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CAMBRIDGE
International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/42**

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**
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**

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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	**Assess the view that repression was the main reason why Mussolini maintained control of Italy from 1925 to 1941.** Repression might be compared to alternative factors such as propaganda or the popularity of policies to explain Mussolini's control of Italy. In order to agree with the proposition, a range of examples of repression might be used. The secret police (OVRA) were active in spying on supposed opponents, making hundreds of arrest each week and sometimes dealing out violent beating. They were aided by many informants. Special tribunals were used to apply summary justice outside of the normal judicial system. Over 20 000 people were tried in this way, with the average sentence of those convicted being roughly five years. Several political prisoners were kept in custody, with some 10 000 being held in 'confino', or internal exile. It might also be argued that Mussolini's widespread use of propaganda was important in maintaining control of Italy. Although most newspapers were theoretically independent of the regime, control of what was reported was implemented from 1926 and editors knew the consequences of any material being published which was critical of the regime. Radio was also used to spread the message. Nothing was broadcast without government assent, and official broadcasts, including Mussolini's major speeches were commonplace. There were some 1 million radios in Italy by 1938. Posters were used throughout Italy, usually showing images of Mussolini in action. Mass rallies were held and sport was used as a propaganda tool; with Italy's successful World Cup teams and Primo Carnera's world heavyweight boxing title being celebrated as fascist victories. Both art and architecture were also used, although no official style was imposed and so cultural diversity was maintained. The popularity of Mussolini's policies could also help to explain his control. The provision of leisure activities through the Dopolavoro (OND) helped to gain support. With 3.8 million members by 1938, this organisation provided libraries, films and radios to be listened to by the community. There were excursions and trips, sporting events and summer camps. Furthermore, welfare was provided for the poorest. It can also be argued that some of the regime's foreign policy successes also helped to attract support. An obvious example would be the invasion of Abyssinia in 1936. Agreements with the Catholic Church, such as the concordat and Lateran Treaties were also useful in gaining the loyalty of many Italians.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	**Evaluate the effectiveness of Stalin's Five-Year Plans.** Responses might address the Five-Year Plans as a whole, or individually. Stalin's aims for his industrialisation programme could be set out as criteria to base judgements on. The focus on rapid industrialisation and heavy industry at the expense of the production of consumer products might be considered. It could also be argued that Stalin's ambitions were mainly motivated by foreign policy concerns and the need to develop the Soviet Union's military strength, while decreasing its dependency on Western countries. The First Five-Year Plan particularly emphasised development of heavy industries such as coal, iron and steel, electricity etc. Although many targets were unrealistic and were unattainable, increased production was achieved in many of the key areas listed. There was also clear progress made in the building of huge industrial centres. The problems caused by the demands of the targets set and failure to plan properly to achieve them might be considered and could include shortages of raw materials, lack of skilled workers, bribery and corruption and the falsification of production statistics. The shoddy quality of many of the goods produced could also form part of the argument, as might the squeeze on living standards as consumer goods were sacrificed. The Second Five-Year Plan saw continued progress made in the development of heavy industry and improvements in other areas such as transport, communications and in areas of chemical industries and metallurgy were also seen. Heavy industry benefitted from the creation of the industrial centres begun in the first period. Production of consumer products continued to play second fiddle, but there were some improvements and 1934-36, the central years of the second plan, were known as the 'three good years', indicating some improvements in living standards. However, many of the same problems associated with poor planning continued to occur, with over-production in some areas and under-production in others, hoarding of raw materials and a lack of parts to fix broken machinery. The Third Five-Year plan was cut short by the outbreak of war in 1941, with particular focus having been paid to defence-related industries as conflict became likely. Responses are likely to emphasise the extent to which production of heavy industry improved to argue for success and might point to the Soviet Union's ultimate ability to withstand attack from Nazi Germany and so the plans met their chief goal. However, this could be countered by discussing the failures of planning, poor living and working conditions associated with Soviet industrialisation and might wish to make the link between economic failures and the search for scapegoats which helped to bring about the Purges.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	**'Hitler's foreign policy objectives were the main factor that influenced Nazi economic policy.' Discuss this view.