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CAMBRIDGE
International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/41**

Paper 4 Depth study **May/June 2026**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

Published

This mark scheme contains the instructions and marking guidance that our examiners used to mark candidate responses for this component.

Before they start marking, examiners complete a standardisation process. They review a range of candidate responses and discuss the mark scheme in detail to agree which answers can and cannot be accepted. Examiners award marks where it is clear that candidate responses have met the requirements of the mark scheme. These requirements may vary between different components or different versions of the same component, depending on the exact requirements of the question and the candidate responses seen during the standardisation process.

Sometimes, our mark schemes may allow marks to be awarded to responses which contain elements that are factually incorrect or for content not covered by the syllabus. We do this in response to the demands of a specific question to support candidates and make sure that our assessments are fair. However, these allowances should not be used as a guide for teaching and learning.

We cannot discuss the mark scheme with schools, and we recommend that schools read the mark scheme together with the assessment material and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

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General marking principles

All examiners must apply these marking principles when marking candidate responses.

1	Examiners must award marks for each response in line with: • the specific **content** defined in the mark scheme • the specific **skills** defined in the mark scheme or in the level descriptions • the **standard of response** required as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.
2	Examiners must award **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).
3	Examiners must award marks **positively**. This means that: • marks are not deducted for errors or omissions • marks are awarded for correct/valid answers as defined in the mark scheme and also for **other valid answers** which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme referring to your team leader as appropriate • the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar are judged **only** when the mark scheme indicates that these features are **specifically assessed** in the question. However, the meaning of all responses must be unambiguous.
4	Examiners must **consistently** apply the requirements of the mark scheme and any rules for what to do when candidates have not followed instructions correctly.
5	Examiners must use the **full range of marks** defined in the mark scheme, unless limited by the quality of the candidate responses seen.
6	Examiners must award marks according to the mark scheme and **must not** award marks with grade thresholds or grade descriptions 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**

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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.		
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**

