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CAMBRIDGE
International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/43**

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	**'Mussolini was appointed as prime minister in 1922 mainly because of the fear of communism.' Discuss this view.** Agreement with the statement might consider the threat from the left which led to the growth of trade unions, factory and land occupations and the increased support for the PSI. The Biennio Rosso of 1919–20 were hugely alarming to industrialists, landowners, the Church and aristocracy, who feared a repeat of the Russian Revolution. This helps to account for their support for the fascists who promised to crush socialism and whose squads were beginning to do so from 1920. The support of elite groups such as the King, Catholic Church and wealthy industrialists could be linked to this point. By moderating his policies towards the church significantly between 1919–22, culminating in the declaration of opposition to divorce and a willingness to reach agreement with it, Mussolini gained the tacit support of many within its hierarchy. His openly anti-socialist stance attracted the support of industrialists, terrified by the events of 1919–20. Leaders of the General Confederation of Industry, the Confederation of Agriculture and the Bankers Association all agitated for Mussolini's appointment. Ultimately, Mussolini became Prime Minister at the invitation of King Victor Emmanuel. There was support for the fascists from within the royal family, for example from the King's cousin, the Dule of Aosta. Other explanations which could be put forward might include the impact of World War I on Italy. 600 000 Italians were killed in the conflict and there was a general feeling that Italy had failed to receive the rewards due to her – particularly the territories of Fiume, Dalmatia and African colonies. This so-called 'Mutilated Victory' increased disillusionment with the system of trasformismo politics with weak Liberal governments being blamed for Italy's problems. The failure of liberal democracy in Italy had created a vacuum which fascism would fill. There might also be some consideration of the economic problems affecting Italy in the post-war period. Unemployment was rising, fuelled by the demobilisation of millions of soldiers after the conflict ended. Inflation was another huge problem. Italy had borrowed to fund the cost of fighting and had also printed money. In 1920 prices were 600% higher than in 1913 and Italy faced massive debts. Some attention should also be paid to the appeal of Mussolini and of fascism. His charismatic personality and oratory skills combined with his experience as a journalist. He was politically flexible and a pragmatist who was able to appeal to a range of different groups in Italy, who were attracted by his vision of a powerful and united nation.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	**Assess the effectiveness of Stalin's foreign policy in the period 1928 to 1941.** Responses may identify Stalin's aims in relation to foreign policy in order to judge the extent of effectiveness. Stalin was motivated primarily by pragmatism rather than by ideology in his foreign policy and aimed to preserve the Soviet Union's security more than extending communism throughout the world. The concept of Socialism in One Country certainly suggests that this was the case. He was not as interested in world revolution as Lenin and Trotsky and used the Comintern as more as instrument for protecting the interests of the Soviet Union than spreading socialism abroad. An example of this might be Stalin's failure to support the Chinese Communist party and continued support for Chiang Kai-shek despite his increasingly anti-communist actions. Foreign communist parties were generally given little consideration and were merely tools for achieving Stalin's domestic policies and were ordered to denounce social democratic parties as 'social fascists' during Stalin's left turn which completed his victory in the power struggle. The prospects of these parties gaining a significant foothold in their domestic political environments was limited by their treatment from Moscow. Stalin's search for security became increasingly dominant in the 1930s as Hitler rose to power in Nazi Germany. The policy of Collective Security led to the Soviet Union joining the League of Nations in 1934 and signing mutual assistance pacts with both France and Czechoslovakia in 1935. Furthermore, the policy of attacking moderate, leftist parties was ended and 'popular fronts' were created in France and Spain to combat fascism. It could be argued that Soviet involvement in the Spanish Civil War from 1936 suggests an attempt to spread communism and an ideological stance against fascism. However, it can also be seen as motivated by the desire to protect France from encirclement by fascist enemies and weaken Stalin's position. The final turn in Stalin's foreign policy was to pivot towards an agreement with Nazi Germany in 1939. The Nazi–Soviet Pact could be seen as a reaction to appeasement at Munich during the Czech Crisis and Stalin's conclusion that collective security would not succeed, meaning that Soviet interests were better served by aligning with Hitler, at least in the short-term.