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CAMBRIDGE
International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/41**

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.

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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
	Explanation (an explained valid point)
	Unclear
	Analysis
	Unsupported assertion
	Knowledge
	Lengthy narrative that is not always answering the question
	Use with other annotations to show extended issues or narrative
	Factual error
	Judgement
	Not answering the question/lacks relevance to specific question
	Level 0
	Level 1
	Level 2
	Level 3
	Level 4
	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	**'Mussolini only became Prime Minister because of the impact of the First World War on Italy.' Assess this view.** This question relates to Mussolini's rise to power and appointment as Prime Minister in 1922. The impact of the war should be measured against other explanations and the best analysis might seek to demonstrate their connections. The First World War negatively affected Italy in a number of ways. Responses might point to the levels of casualties suffered, the political divisions brought about by Italian involvement and the economic costs and consequences. It is likely discussion will involve the so-called 'Mutilated Victory' and that despite gaining territory such as Trentino and South Tyrol, many felt bitter that some promises made in the Treaty of London were not kept in the Treaty of St Germain in 1919. The failure to gain Fiume was also controversial and led to D'Annunzio's occupation. Alternatively, there could be discussion about how far fear of socialism and revolution aided Mussolini. Consideration of the growth of support for left-wing groups might include factory and land occupations, the growth of trade unions and strikes following the war and the success in elections of the PSI. Reference might be made to the Biennio Rosso of 1919–20. These developments could be linked to dissatisfaction among workers and peasants following the war, and analysis could demonstrate how this led to support for Mussolini, possibly through the use of anti-socialist violence and the growth of support from élite groups, viewing fascism as the primary bulwark against the left. Both developments can be seen in the light of widespread opposition to liberal democracy in Italy, which had failed to unify the country and the use of trasformismo tactics led to unrepresentative and unpopular governments after the war. It might be concluded that a series of weak, liberal coalition governments failed to satisfy the demands of Italians and to solve Italy's social, economic and political challenges. Discussion may also consider the appeal of Mussolini and fascism, both in the light of these different issues and on their own terms. His political flexibility which led to the abandonment of republican and anti-clerical policies helped to secure support from élite groups, as did his obvious anti-socialism. A focus on nationalism, promises to restore Italian greatness and an emphasis on a strong state and law and order proved popular.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	**'Trotsky's mistakes and weaknesses were the main reason for Stalin's rise to power by 1928.' Discuss this view.** The main focus might be on considering the failures and weaknesses of Stalin's rivals, principally Trotsky. Exploration of his inability to match Stalin's political manoeuvring and reasons why other senior Bolsheviks were suspicious of him might be expected. This might incorporate his personality, anti-semitism, his background as a Menshevik and the possibility of him emerging as Russian Napoleon with the support of the Red Army. There could also be discussion of the failure to publish Lenin's Testament, and the power vacuum left behind by Lenin's death. Responses may expand this argument to explain how other leading Bolsheviks, for instance Zinoviev and Kamenev, were also culpable, and to what extent. Responses might challenge the statement by referring to Stalin's lowly status within the party during the events of 1917. They could also explore the nature of Stalin's power base within the party bureaucracy and how other senior party members failed to appreciate its significance, linking different reasons together as a result. The perception among other more apparently intellectual figures in the hierarchy was that he was a mediocrity – expect to see references to the 'grey blur' or 'Comrade Card Index.' His stance as a moderate and conciliatory figure also led to him being underestimated during the power struggle. Alternatives are likely to relate to Stalin's political skill and cunning. This should relate to how he made the most of his positions in the party organisation in order to create support, referring to his role as General Secretary and Commissar for Nationalities, for instance. There could be discussion of his management of party membership and the Lenin Enrolment which led to the influx of young, proletarian members who were more likely to be attracted by Stalin's background and policies. This then could encompass discussion of policy stances such as Socialism in One Country which were used to defeat rivals in the years following 1924. It is highly likely that candidates might relate to Stalin's actions in the aftermath of Lenin's death, for example his management of the funeral and mourning.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	**Analyse the extent to which women and children's lives were improved as a result of Nazi policies in the years 1933 to 1941.