** The debate is about which of Hitler's economic aims was most significant. It could also be argued that these goals changed over time and that foreign policy influences were not initially the most important but became so as the 1930s went on, as the worst consequences of the Great Depression had been dealt with. There might also be some argument that some within the Nazi ranks argued that the main aim should be the importance of fostering the interests of the Mittlestand and rewarding them for their loyal support for the Nazis. Responses might take the view that Hitler's initial focus was on solving the problems caused by the Great Depression, most notably unemployment which reached 6 million in 1932. The new government's early economic policies indicate that tackling unemployment was the first concern. There might be some discussion of increased expenditure and investment to create jobs, for example through public works schemes such as the autobahn network and home building programmes. The introduction of the RAD took some 400,000 young people off the unemployment registers in 1934 alone. These measures were paid for by Schacht's use of deficit financing and the creation of Mefo Bills to provide finance without subsequently causing inflationary pressures on the economy. There might also be reference to the removal of groups such as married women or Jews from public sector employment. However, preparations for war were apparent even at this stage, with conscription being introduced in 1935. All men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five years of age were forced into two years of military service, thus reducing the unemployment figures significantly. It was from 1936 that it can be argued that Hitler's economic aims turned towards preparation for war, however. Hitler's foreign policy aims included overturning the Treaty of Versailles, re-uniting all German speakers and achieving Lebensraum. These ambitions were highly likely to lead to war at some stage. Goering's Four-Year Plan aimed to ready Germany for war within that timeframe. The Office of the Four-Year Plan was given enormous power in all sectors of the economy. As a result, the major impetus for economic policies was now rearmament and autarky, or self-sufficiency. The focus was now on the development of the necessary raw materials and machinery. This led to the debate about 'guns or butter' and the prioritisation of war production over consumer goods. A conclusion might be reached which argues that economic policy was influenced mostly by foreign policy goals only from 1936.	**30**

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4	**Assess the impact of new industries on the British economy in the period 1919 to 1939** Examples of 'new industries' which developed in this period might include motor vehicles, chemicals, electrical goods, canned food etc. While the traditional and staple industries such as coal mining, shipbuilding and textiles were in decline, the growth of these new industries provided some positive developments for the British economy. Production of motor vehicles increased by three times from pre-war figures by the 1920s. The spread of electricity was influenced by the 1926 Electrical Supply Act and the introduction of the National Grid in 1934 and saw the number of consumers increase from 730 000 to nine million between the wars. Growth was also seen in the service sector, with an estimated one million jobs created in the 1920s in fields such as retail, road transport, entertainment and even civil aviation. There was also an increase in employment in hospitality – hotels and holiday camps increased their workforce by some 40% in the 1930s. The British economy became more unbalanced as a result. Unlike the staple industries which were concentrated around the coalfields in Scotland, northern England and south Wales, new industries proliferated in the West Midlands and southeast. Although chemical industries developed near the Mersey and Tees rivers, motor vehicles were built in Birmingham, Coventry, Oxford and London, and production of electrical, consumer goods followed a similar pattern. This meant that rates of employment and living standards remained much higher in these areas than the depressed industrial heartlands. Other differences included the increased numbers of opportunities for women in the service sector and an increase of women employed in clerical work. Light industries utilised production line technology and many women were employed in the manufacturing of electrical and consumer goods. Furthermore, these industries were much less heavily unionised than those such as coal mining and so the influence of trade unions declined to a degree. Despite this, wages in light engineering factories remained good. However, although there was a decline in the numbers employed in traditional industries, coal mining remained the biggest single sector of the economy and the positive developments associated with the growth of the new industries could not mask the economic problems facing the country during the inter-war years. Unemployment remained high throughout, particularly in the early 1930s.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