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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's policies towards women had only a limited impact on their lives.' Discuss this view.** Responses might consider Fascist policies towards in areas such as employment, education, politics and society. Mussolini had traditional attitudes towards the roles of women and wished to reverse the advances which had been made before and during the war. He saw their role as primarily as housewives and mothers. Women's opportunities in the workplace were reduced, particularly in areas such as education, administration and the professions. Less attention was paid to agriculture and industry, however. Exclusions from some teaching jobs took place in the 1920s and a 10% limit on state employment for women was introduced in 1933 and was later extended to large and medium sized businesses in the private sector. Education was designed to emphasise expected gender roles. In addition to reasserting traditional social values, Mussolini was concerned about increasing the birth rate in Italy. Accordingly, he introduced the Battle for Births in 1927. The goal was to increase Italy's population from 37 million in 1920 to 60 million by 1950. To encourage women to have larger families, various measures were put in place. Economic rewards included marriage loans and tax incentives. Prizes and ceremonies were introduced to honour women who produced the most offspring. Propaganda efforts emphasised the importance of marriage and childbirth. Divorce and abortion were forbidden, and birth control was strictly controlled. There is limited evidence of Mussolini's policies having the desired effect. There was little change in employment rates of women and the birth rate continued to fall. Marriage rates were largely unchanged, and the Italian population was only 47.5 million by 1950 – well short of the target set by Mussolini. A judgement might be that although Mussolini's policies were intended to have far-reaching impacts, the reality was that women's lives did not change very much at all.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	**Analyse the impact of Stalin's policies towards non-Russian nationalities in the years 1928–41.** The USSR was created in 1924 as a federal organisation of several different national territories. For the majority of the 1920s, policies which aimed to promote the national, economic, and cultural advancement of the non-Russians: priority to the local language, a massive increase in native language schools, development of national cultures, and staffing the Soviet administration as far as possible with local nationals were undertaken. These policies were collectively known as *korenizatsiya,* or 'rooting'. However, there was a shift in policy towards non-Russians from the late 1920s throughout the 1930s saw a greater focus on the dominance of Russian culture and history leading to the partial abandonment of *korenizatsiya* and the growing supremacy of Russians in the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union. By the late 1930s many national leaders had been replaced by Russians, and a law of 1938 made the study of Russian compulsory in all schools. National regiments within the Red Army lasted until 1938. Responses could show awareness of the appeal to patriotism associated with Stalin's policy of Socialism in One Country and might make some comment on the extent to which this resembled Russification. There might also be some understanding of how propaganda was used to emphasise unity amongst different nationalities, especially as the threat of war led to fears about the loyalty of some of them. Responses might also consider the extent to which the Purges were directed at minority groups, for example in Georgia where two state prime ministers, four out of five of the regional party secretaries and thousands of lesser officials lost their posts. The impact of Collectivization of the people of Ukraine might also be used as a case study, although a detailed discussion of the policy is not necessary. Another consequence might be the widespread movement of peasants to urban areas and the subsequent destruction of traditional cultures such as that of the Kazakhs. A further example might be antisemitism within the Soviet Union, although this must be related to non-Russian Jews. A balanced response could note that there were concessions and that cultures continued to be celebrated, the constitutional status of the republics was unreformed and local national politicians and the national language continued to play a major role in the life of the republics. It is however, anticipated that responses will focus to some extent on the negative aspects of policies undertaken.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	**'Hitler was appointed as Chancellor in Germany in 1933 because of the unpopularity of the Weimar government.' Assess this view.** This interpretation of the reasons for Hitler's appointment is based on the failings and weaknesses of Weimar democracy. It can be compared with other explanations such as the economic context, the appeal of Hitler and Nazism and fear of communism among many sections of German society. Responses might aim to examine the interplay between some of these factors. It could be argued that the Weimar system of government had struggled to gain acceptance among many in Germany from the outset, although detailed discussion of examples such as the stab in the back myth and the events of 1923 are not expected. Many preferred a more authoritarian government to the liberal democracy introduced to Germany in 1918. The Nazis promised to restore German greatness and move beyond the weakness of the Weimar years. The collapse of the Weimar system owed much to the Great Depression and the subsequent inability of divided coalition governments to deal with the economic crisis. Some detail relating to the extent of problems facing Germany from 1929 might be expected. The level of unemployment, bank failures and deflation might all be considered. Some consideration of the attempts made by successive Weimar governments to combat these could refer to the Müller and Brüning governments. The former was divided over the level of benefits paid to the growing ranks of unemployed. The latter failed to gain the support of the Reichstag for its austerity policies, which led to frequent use of Article 48 and further pushed the democratic system into disrepute. Further evidence might be found in the growth of anti-democratic parties on both left and right, evident in the elections of 1930 and 1932. The Nazis were the party which benefitted most from this economic polarisation. The growing fear of a communist takeover among many in the middle classes and among the economic and social élites further helped Hitler, who marketed himself as the only solution to these problems. The skilful use of propaganda by Goebbels led to the Nazis appealing to different groups in German society. Their message offered scapegoats for the nation's problems – Jews, socialists and the allies who had forced the treaty of Versailles on Germany. Hitler's own charisma and oratory skills helped to persuade many that he could deal with the issues facing Germany. However, it took the intrigue of von Papen and Hindenburg to eventually bring Hitler into power. Their miscalculations about how easily Hitler would be controlled also played a part in the outcome.