Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/41**

Paper 4 Depth Study **October/November 2023**

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.

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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**

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**

Annotation symbols

ID	ID	Valid point identified
	EXP	Explanation (an explained valid point)
	Tick	Detail/evidence is used to support the point
	Plus	Balanced – Considers the other view
	?	Unclear
	AN	Analysis
	^	Unsupported assertion
	K	Knowledge
	EVAL	Evaluation
	NAR	Lengthy narrative that is not answering the question
	Extendable Wavy Line	Use with other annotations to show extended issues or narrative
N/A	Highlighter	Highlight a section of text
N/A	On-page comment	Allows comments to be entered in speech bubbles on the candidate response.

Using the annotations

- Annotate using the symbols above as you read through the script.
- At the end of each question write a short on-page comment:
  - be positive – say what the candidate has done, rather than what they have not
  - reference the attributes of the level descriptor you are awarding (i.e. make sure your comment matches the mark you have given)

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Question	Answer	Marks
1	**Assess the extent to which Mussolini's regime received popular support.** Agreement with the idea of popular support could relate to the limited nature of opposition to the regime, with examples such as the Communist Party and Justice and Liberty having limited scope and impact. The success of propaganda and the cult of personality might also be used in agreement. Reference might be made to use of the mass media, radio, posters, rallies and education. Mussolini's popularity might also be explained through support for the re-establishment of Italy as a strong nation, emphasised through foreign policy success such as in Abyssinia, or sporting success such as the 1934 and 1938 World Cup victories. Italian people's enthusiasm for many of the activities offered by the OND might also be used in support, as might the Lateran Treaties and the Concordat of 1929 which were used to gain the support of the Catholic Church and its members. The scale of repression might be argued to indicate that not all Italians willingly supported the regime. The OVRA secret police relied upon a vast network of informants and agents. The Special Tribunals were used to try minor political crimes. About 10 000 political prisoners were kept in internal exile on islands such as Lipari and Lampedusa. There was little active opposition to the regime, but the degree of enthusiastic support is less certain. It could be argued that genuine popularity peaked with the victory in Abyssinia in 1936 and began to decline in the late 1930s. The introduction of anti-Semitic policies began to alienate the population and the response to the Reform of Customs in the late 1930s also indicates a growing divide between the regime and the general population.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
2	**'It was the failings of Stalin's rivals that best explain his rise to power by 1929.' Discuss this view.** Factors used to support the argument might include how Trotsky was perceived by many within the party as arrogant and high-minded and did not develop any power base. He found it difficult to establish his authority among colleagues through persuasion. He was unwilling and unable to become involved in political intrigue, making concessions and alliances. He and other leading Bolsheviks also seriously underestimated Stalin and therefore saw no need to treat him as a rival for leadership. They perceived him as a mediocrity and as an unsophisticated administrator. Members of the Politburo also refused to publish Lenin's Testament, which would have seriously harmed Stalin's reputation, given Lenin's criticism of him. However, the document also criticised Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev and so it was suppressed. Counterarguments might include arguments about Stalin's own personal abilities, in particular how he was politically skilful and used cunning to advance his own position. He understood the importance of administrative roles such as General Secretary, his role in Politburo and control of party organisation and membership. He was able to appoint supports to key roles and employ patronage to ensure that he had built up a loyal base within the party. Stalin was also popular with the members, as a rare example of a true proletarian with long service in the party, unlike Trotsky. He also supervised the Lenin Enrolment which filled the party with young urban workers, less likely to be persuaded by theoretical arguments used by his opponents. His policies were popular with party members and he seemed to understand their desires. Socialism in One Country appealed to party members' sense of nationalism.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	**'Terror was the most important factor in maintaining Nazi control of Germany in the period 1933–39.' Discuss.** The regime's use of terror and oppression were successful in silencing potential opponents. Reference could be made to the use of the SA, SS, Gestapo, SD, concentration camps to explain this factor. The use of terror in suppressing communists in 1933 following the Reichstag Fire and the SS's role in purging the SA in the Night of the Long Knives are also relevant examples. Other factors that may be considered include the widespread nature of propaganda could be explained as a factor which helped to consolidate Nazi control and persuaded many of the success of the Nazi regime. References could be made to examples, such as the control of the media, newspapers or radio, rallies such as those at Nuremberg, or sporting events such as the 1936 Olympic Games. The apparent success of Nazi policies could also be considered, notably economic developments, such as the rapid decrease in unemployment and the creation of major public works schemes, for instance the autobahns. Foreign policy success in rebuilding German military strength and in defying the Allies over aspects of the Treaty of Versailles might also be used. Responses may also discuss the apparent legality of Hitler's rise to power, and the creation of a dictatorship through the Enabling Act might also be used as an argument and could be allied to the lack of a tradition of 'loyal' opposition in Germany.