5	**Assess the reasons why the Republicans failed to win the presidential election of 1948**. Though the polls predicted a Democrat defeat, Dewey failed to win the election of 1948. Reasons might be assessed in terms of the weaknesses of the Republican campaign with Dewey as a lacklustre candidate, assuming too much about victory and Truman's supposed unpopularity. Personalities may have been important with Truman making more appeal in rural areas and maintaining the traditional New Deal political alliances. Republican policies did not offer as much as the Democrat social and economic policies. There had been significant help for returning members of the armed forces and a commitment to full employment. Also, Truman had become a leading figure on the world stage at international conferences and had launched an important initiative in foreign policy with Containment with the support of a widely respected Marshall., Not all Americans had been in sympathy with the more isolationist Republican policies at the end of the war. The Truman campaign was energetic with personal appearances and a national tour. Truman had military experience, had been associated with Roosevelt and had a reputation for plain speaking and representing ordinary Americans. Dewey was less well known and lacked the homespun appeal of Truman. The President won without getting a majority of the popular vote, pulling together just enough of the old New Deal coalition to squeak through. His civil rights program attracted black and liberal voters. Farmers rewarded his backing of price supports and other benefits. Labour backed his attacks on the Republican's anti-union record. Urban machines delivered the cities. And despite the defection of the 'Dixiecrats,' he still held on to several Southern states. Truman's upset was the highlight of a Democratic sweep, as the party won back control of congress. Truman polled two thirds of the black vote, perhaps helped here by the secession of southern conservatives. His policy of a civil rights programme and ending segregation in the armed forces helped. In crucial states as Ohio and Illinois it could be said that the black voter had been quite as decisive as anyone in bringing about a Truman victory. Republican support for tariffs helped Truman to gain labour support. The rural vote was won over by credit policies, rural electrification and soil improvement schemes whereas Dewey and the Republicans neglected the rural communities. Middle Western states such as Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Wyoming, and Colorado, totaling 56 electoral votes (and which supported Dewey in 1944), voted for Truman. The farm vote was particularly crucial in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Ohio. Over confidence and a failure to capitalize on Democrat splits were important but Republican policies also lacked appeal to certain key groups – middle class liberals, blacks, labour and farmers. Given the success of the Republicans with a very different sort of candidate in 1952 it might be argued however that personalities were the key.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
6	**Assess the impact of Black Power in the 1960s and 1970s.** Black Power stressed the need for black communities to defend themselves by force if necessary and develop their own institutions as opposed to being dependent on nonviolence and integration. The term goes back to 1954, but the movement gathered impetus from 1965 and in the aftermath of Malcolm X's assassination and the attack on James Meredith. The leadership of Stokely Carmichael and Willie Ricks developed the ideas of strengthening the unity of African Americans, increasing their appreciation of their heritage and establishing goals specific to their needs. There was some overlap between this new radicalism and more traditional civil rights. However, the creation of Bobby Seale's Black Panther Party which linked the struggle for civil rights with a class struggle was a departure from the mainstream movement and a move away from non-violence which had a major impact. It did divide the movement with King being critical of the idea of separate communities of black and white Americans. It did lead to many community self-help groups; it led to more interest in the study of African American history and culture; it encouraged political participation and voter registration. It did create incidents which created shock waves in the USA such as the medalists at the 1968 Summer Olympics giving the Black Power salute. It led to greater organisation of radical politics such as the National Black Political Convention in 1972. It had indirect impact on the growth of other radical social movements and pressured governments for political changes like affirmative action. It also had negative consequences in terms of rioting and violence. Answers could establish what they think the impact was in terms of political gains or cultural change. The growth in impact could be a result of dynamic leadership, disillusion with the more traditional priorities of the Civil Rights movements, social and economic change both in the US and in the wider African world. Debate could be between inherent appeal of BP against context. Black Power can be seen as having a negative impact on the progress of civil rights and US opinion as it was blamed for race riots, threats of violence and division. It threatened the alliance between peaceful civil rights and moderate liberal white opinion. On the other hand, it has been argued that it led the mainstream civil rights movement towards social improvement and economic concerns away from the mainly political aims. It has also been argued that the militancy of Black Power drove the US state towards greater changes such as improved education, bussing and affirmative action. In terms of a sustained movement there could be a discussion about how far the movement encouraged a greater cultural self-awareness and confidence or how far the movement was ineffective because of the association with violence.	**30**