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	**Analyse the extent of support for pacifism in Britain in the period 1934–39.** Although the threat of conflict grew in the mid to late 1930s, particularly following the rise of Hitler and the Nazis in Germany, public opinion was generally in favour of peace. This can be explained by memories of the carnage of World War I and sympathy for Germany's treatment in the Treaty of Versailles, from some sections of British society. Even those with serious reservations about the rise of fascism were more concerned with Stalin and the Soviet Union and saw Nazi Germany as a bulwark to the spread of communism. Examples which might be used to explain the support for pacifism and rejection of armed conflict – The 'King and Country debate 1933' – large majority of Oxford Union members voted in accordance with the resolution 'that this house will in no circumstances fight for king and country' Peace Ballot 1934–35 – organised by the League of Nations Union which asked questions of some 11 million people in Britain. Most supported Britain's continued membership of the League of Nations and arms reduction. However, the responses also indicated that almost seven million agreed with international armed resistance against aggression and in the concept of Collective Security. This indicated a contradictory position and politicians such as Clement Attlee also voiced rejection of force whilst supporting collective security through the League. The Peace Pledge Union was organised by Father Dick Sheppard and led to over 100,000 people declaring their opposition to war through postcards sent to him. The British government's stance during the Spanish Civil War was of neutrality. However, thousands of British trade unionists, socialists and intellectuals were prepared to join the International Brigades to fight against fascism, showing the limits of pacifism. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's attempts to avoid conflict with Nazi Germany during the Czech crisis in 1938 through the appeasement of Hitler drew widespread support. Chamberlain was greeted enthusiastically by crowds on his return from Munich when he famously declared 'peace in our time.' Although appeasement failed, it was supported by millions of Britons.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
5	**Assess the extent of social mobility in US society in the late 1940s and 1950s.** The discussion could be about whether factors which encouraged greater social mobility in this period were more important than factors which tended to limit it. By weighing mobility in terms of how far children had a higher standard of living and status than their parents and whether more young people attended high school and gained greater social opportunities than the previous generation then it could be argued that there was substantial social mobility. The economic prosperity of the period offered greater chances of better paid jobs and the move to the cities and the growth of suburbs and consumerism is often taken to indicate a growing middle class. More had access to lifestyles linked to a higher social standing than during the Depression. Though this was not the same for different social groups, the overall educational expansion has been seen as a significant factor in promoting social mobility. The limitations concern opportunities for mobility being less among some groups and in some regions. There were some disparities for example between opportunities for mobility among African Americans and in other ethnic groups such as Native Americans and Latino Americans who did not benefit as much from the growth in prosperity and suffered from discrimination in employment. Segregation and less economic development meant that some regions, such as areas of the South did not experience as much social mobility as others, so the 'American Dream' was not equally able to be fulfilled. There could be a discussion about the role of the family as a unit which experienced mobility and whether women outside that unit were disadvantaged. Post-war prosperity and policies such as the legislation providing funds for veterans to attend college and to purchase homes of 1944 was an important element in encouraging greater mobility and inter-generational change. High school attendance was a factor with more children of poorer parents attending and subsequently having access to higher paid and higher status employment but there was less change in college attendance which might have had an even greater impact. There were also disparities between urban centres and areas of technology-based growth and less developed areas where opportunities for rural workers or traditional industries declined. Given the links between income equality, overall prosperity, educational opportunity and social mobility, answers may well see an overall growth compared with previous and later periods but considerable class, race, and region variations.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
6	**'Little was achieved in domestic policy during Nixon's presidency.' Discuss.** This could be challenged by considering aspects of reforms which seemed to continue the reforming impulse of the Great Society The federal government took an active role in preventing on-the-job accidents and deaths when Nixon in 1970 signed into law a bill to create the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). That same year, rising concern about the environment led him to propose an Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), and to sign amendments to the 1967 Clean Air Act calling for reductions in automobile emissions and the national testing of air quality. Other significant environmental legislation enacted during Nixon's presidency included the 1972 Noise Control Act, the 1972 Marine Mammal Protection Act, the 1973 Endangered Species Act, and the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act. Despite this legislation, in practice there were limitations. He impounded billions of dollars Congress had authorized to implement the Clean Air Act, lobbied hard for the air-polluting Supersonic Transport, failed to authorise much environmental regulation. Nixon proposed more ambitious programs than he enacted, including the National Health Insurance Partnership Program, which promoted health maintenance organizations (HMOs). He also proposed a massive overhaul of federal welfare programs. The centrepiece of Nixon's welfare reform was the replacement of much of the welfare system with a negative income tax. The purpose of the negative income tax was to provide both a safety net for the poor and a financial incentive for welfare recipients to work. It could be argued that his domestic achievements were limited by his failure to get key measures through Congress. Nixon also proposed an expansion of the Food Stamp program. His Family Assistance Program was bold, innovative-even radical though there were doubts about how sincere his commitment was. One part of Nixon's welfare reform proposal did pass and become a lasting part of the system: Supplemental Security Income (SSI) provides a guaranteed income for elderly and disabled citizens.	