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	**'The main reason that Hitler was able to consolidate power by August 1934 was the divisions amongst his opponents.' Assess this view.** This question requires an examination of the reasons that Hitler was able to convert a relatively precarious position as Chancellor of a coalition government with three Nazi members in January 1933 to an unassailable one by August 1934. A comparison of the reasons for the lack of effective opposition at this stage with Hitler's own actions is necessary for a balanced response. A range of reasons for the failure of opposition could be put forward. The failure of the SPD and KPD to work together against the Nazis can be traced back to the events of 1919 and Ebert's use of Freikorps troops to defeat the Spartacist revolt. Further divisions were caused by the Comintern influence on the KPD, which encouraged hostility with groups who Stalin considered to be 'social fascists.' The inability of two parties whose combined share of the popular vote in November 1932 was higher than that of the Nazis to collaborate could be argued to be crucial. Other reasons for the failure of opposition could include the respect for the apparently legal nature of Hitler's accession to power and a German tradition of loyalty. There might have been an element of complacency among many who felt that the Nazis did not pose a great threat to democracy as only one party in the coalition. Hitler was certainly underestimated in some quarters. Some consideration of the combination of legal and violent methods employed by Hitler might also be included. Examples of the former are the Enabling Act, which followed on from the Emergency decrees of February 1933 passed as a result of the Reichstag Fire. As a result political parties were outlawed. Concessions made to élite groups such as the Catholic Church in the form of the Concordat could also form part of the argument. The formation of the Ministry of Propaganda and the Reich Culture Chamber helped to coordinate the early stages of the state indoctrination of German society. Examples of terror utilised in the period could include the use of the SA and SS. Thousands of communists and socialists were arrested as part of Hitler's response to the Reichstag Fire and this certainly weakened these groups' ability to challenge the Nazis. The passing of the Enabling Act saw the intimidation of deputies. One of the most notorious acts of terror was the Night of the Long Knives in June 1934, which served to eliminate the threat from the radical wing of the SA and secure the loyalty of the higher echelons of the German army.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	**Assess the impact of social welfare policies in Britain in the period 1919 to 1939.** Social welfare policies introduced by British governments in the inter-war period might relate to unemployment benefits, old age pensions or developments in housing. Unemployment – 1920 Unemployment Insurance Act, 1929 Local Government Act, 1934 Unemployment Act. Increased numbers covered by national insurance, from 4 million in 1919 to 11.4 million in 1921, but limited funds available given the scale of unemployment in the period and 'seeking work test' from 1921. Benefits were increased slightly, but still remained low in comparison to average earnings. Public Assistance Committees set up in 1929 used means-testing. The means test was widely hated and adversely affected those such as short-time workers who were dependent on benefits despite being employed on casual basis on occasion. Unemployment benefit could now be claimed for six months before a reapplication had to be made. The PAC's investigations and visits to the homes of claimants to ensure that they were genuine were humiliating and sometimes led to working age children being forced to leave the family home to allow their parents to continue to claim. The impact of mass unemployment meant that government efforts were ineffective, and levels of support were limited. Pensions – 1925 Old Age Pensions Act extended provision to 65 to 70 years, widows, their children and orphans. Paid for by contributions by workers, employers and the state, which led to some criticism. Few other developments as unemployment was a greater issue. Housing – a number of Housing Acts, for example in 1924, 1930, 1933 and 1935 promoted the construction of private and state-owned housing. Between 1919–1940, four million new homes were built. One third of all houses in 1940 had been built since 1918. Living standards generally improved by the inclusion of indoor bathrooms, hot running water and gardens. However, despite the huge increase in numbers of people living in new homes with modern facilities, pockets of deprivation remained and many Victorian slums were only cleared during or after the war.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