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7	**Assess the significance of US trade deficits in the 1980s and early 1990s.** Economists argued that trade deficits had the result of destroying jobs, depressing wages, hurting competitiveness and contributing to the stagnation of real incomes. The alternative view suggested that trade deficits had limited impact, as long as the US followed sound economic policies and internal markets were strong. The pessimistic view is that trade deficits have harmed the domestic economy in at least three direct ways. First, the steady growth in trade deficits over the past two decades has eliminated millions of U.S. manufacturing jobs. Between 1979 and 1994, trade eliminated 2.4 million jobs in the U.S. Growing trade deficits were responsible for most of these job losses, which were concentrated in manufacturing, because most trade involves the sale of manufactured goods Second, trade deficits had also had a depressing effect on wages, in several ways. The jobs lost through trade do not raise the unemployment rate in the long run. But trade affected the composition of employment. Workers not employed in manufacturing often found jobs elsewhere in the long run, usually in service industries where wages were much lower. The growth in imports, especially from low-wage countries, also put downward pressure on the wages of U.S. workers. When the prices of these products fell, then this put downward pressure on prices in the U.S. Domestic firms were then forced to cut wages or otherwise reduce their own labour costs in response. Wages of production and supervisory workers declined steadily since 1979. Trade was responsible for 15% to 25% of the increase in income inequality that occurred between 1979 and 1994. When U.S. firms moved to low-wage countries, as they did in the 80s and 90s, they clearly eliminated good jobs and increased the trade deficit. These moves also affected the labour market. The mere threat of plant closure was often enough to extract wage cuts from workers. When the U.S. dollar and trade deficit soared in the early 1980s, many domestic firms and industries in sectors such as steel and semiconductors were badly affected. Once closed, many plants in such industries failed to re-open this had a long-term effect. The counter view is that trade deficits do not have a major effect on other aspects of the economy. America's experience in both the 1980s and the 1990s shows limited connection between trade deficits and a loss of industrial strength. Between 1980 and 1987, when the U.S. current account deficit was rising to a peak of 3.6 percent of GDP, U.S. industrial production rose by 17 percent and total manufacturing output by 23 percent. Responses could argue about the relative important of different supposed effects of deficit or offer a discussion about how seriously deficits affected the economy as a whole.	**30**

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8	**'The Reagan Doctrine was a success.' Assess this view**. Discussion will likely consider the benefits of a relatively low-cost indirect policy and the unforeseen consequences In 1989, the Soviet Union ended its occupation of Afghanistan, the war in Nicaragua came to an end with the loss of Sandinistas in the general elections in 1990. The Reagan regime even engineered the end of Soviet and Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, by providing limited aid to Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). From the US perspective, it pitched the US decisively as a global power. Earlier this sort of assertiveness was not pursued for fear that it would escalate the Cold War and risk nuclear conflict. The supposed success of the Reagan Doctrine allayed these and other such fears and put the United States in a strong position. Firstly, there was no direct involvement of American troops, and thus, no casualties. Secondly, arming anti-communist movements to topple communist regimes in different parts of the world cost the US less than direct intervention. The Reagan Doctrine was thought to have brought an end to Soviet expansion under the garb of the Brezhnev Doctrine, which stated that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in the affairs of Communist countries when hostile forces tried to bring about change. The counter view however is about the political acceptability of US policies and their unintended consequences. The Reagan Doctrine was subjected to severe criticism when the Iran-Contra affair revealed how the US had acted during the Reagan presidency. By providing arms to less-known militants – some of which had dubious human rights records – the American Administration had only strengthened them. An unforeseen consequence was that these militants would turn hostile towards the US itself. The US had directly or indirectly contributed in the making of Al Qaeda. Even Pakistan, via whom the US aid to the Mujahideen was facilitated, eventually put its interest first, and created Taliban to pursue a proxy war with India. Thus, the Reagan Doctrine for all its apparent success had consequences which went against US interests.	**30**

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9	**Analyse how far détente improved US–Soviet relations in the period 1963 to 1980.** Responses might focus on the view that both the USA and USSR were initially supportive of détente and that some progress was made, However, they should also consider the lack of real commitment on both sides and the effect this had on their relationship. Having narrowly avoided nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the USSR and USA brought about a sort of truce in the Cold War. In 1963, a direct line was established between Washington and Moscow and the two superpowers opened discussions on limiting the arms race. The end of the 1960s witnessed a clear easing of US–Soviet tension; both acknowledged the need for negotiation and compromise. Nixon in the USA and Brezhnev in the USSR brought more pragmatic politicians to power; they had domestic issues to contend with, and the arms race was expensive. In July 1968, the USA, USSR and Britain signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty to limit the spread of nuclear arms and work towards nuclear disarmament. In August 1975, the USA, USSR and 33 other nations signed the Helsinki Accords aimed at enhancing relations between communist nations and the West. The SALT talks in 1972 and 1979 outlawed the production of biological weapons and limited the numbers of ballistic missiles. However, to the Soviets, détente did not mean an end to competition with the USA but an agreement not to escalate it. Cold War mistrust persisted. The surprise attack by Egyptian and Syrian