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Question	Answer	Marks
6	There were large increases in Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid benefits. However, this contributed to problems of inflation. Supporters praised his civil rights policy in supporting the desegregation of schools and ending the policy of forced assimilation of native Americans. He also signed a law preventing gender bias in colleges and universities receiving federal aid and he lowered the voting age. Faced with inflation and a stagnant economy, he announced a wage-and-price freeze, tax cuts, and a temporary freeze on gold payments. To improve the nation's balance of trade, Nixon called for a 10 percent import tax. These were popular measures, and Nixon was helped by an economic upturn in 1972 but food shortages and the rise in oil prices created recession and there were severe economic problems when he left office. It could be argued that Nixon's reputation as a reactionary was not justified by reforms in a number of areas and that Watergate prevented his achievements being appreciated. On the other hand, there was more reform promised than actually achieved and some results were disappointing. Though Watergate cast doubts on the sincerity of Nixon as a domestic reformer it is not 'policy'.	

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Question	Answer	Marks
7	**Assess the reasons why gender inequality was a significant issue in the 1980s and early 1990s.** There were changes which made for greater equality: the earnings of women and men became more equal. Before 1980, there had been no evidence that women were catching up with men in terms of pay. Changes in marriage and childbearing, educational attainment, labor force attachment, and occupational placement all contributed to narrowing the gender earnings gap. In addition, there seemed to be declining discrimination toward women in the labour market, as a direct result of government activities and changing societal attitudes. While affirmative action helped, there were still issues. These were based on regional differences and the gap between larger cities and rural areas and there were some issues based on race. Outside urban areas women felt that there was still inequality. Some women remained at an educational and occupational disadvantage. Additionally, outside large cities, women were less likely to be in the labour force or more likely to be in lower paying jobs. College-educated women tended to move to cities, influenced by the wider range of employment opportunities. Women's poverty rates were higher in rural areas or smaller towns. Single mothers and older women had significantly lower living standards and there was clear income inequality. Race was also an issue. The overall gender pay ratio rose from 57 percent in 1969 to 68 percent in 1996 but relative to all male workers, wage gains have been faster for non-Hispanic than for Hispanic women. In the late 1980s about one-third of the gender pay gap was explained by differences in the skills and experience that women brought to the labour market and about 28 percent was due to differences in industry, occupation, and union status among men and women. As these differences remained, gender inequality remained an issue Feminism as a movement declined in the 1980s and the advances of the 1960s and 1970s seemed to have closed the gap between men and women but it has been argued that there was a backlash in the more conservative Reagan era which meant that inequality of opportunity for higher posts, discrimination in pay for jobs of a similar standard, double standards of expected behaviour re-emerged. Women had political rights but still did not have equal opportunities in practice. Some may see this as a major element or there may be analyses which focus more on the slow progress because of regional and social differences.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
8	**'The US withdrew from Vietnam for political reasons rather than because of military failure.' Evaluate this view**. Military failure can be seen in the ongoing failure to destroy the military capacity of the opposition and the lack of apparent results of search and destroy missions and the failure to anticipate attacks. However, there was no actual defeat, and the US enjoyed obvious air superiority and the use of technology. Bombing had done substantial damage to the military capacity of the Viet Cong. Political reasons could include the failure to establish a stable and popular political regime in the South and the increasing concerns in the US about the costs, popularity and effects on international opinion about the war and also a failure of the 'hearts and minds' initiatives. The war became a war of attrition rather than one which could be won by some decisive battle or by bombing alone. Given this, the existence of a vocal ant-war movement has been seen as crucial to the US withdrawal. It has