5	**Evaluate the impact of the SCLC in the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s.** The SCLC advocated a wider form of civil dissent against segregation. This direct action included boycotts, marches, and other forms of nonviolent protest and was considered controversial by many in the black community, who felt that segregation should be challenged in the courts. The SCLC's leadership, most of whom were ministers, also believed that churches should be involved in political activism and held many of their meetings at black churches, which became important symbols in the battle for civil rights. The organisation quickly moved to the forefront of the civil rights movement alongside several other major civil rights groups. From the beginning, the SCLC focused its efforts on citizenship schools and efforts to desegregate individual cities. The essence of the SCLC was that it coordinated the work of existing organisations. The success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott led to a desire to extend this nonviolent protests and rather than set up an additional organisation to rival the SNCC or the NAACP the founders of the SCLC focused on an umbrella organisation coordinating the drive for civil rights. This did lead to larger scale protests, and it would be acceptable to project forwards to the 1960s to show the impact of the work done in the 1950s. The ethical and religious nature of the organisation led by CK Steele, Fred Shuttleworth and King also established a key element in the nature of the Civil Rights protests – clear non-violence, Christian understanding and a high moral tone. The first manifesto after the founding meeting at Atlanta was to encourage civil rights to be seen as a spiritual issue in pursuit of ideals of justice. This made a considerable appeal to liberal white Americans. The involvement was leadership training and citizenship schools thus making the nature of the organisation somewhat different from the NAACP though still working with it. The Crusade for Citizenship was the first major initiative in1957 led by over a hundred African American leaders. The campaign aimed at voter registration and increasing awareness of the importance of voting as the gateway to other improvements. With thousands of African Americans disenfranchised it was thought to mobilise for the 1958 and 1960 elections. The religious leaders deliberately framed the campaign in religious terms to mobilise the churches and to give the political demands the nature of a moral campaign to encourage local donations and support. King’s particular appeal derived a lot from his Baptist background, and it helped to make civil rights a moral cause. The downside might be seen in criticism that it glorified suffering and endurance of injustice and focused too much on political aims and in gaining white support. It did lead to impressive campaigns and the mass march on Washington but in terms of wider equality and actual achievement of greater rights in the 1950s the impact was less evident. It would be valid to consider criticisms that the SCLC was not radical enough in methods and aims and too dependent on accepting suffering even though many argue that the high profile later protests and the successes in gaining more rights derived from the initiatives of the 1950s.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
6	**Assess the achievements of Hispanic political action in the US in the 1960s and 1970s.** The Chicano Movement had several components that sought to increase Hispanic equality. Led by Cesar Chavez, one of the most famous goals was the unionisation of farm workers. In 1962, with Dolores Huerta, Chavez co-founded the National Farm Workers Association, which later reorganised to become the United Farm Workers labor union. Chavez, Huerta, and other civic leaders made enormous progress in collectivising farm laborers and helping them register to vote. In 1965, Chaves and Huerta organised the Delano grape strike; the longest strike in US history, lasting from September 1965 to July 1970. In the early 1950s and 60s, the Community Service Organization (CSO) was created and helped to register thousands of Mexican Americans and drive them to polling places on election days. Political participation made the Hispanic community a powerful voting bloc in national elections in the coming years as a result of the work by the CSO and its leaders. Organization among Hispanic students was also widespread among the Chicano Movement. Voter registration, educational equality, and labor rights were the focus of student organisations. In early March 1968, the greatest demonstration against education inequality took place in East Los Angeles as thousands of students walked out to protest discrepancies in the district. Over 10,000 students left to protest and formed the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee (EICC). Demands to the Los Angeles Board of Education included recommendations for bilingual education and hiring of Mexican American administrators. This mass demonstration against Hispanic racism sparked a national conversation on race relations in California, but it also labeled Chicano leaders as radical and militant according to FBI internal memos by J. Edgar Hoover. As the 1960s progressed and the war in Vietnam intensified, broad anti-war sentiment grew in Hispanic communities. organisations like the Brown Berets drew inspiration from the Black Panthers in demonstrating against the war. Protests were held all over the American Southwest, and on August 29, 1970. Over 30,000 protesters led by activist Rosalio Munoz turned out to demonstrate against the Vietnam War, Despite this political activity and the effects of federal legislation, the numbers of Latino officed holders in states with the highest concentration of voters remained limited by the mid-1970s. There also remained discrimination in matters of immigration, voting rights, housing and access to public services. Greater political participation did not translate automatically to representation in proportion to the size of population or political needs.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