forces on Israel in October 1973 threatened to bring the USA and USSR into direct conflict for the first time since the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Actual combat did not break out between them but the Yom Kippur War seriously damaged US–Soviet relations and all but destroyed détente. By the late 1970s, the USSR's economy and global influence were weakening and Carter exploited these weaknesses. He insisted nations provide basic freedoms for their people and he openly criticised the Soviets for denying Russian Jews their basic civil rights. By the end of the 1970s, the US–Soviet détente began to fade away. While a second SALT agreement (SALT II) was agreed, neither government ratified it. As détente broke down, progress on nuclear arms control stalled completely. The Carter administration began to increase military spending. Between 1977 and 1979 the USSR began to replace its out-dated nuclear missiles in Eastern Europe with SS-20 missiles. The USA responded by developing Cruise Missiles and deploying its own battlefield nuclear weapons to Europe; the arms race restarted. Détente was fragile. The last straw for the USA was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on 24 December 1979. 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 and supported a US boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. 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. In 1980, Reagan was elected. He was outspoken about his stance against communism.	**30**

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10	**'US support for Taiwan was the main factor influencing Sino–US relations during the Cold War.' Discuss this view.** Responses might consider that US support led to strained relations until the early 1970s, but this was compounded by the People's Republic of China's (PRC) opposition in both the Korean and Vietnam War. They should also consider that relations with the PRC improved in the 1970s and 1980s with the normalisation of relations but that the USA did not abandon Taiwan. For more than twenty years after the PRC victory in 1949, there were few contacts, limited trade and no diplomatic ties between the two countries. In 1949 Truman's administration was accused of having 'lost' China. In 1954, the PRC began to bombard Jinmen, Mazu and the Dachen Islands in the Taiwan Straits and the USA signed the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China (ROC). It promised support if the ROC engaged in a broader conflict with the PRC. In January 1955, the US Congress passed the 'Formosa Resolution' giving Eisenhower total authority to defend Taiwan and the offshore islands. However, Chiang Kai-shek agreed to withdraw his troops from Dachen. In 1958, the PRC shelled Nationalist outposts on Jinmen and Mazu Islands, and the USA again intervened sending ships into the Taiwan Straits. Nevertheless, there were also other factors involved. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 affected Sino–US relations with the PRC and the USA on opposing sides. Truman wished to prevent the Korean conflict from spreading south resulting in the US policy of protecting the Chiang Kai-shek government in Taiwan. In 1964, the PRC became a nuclear power after testing its first atomic bomb. However, tensions were escalating over the conflict in Vietnam. In May 1965, Ho Chi-Minh met with Mao Zedong concerned about US airstrikes in Vietnam. Ho requested Chinese support and the People's Liberation Army forces began flowing into North Vietnam in July 1965. However, differences over security, ideology and development put a strain on Sino–Soviet relations. The Sino–Soviet split contributed to Beijing's eventual rapprochement with the USA. Ping-pong diplomacy began and in July 1971, Henry Kissinger made a secret trip to the PRC. The UN then recognised the PRC; it received the permanent Security Council seat held by Taiwan since 1945.The USA supported this although it voted against Taiwan's expulsion from the General Assembly. In 1972, Nixon met with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. The Shanghai Communiqué pledged that it was in the interest of all nations for the USA and the PRC to work towards normalising their relations. In 1979, the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations normalised relations with the PRC, the 'One PRC' policy, but the Taiwan Relations Act of April 1979, authorised continued arms sales to Taiwan and stated a US political commitment to the island's security. In August 1982, Reagan agreed to a communiqué with the PRC that Beijing believed included a US commitment to reduce the US arms provided to Taiwan and then stop arms sales. The communiqué caused tension between the two countries as US continued arms sales were justified because the PRC continued to acquire military capabilities. The student protests in 1989 hurt the PRC's reputation in the USA. With the collapse of the USSR, the need for the PRC's help had gone and US politicians demanded positive changes in the Taiwan policy.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
11	**'Senghor was mainly responsible for Senegal gaining its independence'. Discuss this view.