arts and propaganda methods are also likely to be considered, with foreign policy successes being emphasised, for example, and the lack of serious opposition might be argued to be more to do with genuine popularity of the regime than the efforts of the OVRA. There could also be reference to the accommodations made with the Catholic Church through the Lateran Treaty to explain how conflict between church and state was limited. Agreement with the statement might argue that the impact of these institutions was limited and that attendance at ONB and Dopolavoro did not automatically mean active support for Mussolini. Italians might have enjoyed taking advantage of the subsided activities on offer without agreeing with the political stance of those in power. The Catholic Church did offer some competition for the hearts and minds of Italians, particularly through its continued role in education following the Lateran Treaty. The necessity for widespread propaganda and for the instruments of terror might also be highlighted as unnecessary if the regime was popular. There could also be consideration of policies which did not receive widespread support among Italians – such as anti-semitism, the reform of customs and policies towards women, such as the Battle of Births. A final argument might be the speed at which support evaporated during the war and following Mussolini's death.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	**'Stalin's control of the Soviet Union in the years 1928 to 1941 was mainly the result of successful propaganda.' Discuss this view.** The question seeks to address the issue of the reasons for Stalin's personal control of the Soviet Union and a comparison of the use of propaganda with alternatives such as terror is likely in a balanced analysis. Arguments that Stalin's control was principally due to his employment of propaganda techniques could be based on the use of the cult of personality which had the effect of persuading millions of Soviet citizens that he was the 'vozhd' and that his position was unassailable and unquestioned. There might also be some discussion of how a link could be drawn between Stalin and Lenin as a result of the personality cult. Further discussion of the propaganda machine more widely is expected and the extent to which arts, culture and the media was controlled by the regime should be assessed. In terms of control, responses might reach the judgement that the suppression of dissenting voices towards the regime made Stalin's control absolute. Responses might also focus on the significance of organisations that principally aimed to secure increased loyalty to Stalin such as the Komsomol, the Stakhanovite movement and League of the Militant Godless. Alternatively, responses might place more weight on the use of repression and terror to explain control. There could be attention paid to the purges and Show Trials and, in particular to Stalin's elimination of rivals such as Bukharin and Trotsky by 1929 and of Zinoviev and Kamenev in the 1930s which left him in a position of greater security and control. There might also be some discussion of the role of the NKVD and its employment of widespread arrests and executions which gave Stalin the ability to exercise control through terror and of the effects of Stalin's policies of collectivisation and dekulakization in the countryside which ultimately removed opposition and gave him greater control over the rural population of the Soviet Union. There could also be focus of the extent to which Stalin and his policies received genuine support, especially from within the cities and from those who tended to benefit from his economic policies, again allowing for greater control.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	**'The success of the Nazi regime's economic policies in the years 1933 to 1939 amounted to a miracle.' Discuss this view.** There should be some reference to the need to deal with the challenges of the Great Depression and to end mass unemployment. Responses could also point towards the goal of autarky and the development of an economy which was geared to the needs of war. There could also be reference made to the aim of furthering the economic position of the German Mittelstand. Examples of policies that might be expected to be discussed include the increase in public investment and expenditure to boost demand and create employment. There is likely to be reference to public works schemes which were set up, notably the building of the autobahn network. Another valid example would be the creation of the RAD to provide employment for the youth, as would the massive rearmament programme and introduction of conscription for males aged 18 to 25 in 1935. The use of deficit finance and Mefo bills, mostly associated with Schacht, could also be discussed here, as might the New Plan of 1934, which was intended to deal with the balance of payments issues. The move towards autarky in 1936 saw the replacement of Schacht with Goering and the Four-Year Plan's introduction. This was intended to make Germany war-ready and to develop raw material and machinery in order to make Germany self-sufficient in food and industrial production. Responses might also consider Nazi policies towards agriculture, such as the Reich Food Estate and Reich Entailed Farm Law. Analysis will probably include judgements on the eradication of unemployment in Germany by 1939 as evidence of a 'miracle', although counter-arguments relating to the removal of women, Jews and young people from the unemployment register might be made. There could also be an argument that the recovery from the Great Depression had already begun before 1933. Autarky was not achieved, or indeed fully achievable, with a reliance of foreign imports such as iron ore, oil and rubber continuing. Support for the Mittelstand and farmers did not always translate into improvements in their economic status. Big business did best out of rearmament and the Reich Entailed Law failed to notably help farmers. There might be a judgement that the recovery from the Depression appears to be the greatest achievement but that the economy did not grow beyond Weimar levels and that the focus on rearmament rather than on consumer products might have harmed the economy. The impact of the international economic situation and the extent to which the recovery had begun before 1933 might also be included as arguments to challenge the statement.