7	'**Reaganomics failed to achieve its aims,' Discuss this view.** The question requires an understanding of Reagan's actual aims not a discussion of the validity of those aims. Aims might be to reduce the growth of government spending; reduce the marginal tax rates on income from both labor and capital; reduce regulation and control the growth of the money supply. These major policy changes, in turn, were expected to increase saving and investment, increase economic growth, balance the budget, restore healthy financial markets, and reduce inflation and interest rates. It could be argued that Reagan delivered on each of his four major policy objectives, although not to the extent that he and his supporters had hoped. The annual increase in federal spending fell by 1.5% during the Reagan administration, despite a record peacetime increase in real defence spending. This part of Reagan's fiscal record, however, reflected only a relative limited change, not a radical reversal. Reagan made no significant changes to the major spending programmes (such as social security and Medicare), and he proposed no substantial reductions in other domestic programs after his first budget. Reagan did not achieve a significant reduction in federal spending as a percent of national output. Federal spending was 22.9 percent of GDP in 1981, increased somewhat during the middle years of his administration, and declined to 22.1 percent of GDP in 1988. The changes to taxation were much more substantial. The top tax on individual income was reduced from 70 percent to 28 percent. The corporate income tax rate was reduced from 48 percent to 34 percent. Most of the poor were exempted from the individual income tax. These measures were somewhat offset by several tax increases. An increase in Social Security tax rates was put into effect. Some excise tax rates were increased, and some deductions were reduced or eliminated as pressure for defence spending grew. Overall, the combination of lower tax rates and a broader tax base for both individuals and business reduced the federal revenue share of GDP from 20.2 percent in 1981 to 19.2 percent in 1988. The reduction in economic regulation eased or eliminated controls of prices on oil and natural gas, cable TV, long-distance telephone service, interstate bus service, and ocean shipping. Banks were allowed to invest in a broader set of assets, and the scope of the antitrust laws was reduced. The major exception to a frere economy was a substantial increase in import barriers. In line with conservative thinking about inflation. Reagan endorsed the reduction in money growth initiated by the Federal Reserve, a policy that led to both the severe 1982 recession and a large reduction in inflation and interest rates. Discussion might focus on how successful supply side and 'trickle down' economic policy were in promoting general economic growth given the tendency for income inequality to increase and the problems in actually sustaining overall reductions in spending and shifting the balanced away from 'big government'.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
8	**Assess the importance of ideological differences in creating tensions between the US and the USSR in the period 1950 to 1963.** The different elements of tension between the USA and the USSR had been established before 1950 and were exacerbated by the Korean War. Since 1917 there had been an ideological divide between free market capitalist liberal democracy and the Soviet system of state economic control, social engineering and social democracy which rejected bourgeois parliamentarianism. The Marxist theory of a proletarian dictatorship led by a single party ran deeply counter to US political ideas. Fears of communist influence led to concerns in the McCarthy era about the threat posed by communism to the way of life. On the Soviet side there were fears that the west had wanted to undermine Soviet communism by the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Aid and to conduct 'dollar diplomacy. The Determination of the USSR to maintain its hold on Eastern Europe was as much to do with security as ideology but the issues merged. There were US fears of the expansion of the USSR which threatened its political, strategic and economic interests. The Korean War seemed to show a community of interest between the USSR, China and Asian communism. Some vital strategic and economic interests were threatened by the Soviet backed invasion of South Korea and the war was portrayed as ideologically based as a war of the United Nations for freedom, even if the South |Korean regime was not really a western style