** Responses might consider that Senghor was more interested in civil rights than political independence and focus on other factors that contributed to Senegal becoming independent. However, they might weigh these up against his influence, political experience and his decision to lead Senegal to independence. Senegal's independence was achieved through a combination of intellectual, cultural, and political forces. Various factors contributed to the growth of nationalism in Senegal. The French policy of assimilation created an educated elite that challenged colonial rule; the use of forced labour and economic subjugation also resulted in opposition to colonial rule. The celebration of African culture and identity began to surge, and cultural movements and intellectual debate provided the impetus for political action. Senghor celebrated African culture, heritage, and values. Newspapers and literature also became vehicles for expressing nationalist sentiments and mobilising public opinion. Independence as a nation state was not Senghor's first choice. His political agenda emphasised civil rights for the residents of French colonies rather than political independence. He urged a federation that would link Africa and Europe as equal partners, and he also demonstrated his loyalty to France. In 1955, Senghor was appointed by the French government to investigate the problems of overseas territories. He urged France to allow African states to form in loose confederations. France granted internal autonomy to its African territories under the provisions of the Loi-cadre of 1956 which was seen by the French government as an alternative to political independence. When General De Gaulle became President of the Fifth Republic in 1958, he offered Senghor the opportunity to take immediate independence, but he refused. Instead, he persuaded the Senegalese to vote against it. However, despite his wish to retain links with France, Senghor did ultimately lead Senegal to independence. The formation of political parties contributed to this. He and Mamadou Dia formed the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais (BDS) which came to power in 1948. The BDS principles were to 'ensure equitable, democratic participation by all major regional, ethnic, and economic interests'. In 1951, it won both Senegalese seats in the French National Assembly and, in 1952, 43 of the 50 seats in Senegal's Territorial Assembly. Senghor and Mamadou Dia secured overwhelming majorities at the parliamentary elections in 1956 and launched a campaign to unite all Senegalese parties. In April 1958 the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS) was formed. The UPS won all 80 seats in the elections to the Senegal legislature in 1959. African socialism was the political doctrine that would become the platform for Senghor's UPS party. As his frustration with France's lack of concern for their African territories grew, he worked to establish a federation of the country's African colonies that would provide the territories more voice for positive change. He supported efforts to create a West African Federation consisting of Senegal, the French Sudan, Upper Volta, and Dahomey, called the Mali Federation. This proved unworkable; Senegal drafted its own constitution; independence was declared in April 1960 and Senghor became President.	**30**

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GradeMax

Question	Answer	Marks
12	**Assess the causes of the Iran–Iraq War.** Responses might focus on Saddam's ambitions; he was an opportunist who saw the war as a chance to boost his leadership and make Iraq powerful. However, a counter argument should consider his fear that the Iranian Revolution might have a major effect on Iraq and that Iran must be defeated. It can be argued that the personality of Saddam himself was the major catalyst for the war; he saw an invasion of Iran as an opportunity to transform Iraq's regional standing, making it the true pan-Arab power. At the start of the Iran-Iraq war, he was Iraq's undisputed ruler, and Iraq's national interests were his personal interests. Given his unchecked ambition and his ruthless assumption of power, he aimed to gain political ascendancy in the Arab world. By 1980 there was no clear pan-Arab leader; Egypt had left a void as a result of its peace accord with Israel offering Saddam an opportunity to fill it. With Iran threatening to export its revolution to overthrow the monarchies of the Arab Gulf states, he was well positioned to lead the Arab fight back. He wished to annex Khuzestan and become the regional superpower. Khuzestan's large ethnic Arab population would let him pose as a liberator of Arabs from Persian rule. His goal was to replace Egypt as the leader of the Arab world and achieve domination over the Persian Gulf. A successful invasion of Iran would enlarge Iraq's petroleum reserves and make it the region's most dominant power. Re-taking the Shatt al-Arab waterway was another ambition. Saddam felt he could right the injustice of the 1975 Algiers Agreement, whereby Iran took control of half of the waterway, Iraq's major outlet to the Persian Gulf. Retaking the waterway would redress the 1975 affront to Iraqi sovereignty, redeeming Saddam at home and strengthening his image in the Arab world. However, fear of the impact of the Iranian Revolution in Iraq could arguably be the most important reason for the war. Saddam became president in 1979, the year of Iran's Islamic revolution. At first, it appeared that Iraq welcomed Iran's revolution as it overthrew the Shah, a common enemy. However, Ayatollah Khomeini called on Iraqis to overthrow the Ba'ath government, but Saddam requested an Iraqi Iranian friendship based on non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Khomeini rejected Saddam's request and supported Islamic revolution in Iraq. Saddam regarded this as a threat to the Sunni-led Ba'ath government; the secular Ba'ath party discriminated against the Shia movement in Iraq and Khomeini hoped that Iraq's Shiite population would topple it. Saddam felt that he was in a strong position; Khomeini's regime had troubles at home, and it was diplomatically isolated. Iran suffered from low morale in the military, shortages of consumer goods, growing unemployment, and rising disaffection among the professional classes as well as ethnic minorities. Diplomatically, Iran was isolated. Tehran's domestic and international weakness seemed to present Baghdad with an opportunity to counter Khomeini's revolutionary threat. He therefore decided to strike first, beginning the war in September 1980 hoping that his pre-emptive strike would result in the Khomeini regime being overthrown before it could overthrow him.	**30**

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