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	**Evaluate the extent to which social welfare policies improved the lives of the British people in the period 1919–39.** In 1918 government support for the poor was based upon the Victorian Poor Laws, such as the workhouse, and the Liberal welfare reforms of the early twentieth century. The role of the state expanded in the inter-war period to develop the availability of welfare further. In 1920 Unemployment Act extended welfare by increasing the numbers of people covered from 4 million to 11 million and increased sums payable, although they remained low compared to earnings. The state was now funding unemployment through a dole system rather than relying on a self-funding insurance scheme. The 1931 National Economy Act introduced a means test for unemployment benefits to reduce the overall bill in the face of greater demand during the Depression. Those who worked occasional days could no longer claim benefits and so work of this nature was no longer viable. Claims had to be renewed for six months further payments required a means test. Families faced working age children moving out of the family home so that benefits were not stopped. The 1934 Unemployment Act continued to distinguish between short-term and long-term unemployed. The 10% cut in benefits for the first six months was reversed, but a cut in payments after this was brought in, leading to protests and a suspension. The 1925 Pensions Act also provided some benefit, enabling contributors to receive their pension at 65 rather than 70. Housing Acts in both the 1920s and 1930s led to the building of millions of local authority homes available for relatively cheap rents and improved lives considerably. There was clearly an expansion in the state's role which improved the lives of many. It became accepted that it was the state's responsibility to help the poorest. Although Lloyd George's promise of a 'land fit for heroes' did not come to pass, millions benefitted through better housing. However, the means test caused misery and the system was not strong enough to cope with the increased demand in the early 1930s.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
5	**Analyse how far Eisenhower's domestic policies met the needs of the American people.** Much will depend on what groups are considered and what responses take to be their needs. It could be considered that by encouraging liberal capitalism and improving infrastructure such as highways and by being enterprise friendly with generally low taxes Eisenhower met the needs pf a stable and prosperous suburban white America. More critical views might point to enduring inequalities and limited support for civil rights despite a few areas of progress. He pursued a policy sometimes called Modern Republicanism. The modern aspects helped Americans who had benefited from the New Deal and the Fair Deal by not returning to the pre-Roosevelt era and maintaining social security. He set up a new Department of Health, Education and Welfare, extended social security to the self-employed and increased the minimum wage. The economic growth of the 1950s helped prosperity and the Federal Aid Highway Act was a considerable public works scheme creating 40 000 miles of interstate highways. Combined with a high level of federal military spending, federal policy created jobs and expanded infrastructure to help economic growth, Eisenhower did not institute tax cuts before the budget was balanced despite conservative pressure. The confidence of the Eisenhower era was reflected in population growth, urban and suburban developments, consumerism and industrial and technological growth. How much was a result of Eisenhower's domestic policies can be argued but he did not retreat from federal expenditure and maintained social security and his administration saw a growth in unionised labour. Critics point out the regional variations and the persistent inequality and it could be argued that key groups did not benefit – African Americans remained economically disadvantaged and the continuation of termination policies towards Native Americans ending their special status and attempting to integrate them led to hardship. There was little done for female equality and the administration was socially conservative. Caution characterised Eisenhower's policy towards the ongoing influence of McCarthy but he resisted investigation into White House Staff and supported opposition to campaigns against the army. Reluctant to stand up to the Red Scare too openly, Eisenhower worked against it behind the scenes to the benefit of groups in the US vulnerable to attacks. The government was hostile to immigration and in, 1954, Eisenhower launched Operation Wetback in response to increasing illegal immigration to the United States. As many as three million illegal immigrants had crossed into the U.S. Eisenhower opposed this movement, believing that it lowered the wages of U.S. workers. The Immigration and Naturalization Service sent about 80 000 immigrants back to Mexico. On Civil Rights, Eisenhower's instincts were conservative but he saw it as his duty to back the Brown judgements and sent troops to Little Rock in 1957 in a well-publicised act of enforcement. Relatively limited action was taken to ensure that desegregation was put into practice, however. There was new Civil Rights legislation in 1957 and 1960 which established a permanent civil rights office inside the Justice Department and a Civil Rights Commission to hear testimony about voting rights abuses. Although both acts were much weaker than subsequent civil rights legislation, they constituted the first significant civil rights acts since 1875. African Americans got some support but major inequalities and key issues about voting were not tackled.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