been argued that the immediacy of the war in TV coverage and the shocking footage of some events after the Tet Offensive, together with reporting of incidents such as My Lai and the unrest on college campuses undermined political will. However, in terms of overall approval of the war there as not much difference for most of the period of US involvement between public support for Vietnam and earlier support for Korea. With the arrival of Nixon, it is true that the anti-war movement expanded. Nixon had been reluctant to withdraw but the growing criticism at home may have influenced his policy of Vietnamisation and then negotiation. There were other political factors than the protest movement in that the costs were rising at a time when the US economy was facing inflation and poor growth which influenced some political questioning of the point of the war. This may have been linked to military factors and the shock of the Tet Offensive but that was actually defeated and it as the nature of the war rather than specific 'failure'. There was also the political failure to establish a stable democracy and also political changes in the whole Cold War situation.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
9	**'The growth of nationalism in the Soviet republics was the main reason for the collapse of the USSR.' Discuss this view.** Responses might consider that the USSR's national minorities took advantage of Gorbachev's policies to turn a failing state into a dissolved, decolonised empire. However, to make a clear judgement, they are also likely to focus on the end of the Cold War and the ideological rejection of communism, economic collapse and foreign policy failure. Nationalism manifested itself as disaffection with Soviet rule and was intensified after the loss of the Eastern European satellites. Gorbachev loosened governmental power creating a domino effect inspiring countries such as Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia to declare their independence. The most pressure for sovereignty existed in the Baltic states amidst the openness glasnost provided and perestroika allowed; popular movements gained majorities in the elections in March 1990. Nationalist sentiment was also strong in Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine. Before the August Coup, only Lithuania was officially independent, with Estonia and Latvia declaring during it. After the coup, the remaining twelve republics declared independence. The unsuccessful August 1991 coup by hard-line communists against Gorbachev sealed the fate of the USSR, diminished Gorbachev's power and propelled Yeltsin and the democratic forces to the forefront of Soviet politics. Gorbachev resigned his leadership as head of the Communist party shortly after it, but he remained as president of the USSR until he announced its dissolution and his resignation on Christmas Day 1991; this confirmed the collapse of the Soviet system. However, even before Gorbachev came to power, belief in communist ideology was declining but it was Gorbachev who created the circumstances that enabled the rapid collapse. He came to power in 1985 during a period of economic stagnation aiming to restore the legitimacy of the communist party with *demokratizatsiya,* glasnost and perestroika; instead, the system collapsed. Another cause of the dissolution of the USSR was the destruction of its reputation internationally. Rather than calling for world communism, Gorbachev preferred to reduce international tensions. He immediately withdrew from Afghanistan and pulled out troops in July 1986, and the last troops departed in February 1989. The military establishment was crippled financially and embarrassed on the international stage. Gorbachev also introduced reforms in 1987–88 which loosened Communist Party control of elections, released political prisoners and expanded freedom of speech; this saw Eastern European alliances crumble and communism rejected. It began in Poland in June 1989 with the victory of the Solidarity movement in free elections, then East Germany, followed by Hungary Czechoslovakia and finally Bulgaria and Romania. He wanted to reform communism, but his reforms caused a revolution driven from below rather than controlled from above which, because of his refusal to use force, destroyed the communist system and ended the Soviet Empire.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