** In relation to women, discussions are likely to include consideration of their domestic roles and Hitler's ambitions to increase the birth-rate and, as a result, the German population. There could be some consideration paid to the attempts to remove women from the workplace, and this might be linked to the drive to lower unemployment figures. Therefore, responses might explore the various policies which were enacted to encourage marriage and child-rearing, such as marriage loans, awards and propaganda. Discussions might also offer analysis of the extent to which these goals were achieved. There was an increase in the birth rate, when compared with the period of the Great Depression, although it could be argued that this was due to economic recovery and rates remained lower than under Weimar Germany. The same argument might be made in relation to the increased number of marriages. Finally, Nazi policies had limited effects on the level of female employment, largely impacting professions. There could also be some discussion of the need to recruit women back to the workforce in the years immediately before, and after, the outbreak of World War Two. Nazi aims towards children could include loyalty to Hitler, obedience to the regime, physical fitness to fight in future conflicts or to bear children and an understanding of their gender roles within society. There could be exploration of Nazi education policies and of the use of youth groups to meet these goals. Outcomes might focus on the extent to which education was controlled by the regime and how much indoctrination children received. Levels of attendance at Hitler Youth could be considered, in particular the stipulation in 1936 that it was compulsory – indicating that not all young people willingly conformed and that the message was being widely. This argument could be developed in relation to youth opposition groups, such as the Swing Movement and Edelweiss Pirates. Discussions might show knowledge of their small size in relation to the overall numbers of young people in Germany. It is valid to argue that it is difficult to measure the scale of compliance, and that lack of outright opposition does not necessarily mean total loyalty.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	**'British governments followed a policy of appeasement in the 1930s because it was popular with the public.' Assess this view.** The assumption made in the question is that British people did support appeasement and examples such as the Peace Pledge and Oxford Union resolution in 1933 might be considered as evidence of this, as might the East Fulham by-election result of 1933. Discussion of the extent of support is not expected and should not be the main focus of the response, although it can be credited alongside reasons for support. Discussions might consider the continuing impact of World War One and the scale of casualties. Given that this was supposed to be 'the war to end all wars', it is not surprising that large numbers of British people were opposed to future conflict and led to widespread support for appeasement. There could also be discussion of the extent of sympathy with Germany, particular among élite groups in British society, due to a growing belief that the Treaty of Versailles had been unduly harsh and that some of Hitler's actions in the mid-1930s could be justified. A link could be made to fears of communism and support for Hitler's Nazi Germany as a bulwark against it. Alternatives might consider Britain's lack of military readiness for war and its economic condition in the 1930s. There was an argument that appeasement would buy time to allow Britain to rearm in readiness for conflict. Alternatively, this was seen as secondary to focusing on Britain's recovery from the Great Depression. A further argument might relate to the uncertainty about the attitudes of the USA, Empire and Commonwealth to war and an acceptance that support from these quarters might not be forthcoming, unlike during World War One.	**30**

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5	'**Progress towards greater civil rights in the 1950s was mainly brought about by federal institutions.' Evaluate this view.** The discussion will be between key Supreme Court decisions, like Brown and the actions taken by Eisenhower to enforce and the actions of organisations like the NAACP in promoting awareness and taking legal actions. Limitations of both could be considered. The landmark Supreme Court decision of Brown v Board of Education was a significant step in the theoretical ending of segregated schools. However, it was difficult to put into practice given the opposition in the South. Eisenhower's deployment of federal troops was another significant step in federal institutions taking a role in ending segregation, though there were severe limitations in the overall achievement of civil rights. Concern about violence and ongoing restrictions on Black voting – only 20% or so of African Americans were actually registered led to Eisenhower proposing Civil Rights legislation and the act of 1957 was the first since Reconstruction. The Act proposed significant changes and in September 1957, President Eisenhower signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Originally proposed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, influential southern congressman whittled down the bill's initial scope, but it still included a number of important provisions for the protection of voting rights. It established the Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department and empowered federal officials to prosecute individuals that conspired to deny or abridge another citizen's right to vote. It also created a six-member US Civil Rights Commission charged with investigating allegations of voter infringement. But, perhaps most importantly, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 signalled a growing federal commitment to the cause of civil rights. Again, practical outcomes were limited by southern resistance and the Bill's passage through congress showed the power of influential opponents to frustrate federal measures. The alternative explanation might consider the influence of civil rights campaigners in publicising abuses that led to subsequent actions and to pressuring federal action. The ongoing activities of the NAACP and the heroism of individuals like Rosa Parks which led to the Bus Boycott in Montgomery, Alabama which showed the power of protest and direct action could be considered. The growth in organisation and activity by Civil Rights groups in the 1950s gained publicity both nationally and internationally, At the same time, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights led a successful drive for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and continued to press for even stronger legislation.	**30**