6	**'The 'imperial presidency' no longer existed in the 1970s.' Evaluate this claim.** Answers might define the term by considering the relative powers and importance of the executive and congress and by noting the growth in size of presidential staffs and authority wielded, so that the scope of federal authority generally and presidents in particulars increased. The term 'imperial presidency' comes from the early 1970s. Aspects of a growing presidential authority in the twentieth century could be seen as offering a distinct agenda for legislation, taking foreign policy decisions independently and sanctioning military action. Executive orders were used to make important changes. Thus, Nixon inherited a presidency whose power had increased through the need to respond to emergencies of war and massive economic depression. His actions had aspects of this imperial presidency by refusing to spend money appropriated by Congress; by claiming executive privilege to avoid disclosing to Congress information; but broadening the role and power of officials and by taking vital decisions such as bombing in Southeast Asia without the approval of Congress. So in the first part of the 1970s the statement could be challenged. However, with the abuse of power, Congress managed to claw back authority and it might be see that Watergate marked a decisive change. The Imperial presidency was weakened by the War Powers Act of 1973 restricting the power of the president to commit forces in foreign combat for more than 90 days without Congressional approval. Congress provided public financing of presidential elections, public disclosure of sources of funding, limits on private campaign contributions and spending, and to enforce campaign finance laws by an independent Federal Election Commission. Branch. Congress required the attorney general to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate accusations of illegal activities. A Congressional Budget Office was set up, and Congress forbade a president to impound funds without its approval. To open government to public scrutiny, Congress opened more committee deliberations and enacted the Freedom of Information Act: the declassification of government documents could be demanded by press and public. However, the extent of the assault on the imperial presidency can be questioned The War Powers Act has never been invoked. Campaign financing reform did not fully restrict special interests influencing with politicians or the capacity of the very rich to outspend opponents.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
7	**'Economic policy in the 1980s had only a limited effect on living standards.' Discuss.** The theory of Reagan's Trickle-Down economics was that the problems of the US by 1979 – stagnant growth, unemployment and inflation needed to be met by reducing the role of government and encouraging enterprise by greater consumer spending, investment and free enterprise. Supply Side economics have been controversial. Reagan cut corporate taxes from 48 to 34% and higher income taxation from 70 to 28%. However, it was harder to implement the complementary policy of reduction of spending as foreign policy depended on high levels of defence spending and it was too risky to slash social security. The initial effects of government policy was recession as high interest meant a rise in demand for the dollar and higher prices for exports. However, supporters claimed that the Dow Jones industrial average rose 14 times and employment grew, with 40 million jobs added to the economy, The 1980s were a time of investor and consumer confidence even if debt rose rapidly. Whether the economic growth derived from trickle down policy has been debated. Critics have claimed that less than 10% pf job creation derived from the tax cuts. Companies did not do much to meet inequalities of reward and often used wealth for stock buybacks for the benefit of shareholders. It has been argued that relief for lower income workers would have had more impact on living standards. Though the standard of living rose, its growth was no faster than during 1950–1980. Income inequality increased. The rate of poverty at the end of Reagan's term was the same as in 1980. There was an increase in inequality. Changes in tax policy helped increase inequality more than poverty, but regional pockets of hardship remained and there was a big distinction between groups in service industries which benefited from economic growth and groups in depressed areas and many ethnic minorities did not experience improvement in living standards. Broad social and economic factors were acting to exacerbate income differences and making it harder for families to stay out of poverty. The changes of the 1980s tended to increase their effect.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