liberal democracy. Ideological elements continued through the 1950s and 1960s to be a strong element even though the rabid anti-Communism of McCarthy declined, and Stalin's death seemed to suggest some liberalisation. The repression of anti-Soviet movements in East Berlin, Poland and especially Hungary brought ideology to the surface, but the Russian motivation was more in terms of security, economic resources and power politics. The rhetoric on both sides was ideological with the USSR talking of safeguarding socialism and the rights of the proletariat in occupied Europe and the West in public seeing freedom. Ideological concerns were not enough to start a conflict though as the balance of power was not changed. The tensions caused by wider world conflicts were more obviously based on economic resources and strategic influence. The Cuban crisis brought together different concerns. For the US it was fear of foreign influence so close to the US and the dangers to its defence and economic interests, Castro had not been initially fully committed to either Communism or the USSR. Khrushchev's motivations were not primarily to spread ideology but to engage in power politics and strategic and political advantage. The development of an arms race and the internationalisation of the tensions might be seen as essentially a power struggle and nationalist movements in some countries and regions, notably Guatemala, Indonesia and Indochina, were often allied with communist groups or otherwise perceived to be unfriendly to US economic and strategic interests. However political justifications for high levels of defended spending often needed ideology.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
9	**Assess the extent of Khrushchev's commitment to peaceful co-existence.** Responses should weigh up Khrushchev's attempts to promote peaceful coexistence against the extent to which he deviated from it. Khrushchev's foreign policy of pursuing peaceful coexistence with the USA and its allies was a dramatic change from previous leaders' attitudes. In 1955, he agreed to negotiate an end to the post-war occupation of Austria and allow a neutral country to be created. In the same year he told Tito, the Yugoslav leader, that 'there are different roads to communism'. He also called for a reduction in defence expenditure and reduced the size of the Soviet armed forces. This policy of a peaceful coexistence was meant to improve relations between the USSR and the USA. The Soviet public viewed his efforts positively and were optimistic about the outcome. On 24 February 1956 at the Communist Party's Twentieth Congress Khrushchev made a speech denouncing Stalin. It seemed as if there would be a relaxation of Cold War tensions. In the late 1950s, the USA and the USSR initiated a cultural exchange programme; in 1959, Khrushchev visited the USA and met Eisenhower at Camp David. Predictions of improved future relations were reported which praised 'the spirit of Camp David' showing both superpowers were willing to enter into dialogue. To avoid nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Khrushchev agreed to remove Russian missiles from Cuba in exchange for a promise from the USA to respect Cuba's territorial sovereignty. A hot line was established between the Kremlin and the White House and the Limited Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty was signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963, by the USA, the USSR, and Britain. However, Khrushchev seemed to deviate from the policy during a number of flashpoints in history. In 1955, he set up the Warsaw Pact with plans to use nuclear weapons against NATO if there was a war. He also rejected Eisenhower's 'Open Skies' proposal at the Geneva Summit in 1955. The USA was suspicious of his intentions, especially after he sent troops into Hungary in 1956 and brutally crushed the revolts there. In 1957, the Soviets launched their first intercontinental ballistic missile which created US fears of a missile gap between the USSR and the USA. The problem of Berlin caused further tension; Khrushchev announced in November 1958 that unless the West removed its forces from West Berlin within six months, he would allow the East Germans to control the access routes. Eisenhower and the West stood firm, and he eventually backed down. In 1961, he made the same threat over Berlin but after Kennedy's 'Ich bin ein Berliner' speech, he ordered the building of the Berlin Wall. Moscow also took every opportunity to promote its interests in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In January 1961, Khrushchev declared at an informal summit meeting in Vienna that Moscow would provide active support to national liberation movements throughout the world. The Cuban Crisis of 1962 saw the two sides on the brink of nuclear war.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