10	**Evaluate the extent to which the USSR was responsible for the Sino–Soviet split.** Responses might consider that the alliance made with the USSR in 1950 was an unequal one in the USSR's favour making deteriorating relations inevitable. However, they might also weigh up the fact that it was mutual mistrust and antagonism based on ideological clashes that caused the split and that the People's Republic of China (PRC) also antagonised the USSR. After the PRC was proclaimed in 1949, the USSR seemingly became its closest ally for several years. In 1950, a 30-year Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed. It provided the PRC with economic benefits, including a $300 million loan and Soviet technical advisers. However, in mid-1950, Mao entered the Korean War, believing that Stalin would follow suit, but he just provided air support and supplied aircraft weapons and munitions. Mao felt exploited and betrayed. During the 1950s, Beijing committed itself to Stalinist models of development, growth and agricultural collectivisation. However, Mao soon began to feel that the USSR was not acing in its best interests. The Great Leap Forward, begun in 1958, rejected the Soviet form of economic development causing resentment. In 1960, the USSR pulled its remaining technical advisors out of the PRC. In October 1962, a border dispute between the PRC and India resulted in a military confrontation. However, the USSR did not support the PRC. The war had confirmed suspicions of a Sino–Soviet split. The signing of the Test Ban Treaty in 1963 between the USSR and western nuclear powers was viewed by Mao as a move by the USSR to abandon its nuclear role and cooperate with imperialism. The USSR refused to help the PRC create nuclear weapons without having some control over the PRC's defence policy. After 1965, the Sino–Soviet split was an established fact. However, the PRC also contributed to the split. The PRC's bombardment of the island of Quemoy in August 1958 escalated the tensions between the two nations. There were verbal clashes between delegates at party conferences in 1960 and 1961. Mao gave aid to Albania after the USSR had withdrawn aid in 1961. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, Mao accused Khrushchev of being cowardly by agreeing to dismantle the missile bases in Cuba. He argued that the USSR had failed to support the communist revolution. It could be argued that a clash of ideologies was the main reason for the split. Mao's interpretation of Marxism focused on using the peasants as the revolutionary class, but Stalin believed in using the urban working class. This soured relations but ideological differences were to worsen under Khrushchev. In his 'Secret Speech' at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in 1956 Khrushchev made a detailed attack on Stalin for his 'crimes against the party' and accused Stalin of being engaged in a 'cult of personality'. Mao believed this was a criticism of his own style of leadership. He believed in world revolution. Khrushchev also introduced the policy of peaceful coexistence; he believed that continued aggression against the Western nations, especially the USA, would eventually result in a nuclear war. Therefore, he proposed that the USSR should coexist rather than antagonise Western, capitalist nations. Mao was highly critical of him labelling this a 'revisionist' form of Marxism.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
11	**'Superpower rivalry was the main reason for conflict in Ethiopia between 1950 and 1991.' Discuss this view.** Responses might focus on the roles played by the USSR and USA in the conflict and consider their impact. However, to make a clear judgement, they should also refer to the role of Somalia and the internal politics of Ethiopia. In 1952, the Ethiopian Eritrean Federation, a coalition between the former Italian colony of Eritrea and the Ethiopian Empire was established because of the renunciation of Italy's rights and titles to territorial possessions in Africa. However, Eritrea was dissatisfied with what was effectively Ethiopian rule and from 1961 Eritrea fought a 30-year war of independence against Ethiopia. In September 1974, the Ethiopian Civil War began when the Derg overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie. Both conflicts lasted until 1991 when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) overthrew the Derg. It was internal problems in Ethiopia, not superpower rivalry, that led to conflict. The 1974 overthrow of Haile Selassie by Marxist officers known as the Derg disturbed a relatively stable regional order. As the Derg grew increasingly radical, ethnic insurgencies by Eritreans, Oromos, Tigrayans, Afars, and Ogadens flared on the borders of the former Ethiopian empire leading to a prolonged civil war. After Mengistu became the dominant leader of Ethiopia, the revolution took a communist turn, and he approached the USSR to replace US military aid. The ambitions of Somalia also contributed to the conflict. Ogaden Somalis dreamt of a 'Greater Somalia'. In 1969 Mohammed Siad Barre declared Somalia a socialist republic and in 1974 signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR. Barre coveted the Ogaden region of Ethiopia and resented Ethiopia's closeness with the USSR. However, the intervention of the superpowers helped to accelerate and intensify the conflict. Ethiopia's diplomatic links with the USSR on the eve of the revolution led to the deterioration of US-Ethiopian