8	**'Changing policies towards Vietnam between 1963 and 1979 are best explained by shifts in US public opinion.' Discuss this view.** The shift in public opinion from general approval of fighting against Communism and reacting strongly to the supposed attacks in the Gulf of Tonkin to a growing opposition to conscription and concerns about losses, the way the war was being conducted and the chance of victory were clearly an important element in shift of policy from tentative commitment to much more extensive military intervention, from defending South Vietnam to attacking the North and then to Vietnamization and finally withdrawal. However, foreign opinion, the actions of the USSR, purely military developments and political concerns also played a part. Possible changes might include the escalation under Kennedy from sending 400 troops and authorising covert operations against the Viet Cong in May 1961 to greater military action such as spraying agent orange, more troops and political involvement in the support of a coup in November 1963. The motivation here was concern about the spread of communism, the inability of South Vietnamese forces to cope and the unpopularity of Diem. The political imperative for Kennedy and for Johnson was to avoid losing Vietnam to communism and being seen as weak Democratic presidents in the tradition of Truman who lost China by their Republican opponents. Given residual popular anti-communism in the US it was hard to withdraw. A change of policy towards greater commitment resulted from the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964 leading to a congressional resolution. The support of the USSR seemed to confirm that the US was constraining the spread of international communism. The problems facing South Vietnamese on the ground led to a greater reliance on the use of air power from February 1965 including targets in North Vietnam. The landing of combat troops in March 1965 was a major development and in July 1965 Johnson called for 50 000 more ground troops and increases the draft. This change of policy indicated a confidence in military victory and hopes for a stable political regime. The limited successes and the startling increase in troop numbers to 400 000 by mid-1966 begin to cause unrest. The large-scale protests in the US in 1967 and increasing concern about bombing and damage to civilians in world opinion became a factor to consider. The 1968 Tet offensive shook US confidence in victory and was influential on public opinion but the Mai Lai Massacre in March 1968 led to a wave of anti-war feeling in the US resulting in a scaling down of bombing and Johnson's decision not to stand for re-election. The heavy losses at Hamburger Hill in 1969 is a factor in a change of policy by Nixon towards Vietnamization. The unpopularity of the war, the heavy losses, world opinion and hostility to the draft leads to a reduction of US forces from a peak of 549 000 to 69 000 by 1972. The bombing of Cambodia is a development linked to the reduction of reliance on ground forces; further intensive bombing tried force a negotiated peace. The Kent State shootings and ongoing protests and more military failures showed the difficulties of sustaining even a Vietnamization policy. In January 1973 the policy shifts to a negotiated peace in Paris and then to withdraw.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
9	**'Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence had little effect on US–Soviet relations.' Evaluate this view.** Khrushchev never intended peaceful co-existence to end competition between the two superpowers, merely that it would be peaceful competition. Both sides remained suspicious of each other's ideological stance and their relationship remained unstable. Eisenhower while prepared to enter into dialogue, remained fiercely opposed to communism. His 'New Look' foreign policy included the use of greater nuclear weapons, a policy of massive retaliation and brinkmanship. Thus, while dialogue between the two superpowers improved, there were areas of disagreement which continued to cause tension. In 1955 Khrushchev set up the Warsaw Pact with plans to use nuclear weapons against NATO if there was a war. Khrushchev also rejected Eisenhower's 'Open Skies' proposal at the Geneva Summit in 1955. In addition, the United States was suspicious of Khrushchev's intentions, especially after he sent troops into Hungary in 1956 and brutally crushed the revolts there. In 1957 the Soviets launched their first intercontinental ballistic missile which created US fears of a missile gap between the USSR and the United States. The USSR also began the space race with the United States with the launch of Sputnik 1, the first satellite, and in 1961 Yuri Gagarin became the first astronaut to orbit the earth. The United States was determined not to be left behind. The problem of Berlin also caused tension; many East Germans had fled into the West from East Berlin and in November 1958, Khrushchev announced that unless the West removed its forces from West Berlin within six months, he would allow the East Germans to control the access routes. President Eisenhower and the West stood firm, and Khrushchev eventually backed down. A summit meeting in Paris in 1960 was stopped by the shooting down of a U2 spy plane over Moscow and in 1961 Khrushchev made the same threat over Berlin. However, after Kennedy's 'Ich bin ein Berliner' speech which confirmed that West Berlin would not be deserted, Khrushchev ordered the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. The Cuban Crisis of 1962 saw the two sides on the brink of nuclear war. However, Khrushchev's adoption of the policy of peaceful coexistence with the West alongside his de-Stalinisation policy signalled a thaw in the Cold War. In 1955 he agreed to negotiate an end to the post-war occupation of Austria and allow a neutral country to be created. He told Tito, the Yugoslav leader, that 'there are different roads to communism'. He also called for a reduction in defence expenditures and cut the size of the Soviet armed forces. On February 24, 1956 at the Communist Party's Twentieth Congress Khrushchev made a speech denouncing Stalin. It became known as the 'secret speech' as it was read in a closed discussion, but the US State Department soon attained a copy. It seemed as if there would be a relaxation of Cold War tensions. In the late 1950s, the United States and the USSR initiated a cultural exchange programme and in 1959, Khrushchev visited the United States briefly meeting Eisenhower at Camp David. Predictions of improved future relations were reported which praised 'the spirit of Camp David' showing both superpowers were willing to enter into dialogue. In the United States both Eisenhower and Dulles realised that a dialogue needed to be established with the USSR because of the increased threat from nuclear weapons. Eisenhower wanted to lower conventional arms purchases and concentrate on nuclear weapons. The possibility of Mutually Assured Destruction made peaceful coexistence more attractive as it would reduce the risk of nuclear annihilation.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