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6	**Assess the political importance of the Watergate affair in the 1970s.** The involvement of a committee linked to the White House in illegal activity showed that the president had lost control of his team but Nixon's attempts to cover up and the publication of the White House Tapes made this possibly the worst scandal in American history and undermined trust in the office of president and in politics and public life. It also distracted attention from other key matters especially Vietnam and undermined Nixon's reputation. Kissinger thought that it would become a sort of footnote and that Nixon's record would be the key element that would be remembered. However, it was the other way round and Watergate devalued and tarnished the work that Nixon had done. It continued to be a source of political trouble for Ford whose pardon of Nixon was highly criticised and undermined his credibility. In a wider sense, it had an impact on the development of the so-called Imperial Presidency. Congress, the judiciary and the press were a powerful combination, but it took a considerable amount of time before Nixon resigned and the whole theory of the balance of power came under scrutiny with a determination to exert more control for example by reforming campaign finance. In a broader sense the public's view of politics was affected with Nixon's conservative supporters disillusioned with his personal behaviour. The New Right had higher expectations of value-based politics. Liberal opinion was mistrustful and alienated from an establishment that seemed to be corrupt and out of control. This in turn had the political effect of polarisation in the longer term between Republicans and Democrats. Answers could consider whether the short-term effects of Nixon's resignation and disgrace were more significant than long term effects on the imperial presidency and distrust of the office. The scandal has continued to be a yardstick for measuring accusations of abuse of power.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
7	**Analyse the reasons for the increased concerns about drug abuse in the 1980s and 1990s** Though levels of drug abuse actually fell, there was a very developed campaign and almost a panic about drug abuse. It has been argued that this amounted to a 'crusade' by the US right to focus attention away from other issues such as inequality and discrimination and to bolster a 'law and order agenda' though defenders of 'the war on drugs' pointed to concerns such as the death of young athletes in June 1986, Len Bias and Don Rogers, which seems to suggest that drug use was not merely a problem in deprived areas. The role of the media could be considered crucial, but some may see the drug issue as being part of a conservative reaction linked to the election of Reagan in 1980**.** The emergence of drug testing as a major issue, the cessation of the marijuana decriminalization movement (and the re-criminalisation of small-quantity marijuana possession in two states), the 'just say no' campaign, the emergence of scores of antidrug organisations, might be seen as an aspect of the growth of conservative concerns about social change. This was seen in the 1986 Congressional election campaigns and also in Bush's stress on family values in the early 1990s. It might even be seen as a result of the reaction against loss in Vietnam, and revelations about drug used in the military. High profile spokespersons and organisations might also be mentioned, for example Nancy Reagan and evangelists.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
8	**Assess how far relations between China and the US improved in the years 1963 to 1979.** One view might be that in the context of years of mistrust after 1949 with the Korean War and the failure of the US to recognise the Communist regime together with concerns about Vietnam and the revulsion about the great Leap Forward and to a much greater extent the Cultural revolution, the extent of change was considerable. After concerns about the Chinese test of atomic weapons in 1964, relations were poor but there were elements that changed after 1969. First, the obvious break down of China's relations with the USSR opened up an opportunity for both US and China to improve relations. The famous Ping Pong diplomacy established contacts between the US and China for the first time since 1949 and Nixon's visit in 1972 and the Shanghai Declaration seemed to be quite a dramatic change with more economic, diplomatic and cultural contacts. Issues such as Taiwan could at least be discussed. The end of the Vietnam war, the death of Mao and the changes brought about by Deng together with US ongoing concerns about the USSR helped pave the way for the 1979 recognition by the US of the Communist regime as the legitimate government and the inclusion of China in the UN Security Council. The extent of change might be modified by the ongoing commercial, cultural and military links between the US and Taiwan and ongoing concerns in the US about Chinese ambitions in the South China Sea as well as lingering ideological differences.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