relations. The Ogaden War was fought between Somalia and Ethiopia from July 1977 to March 1978 over the sovereignty of Ogaden. Ethiopia's victory resulted in catastrophic consequences for East Africa. By 1983, Mengistu's military proved unable to defeat rebellions in Tigray and Eritrea. The Derg's agricultural reforms and a drought sparked a famine from 1983–85. Gorbachev increasingly viewed Mengistu's regime a drain on Soviet finances. Mengistu's worsening military situation on the Eritrea-Tigray front increased. In 1988, Eritrean and Tigrayan rebels formed the EPRDF. In September 1989, the Soviets cut off all military aid to Mengistu and in 1991, the EPRDF captured Addis Ababa. In 1980 Carter had adopted Somalia as a Cold War ally but US aid was less generous, and Barre's usefulness was waning as the Cold War in Africa receded. In 1988 the US cancelled military and foreign assistance. On 27 January 1991, Barre fled Mogadishu. Barre and Mengistu manipulated the Cold War rivalry to increase their own power, but they both overestimated their ability to manipulate the superpower rivalry to advance their own goals. As the Cold War thawed in 1989, their strategic importance faded.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
12	**'Oil was the main reason for US involvement in the Middle East in the period 1948–1991.' Evaluate this view.** Responses could consider that the USA was concerned to prevent oil supplies from falling into Soviet hands and to keep oil supplies flowing. However, they should also weigh this up alongside strategic concerns and in the context of Cold War rivalry with the USSR. Bilateral relations between Saudi Arabia and the USA were formalised under the 1951 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement. US military protection was provided in exchange for a reliable oil supply, oil priced in US dollars and US foreign policy support. Recent declassification of National Security Council documents revealed Truman's plan, NSC 26, denying the USSR use of the oil fields if it should invade. The installations and refineries would be blown up as a last resort and the oil fields plugged. In July 1956, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal. Britain, France and Israel, temporarily seized the canal in October. Its closure threatened Middle East oil shipments. Eisenhower worried by the possible intervention of the USSR tried to broker a diplomatic settlement. In 1957, he reinforced NSC 26; it remained until the early 1960s. During the Six-Day War in June 1967 Arab oil ministers placed an embargo on countries friendly to Israel but it did not stop US involvement and was lifted in September. In 1973, during the Yom Kippur War, Arab states suspended oil shipments to nations supportive of Israel. The Iranian Revolution in 1979 led to another oil-supply shortage, and oil prices doubled. Diplomatic ties with Iraq were renewed and in 1983 Reagan increased the US military presence in the Persian Gulf to protect the oil facilities during the Iran-Iraq War. In 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait. The USA imported half its oil, and a US-led, military effort was sent to liberate Kuwait in January 1991. Strategic advantages in the Middle East were also important to the USA. During the 1950s and 1960s, Arab nationalism was exploited by the USSR in both Egypt and Syria as well as the Arab-Israeli enmity.	**30**

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GradeMax

Question	Answer	Marks
12	In January 1957 the Eisenhower Doctrine stated that a country if facing armed aggression from another state could request US economic and military aid. The USA sought to strengthen their relationship with Israel. In the early 1960s, Kennedy aimed to secure the neutrality of the Arab world. The USA felt that they had 'lost' Egypt to the Soviets, who were supplying Nasser with military aid. They sold defensive weapons to Israel in 1962 and offensive weapons in 1966. US military equipment and ammunition was used by Israel during the Six-Day War. In September 1970, civil war broke out in Jordan between the PLO and King Hussein. Nixon alerted the Israelis to be ready to act; the troops did mobilise, but the PLO backed down. The partnership with Israel had been reaffirmed. The Yom Kippur War in 1973 forced them to reconsider. Kissinger secured a series of agreements in 1974–5; Israel agreed to withdraw forces from the Suez Canal area and part of the Golan Heights. Egypt reopened the canal in 1975. Sadat wanted a Middle East Treaty and Carter negotiated the Camp David Accords of 1978 leading to a treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979. The USA responded to Soviet influence in the Middle East after the Accords by using economic sanctions to influence the Arab world. The Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 reduced their credibility in the Arab world.	

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