10	**Assess the impact of the Vietnam War on Sino-US relations during the Cold War.** When the Chinese communists defeated the Nationalists in 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States turned from allies to bitter enemies. The right wing of the Republican Party refused to give the PRC the UN Security Council seat, or even to talk with it for the next two decades. The United States gave economic and military aid to South Vietnam, while the USSR and the PRC offered assistance to North Vietnam. The Chinese presence in North Vietnam was known to US officials and President Johnson ruled out the possibility of a ground invasion of North Vietnam for fear of repeating the Korean War. However, the disastrous outcome of the Vietnam War for the United States provided the opportunity for rapprochement; its containment policy was in tatters and the PRC could be useful in helping to contain the USSR. Johnson escalated the US military presence in Vietnam from 1964 to 1967 but the Tet Offensive in 1968 turned Americans against the war. When Johnson decided to wind down the war in 1968, the PRC felt that the United States was no longer interested in expanding in Asia. In his inaugural address, Nixon stated that the two countries were entering an era of negotiation after an era of confrontation. From 1969 Nixon reduced the levels of combat troops and without combat support Saigon finally fell in 1975. The United States still saw the USSR as its main adversary but in the aftermath of the war and at a time of relative economic decline, it found its ability to use force severely restricted. The PRC and the United States could provide mutual assurance and undermine the influence of the USSR. Thus, the Sino-US relationship that emerged was, for the remainder of the Cold War, mainly a strategic partnership. It was not the impact of the war alone that motivated the PRC as its evaluation of US and Soviet imperialism changed. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the PRC regarded the USSR as the leading imperialist country; the two countries were already on poor terms due to the Sino-Soviet split. Moscow's announcement of the Brezhnev Doctrine justifying military intervention in socialist states led to the PRC arguing that the USSR was now its main ideological enemy. In addition, Mao's 'continuous revolution'. idea was losing momentum in the PRC's foreign policy. The Chinese understood that the Soviets viewed the Chinese version of communism under Mao as a perversion of socialism and feared an invasion. Sino-Soviet border conflicts of 1969 raised the possibility of Soviet intervention to attempt to overthrow Mao's regime. Ping-pong diplomacy began in 1971 and on 15 July Nixon revealed that he had accepted an invitation to visit the PRC in the following year. In 1972 the Shanghai Communiqué was issued with both sides pledging to work towards normalisation of relations. The PRC benefited greatly from the rapprochement with the United States which increased its security for the rest of the Cold War. In 1977, President Carter reaffirmed the goals of the Shanghai Communiqué. The United States transferred diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing; it reiterated that there is only one the PRC and that Taiwan is a part of the PRC. Deng Xiaoping became the PRC's leader in the late 1970s; he wished to combine successful reform and openness to capitalistic international economy with the continued one-party rule of the Chinese Communist Party.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
11	**Evaluate the nature and extent of UN peacekeeping in Africa.** With the establishment of the UN and adoption of the Charter in 1945 many people in Africa became aware of their fundamental rights and felt empowered to work for self-determination. The UN General Assembly enabled them to express their political aspirations. However, newly independent states lacked strong democratic institutions and became areas of civil conflicts whereby rival ethnic, religious or other groups fought for access to power and resources. Aware of the threat such conflicts posed to regional peace and security, the UN sought to address them. However, the defiant attitude of some groups towards the UN could be because it was perceived as generally weak with peacekeepers often seen as passive. UN Peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles; the consent of the parties, impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate. The UN's first peace-keeping mission was in the Congo in 1960. It was originally mandated to provide the Congolese Government with the military and technical assistance it required following the collapse of many essential services and the military intervention by Belgian troops. However, ONUC became embroiled in a chaotic internal situation and had to assume responsibilities which went beyond normal peacekeeping duties. The instructions of the Security Council to ONUC were strengthened early in 1961 after the assassination in Katanga province of former Prime Minster Patrice Lumumba. It was to protect the Congo from outside