9	**'The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was the main cause of the Second Cold War.' Discuss this view.** Responses might argue that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan caused fragile relations between the superpowers to deteriorate further thus ending détente and causing the Second Cold War. However, they should also consider other factors including US–Soviet relations prior to the invasion, the reaction of Carter and Reagan's support for a Second Cold War. Afghanistan bordered some of the southern Soviet republics of the USSR. Moscow supported a communist government led by Taraki when it seized power in 1978. However, Taraki was murdered and replaced by Amin, a member of the anti-communist resistance movement, the Mujahideen. Amin entered into discussions with the USA. The USSR didn't want US influence on their Southern border, and, on 24 December 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. Amin was assassinated and replaced with a pro-Moscow leader, Babrak Karmal. This was the last straw for the USA. Carter regarded the invasion as the most serious threat to world peace since the end of the Second World War. He adopted a more hard-line foreign policy ordering grain and goods shipments to the USSR be halted, approved military aid to Afghan rebels and supported a US boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. The US Congress refused to ratify SALT II. In his 1980 State of the Union address, he revealed an aggressive Cold War military plan. The Carter Doctrine in 1980 stated that the USA would use military force, if necessary, to defend its national interests in the Persian Gulf: this was to deter the USSR from seeking hegemony there. However, as early as 1976 President Ford began the Team B project inviting a group of outside experts to evaluate classified intelligence on the USSR. Their report claimed US intelligence agencies had grossly underestimated the USSR's nuclear arsenal, weapons systems and battle plans. Though many of the findings were later discredited, they helped bring about the end of détente and the Carter administration began to increase military spending. The USSR certainly helped to lay the foundations for the Second Cold War even before the invasion. Between 1977 and 1979 it began to replace its out-dated nuclear missiles in Eastern Europe with SS–20 missiles. It appeared that the Soviets had not abandoned the idea of nuclear war nor expansionism in Europe. The USA responded by developing Cruise Missiles and deploying its own battlefield nuclear weapons to Europe. This restarted the arms race. Détente was fragile. In 1980, Reagan replaced Carter as President. He was outspoken about his stance against communism and more hostile to the USSR. The first years of his presidency were marked by increases in military spending and Reagan resolved to roll-back communism. Hostile rhetoric between the two sides gave rise to the term 'Second Cold War'.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
10	**Assess the extent to which Cold War hostility was responsible for the United States' growing involvement in Vietnam in the years 1954 to 1968.** Responses might consider that the reason for US growing involvement was to contain communism and prevent the domino theory from becoming a reality in Southeast Asia. This inevitably became linked with Cold War hostility, especially as the conflict escalated. However, they should weigh up other factors such as economic and political interests as well as national fears. In 1954 Eisenhower suggested that the fall of French Indochina could lead to the spread of communism. This would give the USSR and PRC more control in the region. The Geneva Accords of 1954 agreed a two-year division of Vietnam until elections and reunification in 1956: the USA wanted this division to be permanent. The USA was also concerned about losing Japan to communism as it had the infrastructure and trading capabilities to be used as a military force. If the PRC or the USSR gained control of Japan, it could shift the balance of world power to the disadvantage of the USA. Furthermore, Australia and New Zealand could be at risk if communism spread southward. SEATO was established in September 1954 to prevent communism from gaining ground in the region. On the home front, the influence of the Red Scare, led by Senator McCarthy encouraged an atmosphere of hysteria and distrust of communism. Concerns about credibility, too, motivated US policymakers to commit advisers, money, material, and troops to Vietnam, for fear that their allies would lose trust in US resolve to combat communism. The USA also became more involved to stabilise the government in South Vietnam after Diem's assassination in 1963. In the 1950s and early 1960s the USA aimed to defend South Vietnam without direct military involvement. Eisenhower considered the partition of Vietnam a victory for the US in the context of the Cold War. However, the Cold War power struggle was to become key in shaping the Vietnam War. Kennedy feared that the PRC would dominate the region. Johnson's concern about US credibility, the PRC's resistance to negotiations and Hanoi's refusal to remove troops from South Vietnam, led him to escalate the US military presence there. Direct military intervention only occurred after the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964. The arrival of US combat troops in 1965 triggered an escalation in PRC support in the form of equipment and construction. The USSR supplied Hanoi with information and technical advisors, but in 1965, extended this to include financial aid and military equipment. It became clear that the USA was fighting a proxy war as part of the wider Cold War. However, the USA began to have second thoughts after the Tet Offensive of 1968, a combined assault of Viet Minh and North Vietnamese armies. Attacks were carried out across South Vietnam, including on Hue and Saigon, and the US Embassy was invaded. This marked a turning point in the war and the beginning of a gradual US withdrawal from the region.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