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	**'The political dominance of the British Conservative party in Britain in the years 1922 to 1939 was largely due to its leadership.' Analyse this view.** Some discussion of the nature of Conservative success in the inter-war period might be included as background, as it governed on its own or as the leading party in coalitions for all of the period apart from 1924 and 1929 to 1931. Only in 1929 did they fail to receive more votes in any general election than their rivals. Baldwin led the party from 1923–37 and was Prime Minister three times in this period and his role is expected to be examined in order to agree with the statement. Despite his privileged background, Baldwin was able to present himself as a down to earth, 'man of the people' and made effective use of new technology to make radio broadcasts. He was presented as a safe and effective leader and was able to ensure that the Conservative Party appealed to different social classes through a message of social cohesion and unity. He was considered to be an effective leader during crises – examples might include the General Strike or Abdication Crisis. His appeal to patriotism, Empire and unionism meant that, despite the increased working-class electorate from 1918, the Labour Party could not depend upon those votes. Candidates might also explore Baldwin's role in the creation and survival of the National Government. Alternative explanations might point towards the financial strength of the party, particularly in comparison to the Liberals, following their split, and the creation of a national party machine. The relative decline in the Liberal vote in the 1920s meant that the Conservatives could present themselves as the natural party of the middle classes, and the only obstacle to Socialist control. There may also be some attention paid to the impact of the extension of the franchise in 1918 and 1928, which allowed for women to be able to vote. Candidates might discuss how far this development helped the Conservative Party. The impact of the Great Depression in derailing Labour's government in 1929 and the subsequent electoral success of the Conservative-dominated National Government might be considered and there could be some discussion of its popularity in the 1930s.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
5	**Improvements in transport and communications were the greatest achievement of Eisenhower's domestic policy.' Discuss this view**. For the purposes of this question, transport and communications should be treated as linked – Eisenhower's policies on transport improved communications. There is no necessity for responses to deal with policies relating directly to communications. Eisenhower's administration undertook major infrastructure projects in transport. There was a joint project with Canada to build the St Lawrence Seaway, but the major element was the Interstate Highway programme. Beginning in 1956, this saw the building of 41 000 miles of roads. It was a major stimulus to a growing economy and an indication that the Republican administration had not abandoned large scale public works development. It had a knock-on effect on the development of road haulage and car use and facilitated out of town developments. It was a key part of the economic growth of the 1950s but it did have it downsides. It encouraged a dependence on cheap fuel and had an impact on traditional city centres as homes and businesses moved out. It did have valuable effects on internal communication, but more and more people were dependent on longer journeys. From a modern perspective there were heavy environmental costs. Alternative achievements might be seen in more direct benefits to the people of the US in expanding social security. A new Department of Health Education and Welfare was created. There was government support for low-income housing and also an increase in the minimum wage which showed some continuity with previous social spending. On the whole though the aim for balanced budgets did prevent wider social spending. There is also the support for Civil Rights, however circumscribed, shown in the use of federal troops in support of desegregation and the 1957 Civil Rights Act. In general, though the president probably showed more wholehearted support of road construction which had a wider consensus of support.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
6	‘**The oil crises were the most important reason for economic deterioration in the 1970s’ Assess this view.** OPEC imposed an embargo against the United States in response to the Yom Kippur War in 1973. The move precipitated a 400% increase in price; the auto industry was crucial to the economy, so the increased price of a critical input had severe consequences for the nation’s economic health. responses could set this and the subsequent oil crisis against the general context of the early 1970s. The post-World War II economic boom began to wane, due to increased international competition, the expense of the Vietnam War, and the decline of manufacturing jobs. Unemployment rates rose, while a combination of price increases and wage stagnation led to a period of stagflation. Beyond the oil crisis, rising energy costs were only one manifestation of the great inflation that ripped through the economies of the West during the 1970s. Prices rose for several reasons: expansion of government spending on social programs and the war in Vietnam; low interest rates established by the Federal Reserve Board, which encouraged more borrowing by