interference, particularly by evacuating advisers from Katanga and foreign mercenaries. However, the UN failed to remain impartial and at the end of 1962 the UN was in the hands of the Americans who alone could provide support for the ground forces who finally forced Tshombe to flee from Katanga in December 1962. In February 1963, after Katanga had been reintegrated into the Congo, a phasing out of the peace-keeping force began. In January 1989 the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I) was sent to Angola. The war was a power struggle between the Communist People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the anti-communist Total Independence of Angola. UNAVEM II was sent in May 1991. Elections were held but were rejected and violence escalated. The mission transitioned to UNIVAM III. UN Operation in Somalia 1 (UNISOM) began in April 1992 during the Somali Civil War. The violence continued to escalate making it difficult to deliver relief aid. However, blame for the failure of UNISOM I can be attributed to the UN itself; troops often refused to accept orders from UN commanders before checking with their own governments, and communication difficulties caused delays. UN humanitarian agencies failed to implement the relief programme or to show the leadership expected of them. The UN created a second operation, UNITAF, a task force, to help UNOSOM I protect and distribute humanitarian aid. In 1993 both were replaced by UNOSOM II. However, it put military and security objectives before political, economic and social ones and turned into a peace enforcement mission. The UN also played a crucial role in the decolonisation of Namibia and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. It was the combined action of the international community through the UN and African states within the OAU that eventually led to South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and the termination of its apartheid policy. The Namibian and the South African peoples and their liberation movements led by SWAPO and the ANC also played their parts.	**30**

Question	Answer	Marks
12	**'Golda Meir mismanaged the Arab-Israeli conflict.' Discuss this view.** Golda Meir became Prime Minister following the death of Levi Eshkol in 1969, The same year, her party won the elections, giving her a four-year term as prime minister. In early 1969 Egypt began a 'war of attrition' against Israel and inflicted heavy losses on Israel. Meir escalated the war by ordering air raids deep into Egypt. These raids were suspended, however, after the Soviet pilots began to fly combat patrols over parts of Egypt, and the battle shifted to the canal zone. Israel was also suffered guerrilla raids from Jordan, launched by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) led by Yasser Arafat. These attacks were often on non-military targets, and Israel soon regarded the PLO as a terrorist organisation and refused to negotiate with it. President Nixon feared an Israeli confrontation with Moscow and intervened with a cease-fire proposal, which was accepted by Israel, Egypt, and Jordan in August 1970. This plan specified limits on the deployment of missiles and insisted on an exchange of territory for peace on all fronts. The Egyptians and Soviets violated the agreement by moving their missiles closer to the canal. In Jordan, Hussein's acceptance of the cease-fire resulted in savage fighting between the Jordanian army and the PLO militia. Syria sent tanks to aid the Palestinians, but coordinated Israeli, American, and Jordanian military moves defeated the Syrians and expelled the PLO. Meir's gamble had succeeded as Israel's willingness to risk confrontation, even with Soviet pilots along the canal, had strengthened relations with the United States. However, in the days leading up to the Yom Kippur War, Israeli intelligence could not conclusively determine that an attack was imminent. On 5 October 1973, Meir received official news that Syrian forces were massing on the Golan Heights. She was alarmed by the reports but her advisers reassured her saying that they would have adequate notice before a war broke out. Consequently, although the Knesset granted her power to demand a full-scale call-up of the military, Meir did not mobilise Israel's forces early. Six hours before the outbreak of hostilities, she met with Moshe Dayan, and General Elazar. Dayan argued that war was unlikely but Elazar advocated full-scale mobilisation and a pre-emptive strike on Syrian forces. Meir approved mobilising but sided with Dayan against a pre-emptive strike. She believed that the United States would be wary of intervening if Israel were perceived as initiating the hostilities. Kissinger later confirmed this by stating that Israel would not have received 'so much as a nail'. Following the war Meir's government was plagued by infighting and questions over Israel's lack of preparation for the war. The war itself, a great military victory, which ended with Israeli forces in control of more territory than at the onset, upset the Israeli public shattering the notion of invincibility, which had followed the 1967 victory. Angered by 2500 casualties and shaken by the Arab success during the early days of the war, the public demanded a national commission of inquiry. The Agranat Commission appointed to investigate the war cleared Meir of all direct responsibility. Meir defended her decision not to launch a pre-emptive strike on 6 October 1973, by which point it was virtually certain that war was imminent, and pleaded ignorance of most military matters. She acknowledged that it would have saved lives but said that she did not regret her refusal to unleash the air force on the Egyptian troops on the western side of the Suez Canal. Her party won the elections in December 1973, but Meir resigned on 11 April 1974. She believed that was the 'will of the people'.	**30**