11	**'The People's Republic of China's support for nationalist movements in Africa was mainly motivated by its rivalry with the USSR.' Discuss this view.** Responses should consider the Sino-Soviet split alongside the People's Republic of China's (PRC) own ideological and political aims in Africa. They might weigh this up against the PRC's commitment to removing colonial control, opposition to the neo-colonialism of the USSR as well as the USA and the effect of Cold War tensions. Young African nationalists were keen to safeguard the sovereignty of emerging nations against Cold War politics. The PRC declared both the USSR and the US-led Western powers neo-colonialists and was opposed to them fighting their Cold War battles in Africa. While the USA was the primary focus of the PRC's hostility in the 1960s, it believed that the USSR took over as the country working hardest to dominate world power. Africa also became a Cold War battleground as a result of the Sino-Soviet split as the PRC aimed to exclude the USSR from Africa. By the mid-1960s the PRC had chosen to switch aid to liberation movements that rivalled the Soviet-backed ones. In South Africa the Chinese supported the Pan-African Congress while the USSR supported the African National Council. The majority of its aid was focused on the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) while Moscow supported the Zimbabwe African People's Union. ZANU was victorious and Robert Mugabe became President and maintained relations with the PRC. In Angola the PRC supported UNITA while the USSR supported the MPLA and in Mozambique China supported the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). However, the PRC was committed fully to supporting Africa's aims of removing colonial control and attaining full independence. The 1955 Bandung Conference marked the PRC's first serious involvement in Africa. Zhou Enlai spoke about Third World unity as essential to combat imperialism and colonialism. The PRC placed itself in the Third World and it began a major aid campaign. In 1967 it agreed to build the Tanzania-Zambia Railway. By 1977 $1.9 billion worth of aid had been given to Africa. However, during the Deng era, the PRC prioritised internal economic modernisation. It continued to share a common struggle with the Third World against colonialism and imperialism, but its emphasis changed; it was to be on mutual benefit with joint projects and ventures. To the PRC Africa was also a continent where it could achieve its own political and ideological objectives. It had devised the theory of the three worlds which Deng put before the UN in April 1974. The First World was the USA and the USSR, the second was Canada, Europe, Japan and Oceania and the third was the developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Mao placed the PRC in the latter. The PRC was hoping for an international united front against the superpowers, especially the USSR. During the 1970s the PRC made a huge effort to gain diplomatic recognition, and, by the end of 1975, 37 African states recognised the PRC, and, with African support, the PRC had become a permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1971.	**30**

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12	**'The most important contribution to the Arab–Israeli peace process in the 1970s was made by Anwar Sadat.' Discuss this view.** Responses are likely to focus on Sadat persuading the USA to become involved in the peace process after the Yom Kippur War. They might discuss his contribution to achieve lasting peace between Israel and Egypt as well as his failure to achieve a Palestinian settlement. However, alongside this they could also weigh up the involvement of Kissinger, Begin and Carter. Sadat became President of Egypt in September 1970. He wanted Egypt to recover from the humiliation of the 1967 Six-Day War. He needed USA involvement to force Israel into peace negotiations, but a weak Egypt would not be taken seriously. He used the Yom Kippur war to gain US attention. On 6 October 1973, as Jews celebrated Yom Kippur, Arab forces launched a surprise attack against Israeli forces and initially made remarkable gains on the battlefield. Although Egypt was ultimately defeated, the initial gains proved that the Arabs could win major battlefield engagements. Sadat had used the war to pursue his goal of peace, and it led to Kissinger's involvement in the peace-making process. He emerged from the war as a world leader. In November 1977 Sadat told the Israeli parliament that he was prepared to live in peace and security, but he also wanted a solution for the Palestinians. The Israeli elections of May 1977 when the Likud took power, headed by Begin, were also significant. Begin gave priority to the possibility of reaching a peace agreement with Egypt. He immediately familiarised himself with the issues and understood that Sadat sought to recover the Sinai Peninsula, and Egyptian pride, both lost in the 1967 Six-Day War, but without risking another war. As a realist, the Israeli leader recognised the core Israeli interest in a peace treaty with Egypt, and to reach this goal, he would have to pay the cost. He understood that there was no alternative – Sadat was not going to accept anything less than a full Israeli withdrawal in exchange for a full peace agreement. In December 1977, Begin went to Egypt and peace talks began. Kissinger with his strategy of 'shuttle diplomacy' met directly with Middle Eastern and Israeli leaders, acting as an intermediary and peace broker between the two sides. He laid the groundwork for the settlement between Egypt and Israel embodied in the 1978 Camp David Accords. In September 1978 Carter invited the two leaders to Camp David. Realising that Egypt and Israel preferred dealing solely with each other, he adjusted his expectations. For 13 days, Carter worked on Middle Eastern peace and, on 17 September, he, Sadat and Begin signed two framework agreements at the White House. In March 1979, the Treaty of Washington was signed confirming the agreements reached. Begin and Sadat agreed, for the first time, that the state of war which had existed between Egypt and Israel since 1948 was ended. However, the treaty was rejected by many in the Arab world, including the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which felt that Sadat had abandoned efforts to ensure a Palestinian state. Sadat's refusal to consult with other Arab nations before making a separate peace with Israel resulted in Egypt being suspended from the Arab League in 1979. This was not something that he could achieve unilaterally, and Sadat certainly showed the determination to initiate the move towards peace.	**30**

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