businesses; rising energy costs; and, in 1971, the end of the Bretton Woods monetary system linking the value of the U.S. dollar to the value of gold. The result was skyrocketing consumer prices that outpaced wage increases for workers. Nixon responded by applying artificial wage and price controls to the economy in 1971. They began to produce shortages until, when they were lifted after 90 days, prices skyrocketed again. Attempts to control prices through interest rates had brought about recession by 1979, The situation was worsened by another oil crisis from 1978–9 as Iran cut off oil exports was a second major panic that tripled the price of gasoline at the pump (to more than $1.00 per gallon, which, adjusted for inflation, was the highest gas price U.S. consumers had ever paid). The price per barrel more than doubled from $15 per barrel to $39 per barrel by mid-1979. The oil crisis fueled a new round of inflation because railroads and airlines were hit. Longer term factors had already weakened the US economy and responses could balance the relative impact of the short-term oil price hikes.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
7	**Evaluate the impact of the Rainbow Coalition on US politics in the years 1984 to 1992.** Though there was an earlier Rainbow Coalition, the name in the 1980s derived from 1983 with Jesse Jackson claiming to be fighting for the rights of different elements – African Americans whites, Latino Americans, Native Americans, Asians, women and the LGBTQ community. This was a significant move towards more diverse politics and Jackson was only the second Black presidential candidate. Jackson had his roots in the Civil Rights movement as an aide to King. He left the movement in 1971 but took its struggle to a different level by standing for the Democratic nomination but relying on white candidates to support the cause. Support by registered Democrats reached 7 million in 1988. What could be seen as significant was the hope for a Black presidential candidate after the election of a Black mayor of Chicago, Harold Washington in 1983. The rhetoric used in 1983 was of a moral revival and greater consideration to the poor and dispossessed. The terminology harked back to the 1960s with Fred Hampton's attempts to unite different ethnic political groups but the tone was nonviolent and aimed at working through the Democratic party. The Rainbow Coalition was an extension of King's work and a reaction against the Reagan era. Following Mondale's failure in 1984 Jackson helped to establish a body of Democrat progressive opinion and actually won seven primaries though failed to gain the nomination for 1988. One view is that he was significant even after this failure, merging his National Rainbow Coalition with PUSH to form the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition in the 1990s. He encouraged Black voter registration and political engagement in his two presidential campaigns paved the way for a new generation of Black leaders and formed a vital part of the modern Democratic Party. Less favourable views see a campaign marred by antisemitism and unlikely to achieve success, putting back the Democratic electoral chances and feeding fears of radical social policies being linked to the cause of civil rights. Critics saw rhetoric and personal ambition rather than genuinely achievable goals and a betrayal of the original Rainbow Coalition.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
8	**Assess the consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis for relations between the US and USSR.** In the short-term war was averted and the USSR withdrew its missiles from Cuba and the US withdrew its missiles from Turkey. In itself that reflected some mutual understanding of perceived threats. The closeness of nuclear war did lead to an awareness for better communication and a desire to reduce the risks. The allies or dependents of both superpowers had become alarmed and there was a desire for greater stability. A hotline was established allowing a direct phone link between the leaders. Realising that nuclear war had been a real possibility, both powers supported talks which led to the 1963 Test Ban Treaty and in the longer term the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty of 1969. The USA was conscious of the unease about the lack of consultation during the crisis with its western allies and this impelled more obvious attempts to create better relations with the USSR to assure them. The crisis was one factor in the movement towards détente and closer cooperation on trade, human rights and disarmament. The momentum of arms reduction continued into the SALT talks of 1969 and agreement on ICBM. However, the impact can be overstated. There were other factors driving better relations. The Cuban Crisis did not begin summits which had been held since 1955 but there were summits 1972-4 which showed a new impetus to reach agreement. The scope of cooperation increased to commercial and health issues, energy and space and environmental aspects. The 1972 Moscow Summit was particularly important in thawing relations. Progress was not always smooth but arms education, driven by other factors such as cost and public opinion did make progress. The discussion could be about which elements of greater understanding were most significant or whether other factors than the fears engendered by Cuba were important in bringing about better relations. Tensions were not totally eradicated. An example which might be used is the 1968 Prague Spring.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
9	**'The fall of the Berlin Wall resulted in the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe and the USSR.' Analyse this view.** The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 paved the way for the dissolution of communist power in Eastern Europe and ultimately led to the collapse of the USSR. Almost 90% of East Germans favoured reunification. In March 1990, East Germany held its first free elections, resulting in defeat for the communists. On 3 October, the Unification Treaty came into effect triggering the swift collapse of the other East European governments. A key factor was Gorbachev's decision that he would not use force to suppress reformist aspirations in Eastern Europe, and this accelerated the demise of Communist Party rule throughout the Soviet bloc. The fall of the Berlin Wall also marked the end of the Cold War. The USSR was already losing its grip on its satellite states; ethnic groups sought freedom from Soviet control. Once nationalism took hold, communism was destroyed. The Berlin Wall was a symbol of Cold War division for more than 25 years. In 1987 Ronald Reagan visited Berlin and challenged Mikhail Gorbachev to 'tear down this wall'. He sought peace through strength and strove to avoid a nuclear confrontation. He aspired to abolish nuclear weapons, and he appreciated the changes Gorbachev was making. Reagan reassured Gorbachev that Soviet security would not be endangered as Gorbachev struggled to reshape Soviet political, economic, and social institutions. Even before Gorbachev came to power, belief in communist ideology was declining; Soviet actions in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1981 led to a loss of faith in the system. However, it was Gorbachev who created the circumstances that enabled the rapid collapse. He came to power in 1985 during a period of economic stagnation supporting moderate change with perestroika and glasnost to restore the legitimacy of the communist party; instead, the public recognised its shortcomings, and the system collapsed. Gorbachev brought about a series of reforms in 1987–88 which loosened Communist Party control of elections, released political prisoners and expanded freedom of speech; this created a domino effect which saw Eastern European alliances crumble. The cascade began in Poland in June 1989 with the victory of the Solidarity trade movement in free elections, then East Germany, followed by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and finally Bulgaria and Romania. He wanted to reform communism, but his reforms caused a revolution driven from below which, because of his refusal to use force, destroyed the communist system, ended the Soviet Empire and the Cold War. In early 1990, the Communist Party accepted Gorbachev's proposal that Soviet bloc nations be permitted to hold free elections and referendums on independence. By the end of 1990, the citizens of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia and Moldova had voted to leave the USSR and on Christmas Day 1991, Gorbachev announced its dissolution and his resignation.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
10	**Assess the extent to which discontent with the Kuomintang resulted in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.** Responses might consider the shortcomings of the Kuomintang (KMT) including their incompetent government, lack of support from the peasants and loss of US support. They might also focus on the well-organised People's Liberation Army (PLA), peasant support for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the leadership of Mao Zedong in order to reach a clear judgement. Chiang Kai-shek experienced difficulties leading China through the Second World War; the government and party he presided over consisted of different factions which he struggled to reunite. His government was incompetent and corrupt and failed to save millions from being murdered by the Japanese. Civil war between the Nationalists and Communists erupted again in 1946. Chiang lost support in the cities because of unemployment, heavy taxes, food shortages, and inflation. Economic discontent led to strikes and there were protests demanding an end to the civil war and the creation of a government that included the Communists. The Nationalists responded with repression including censorship, mass arrests and assassinations. They ignored the suffering of the peasants. The USA still hoped to maintain Nationalist China as an ally to stop the advance of communism even though they were aware of the corruption of Chiang's administration but US public opinion was firmly against fighting a war in China. The USA limited their commitment in the area. International developments might be considered to be a crucial part of the explanation. The impact of US support for the Nationalists on popular opinion and the impact of Soviet aid to the CCP could form important aspects of the argument. However, the strategies adopted by the leadership of the CCP played a major role in securing victory. Mao Zedong, who had become Chairman of the CCP in 1945, understood how the leaders could win the support of the peasants and the importance of having a strong army led by loyal generals. The leadership of the CCP lived on the ground throughout the period of the communist revolution which helped them to understand the needs of the peasants. Mao was also able to win 'the struggle for the hearts of the people' by sympathising with the peasants. In the areas that the communists liberated, the peasants were usually encouraged to take charge of their own affairs. If the communists lost, they would lose everything and, consequently, they supported Mao's army with food, labour and recruits for the army. It was Mao's grip on control that allowed him to adopt an offensive strategy in the war which resulted in victory in 1949. Mao appointed loyal generals including Lin Biao and Zhu De. The ordinary soldiers in the PLA were treated with respect whereas numbers of well-trained KMT soldiers were poorly treated and lacked motivation; many deserted and joined the communists who were able to take full advantage of their skills. In June 1947 the PLA defeated the KMT New First Army. In 1948 they launched an attack south of the Great Wall that cut off Nationalist troops from their supply bases in Xi'an. They then secured the Southeast Central section of China; by the end of January 1949 most of China was in the hands of the Communists.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
11	**'Mass support for nationalist movements was the main reason African nations gained their independence after 1950.' Discuss this view.** Support for nationalism increased as returning veterans from the Second World War expected more freedom and dignity. In Africa, nationalism became a central focus for calls for the unification of Africa. Nationalist movements attempted to transform conceptions of African identity from a focus on isolated ethnicities to a racial identification, or an identity based on the territorial state created by colonial rulers. By 1950, most African colonies had some organised nationalist movement; most of these were in the form of political parties that led the demand for independence; they were more broad-based in their appeal. Political parties helped to organise nationalist movements across Africa. Popular parties included the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) and in Ghana the Convention People's Party. In general, these political parties were led by charismatic nationalist figures like Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Azikiwe. They were all keen advocates of national independence. Pan-Africanism also influenced nationalist leaders like Kaunda, Haile Selassie, Nkrumah and Azikiwe. It enjoyed its greatest successes as an international liberation movement in the first two decades after the war. The fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945 supported strongly the African struggle for independence. Nkrumah argued that African workers and peasants needed to reclaim their independence advocating the use of force if necessary. Nkrumah's hatred of colonial rule, enthusiasm for independence, and the ideal of a United States of Africa made him popular throughout the continent. Changing attitudes of the colonial powers also helped to bring about independence. Their attitudes did not change immediately. This can be seen, for example, through the policies of Attlee's Labour government who wanted to make the colonies produce more money to help Britain pay its war debts and rebuild itself. However, the failed Suez Crisis in 1956 humiliated the imperial powers and showed their colonies and the British government that they were not the superpowers they once were. This victory of nationalism over imperialism followed a swift European withdrawal from Africa. In Britain in1960 Macmillan acknowledged the end of the British Empire recognising that 'winds of change' were blowing through Africa, 'whether we like it or not'. European colonial powers also became less able to repress the nationalist movements that were growing across the African continent. They, therefore, became more open to the idea of granting independence. In some colonies the calls for independence led to armed confrontations between nationalist insurgent groups and colonial armies. In Kenya, the Mau Mau uprising carried on guerrilla warfare against the colonial government for most of the 1950s.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
12	**Evaluate the impact of Yasser Arafat's leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation up to 1979.** Arafat personified the Palestinians' emergence as an independent force, using a combination of armed struggle and diplomacy. He founded Fatah in the late 1950s to rally the Palestinians to take up arms. Israeli victory in the Six-Day War resulted in them occupying East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and the Syrian Golan Heights. Fatah announced the start of an insurrectionary campaign inside the newly occupied territories. The 'victory' at Karameh in March 1968 enabled Arafat to exert greater influence over the PLO. It aimed for the total liberation of Palestine, the right to an independent state, and the destruction of the State of Israel. In 1969 the Council elected Arafat as chairman. In 1973 Arafat became the head of the PLO's political department and realised a more moderate approach was needed to gain international respectability. From 1974 the PLO began to move towards a two-state solution, a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Arafat advocated ending the PLO's attacks on targets outside of Israel and the acceptance of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. UN resolution 3210 recognised this in 1974; Arafat addressed the General Assembly with his 'gun and olive' speech. In the late 1960s Palestinian resistance elements had created a virtual 'state within a state' in Jordan. On 12 September 1970 Palestinian terrorists flew three hijacked planes to Jordan and blew them up. In the Black September conflict, the Jordanian army defeated the Palestinians. Following its expulsion from Jordan, the PLO set up a 'state-within-a-state' in Lebanon from where it attacked Israel. Arafat was linked with the violence of the organisation becoming Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces in 1971. Black September emerged as a group within the PLO and resorted to violent tactics. In November 1971, the Jordanian Prime Minister was assassinated in Cairo. In September 1972 it seized eleven Israeli athletes as hostages at the Olympic Games in Munich, all of whom died. The insurgency against Israel and the international acts of violence failed to gain much success for the PLO. While Arafat had achieved regional popularity for the paramilitary efforts to 'liberate' Palestine, this had resulted in international condemnation. In addition, 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. However, in 1975, the USA promised Israel not to recognise the PLO until it accepted UN resolution 242 and recognised Israel's right to exist. This created serious problems for PLO diplomacy as the PLO was excluded from important negotiations, most importantly Camp David I in 1978. The talks failed to produce much as Palestinian representatives refused to participate.	**30**

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