10	**Assess the extent to which public opinion was responsible for US withdrawal from Vietnam.** Responses might focus on the fact that public opinion was very vocal in its opposition to the war making full use of the media. However, other factors to consider include the cost of the war, military failure, lack of international support and troops that were ill-prepared. Opposition to US intervention in Vietnam tended to be very vocal and the media enabled it to voice its opposition. The Vietnam War was the first major war to be televised. By early February 1968, a Gallup poll showed only 32 per cent of the population approved of Johnson's handling of the war. Protests came from many sections of society. The Civil Rights Movement was involved in opposing the war; there were many more African Americans conscripted, compared to whites. There was strong student opposition. The Draft Resistance Movement was established to fight conscription. There were protests from environmental groups on the use of defoliants to destroy the Vietnamese jungle. In October 1969, one of the largest protests that the USA had ever seen was held in Washington. However, other factors also contributed to the US decision to withdraw from Vietnam. The war was proving to be very costly and was placing a strain on the government. During President Johnson's administration, the war was costing the US $20 million per year. The cost of training, supplying and transporting troops, as well as the cost of weapons was draining the US economy. The war effort prevented Johnson from implementing social and economic reforms at home. Lack of international support also played its part. US allies only gave limited support. Britain and France were critical of the war, especially Operation Rolling Thunder. SEATO provided little backing. Only Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and the Philippines provided any soldiers. Even then, only a small number actually contributed, compared to the USA. Military failure was important in the decision to withdraw. In 1965 the USA launched Operation Rolling Thunder, the bombing of military targets in North Vietnam, but the campaign failed. There were heavy losses. On 31 January 1968, North Vietnam launched the Tet Offensive, surprise assaults on US-held areas of South Vietnam. It failed but was a turning point as the deaths of American soldiers and the ferocity of the Vietcong assault led many Americans to conclude that they could not win. US troops were not fully prepared for battle; 503,000 soldiers deserted between 1966 and 1973. The Vietcong's guerrilla commitment and tactics outweighed the US desire to keep going. They won the hearts and minds of the South Vietnam people. In 1968 Johnson stopped bombing North Vietnam in return for peace talks in Paris but in 1969 Nixon introduced a policy of 'Vietnamisation' after the talks broke down. He wanted to expand, equip, and train South Vietnamese forces while reducing the number of US combat troops. He also escalated the bombing campaign in North Vietnam to force the North Vietnamese to negotiate. In 1973, the USA recognised it could not win and signed a peace agreement.	**30**

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Question	Answer	Marks
11	**Evaluate how far Cold War tensions prevented Pan–Africanism from achieving its aims.** Responses are likely to focus on the factors that prevented Pan–Africanism from achieving its aims including disagreements in the movement, their dependence on foreign aid as well as the extent to which Cold War tensions led to intervention in Africa. In the post-colonial era, Pan–Africanism became a broad-based mass movement in Africa. President Nkrumah of Ghana dominated this period; he established a series of conferences hosted in Accra between 1958 and 1960 where the basic tenets of Pan–Africanism were established: the attainment of political independence; assistance to national liberation movements; diplomatic unity between independent African states at the UN; and non-alignment. In 1959, Nkrumah, Presidents Touré of Guinea and Tubman of Liberia signed the Sanniquellie Declaration outlining the doctrines for the achievement of the unification of independent Africa. However, Nkrumah's call for a political and economic union between the Independent African States gained little consent. The disagreements gave rise to two rival factions within the Pan–African movement: the Casablanca Bloc and the Monrovian Bloc. In 1963 at an African Summit conference in Addis Ababa, 32 African states met and established the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). It undertook a number of important ventures, such as aiding liberation movements to overthrow colonial regimes and combating racism and apartheid. The intention to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa was, perhaps, its most successful venture. Many of the new African nations resisted the pressure to be drawn into the Cold War and joined in the 'Non-Aligned Movement' which was formed in 1961 drawing on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference of 1955. Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Nyerere were all firm advocates of African states asserting their freedom and identity internationally. However, against the backdrop of the Cold War, the OAU faced challenges to fulfilling its objectives. Its respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity allowed emerging dictatorships and political instability. For example, coups took place in Mali, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo which established military dictatorships and led to perpetual civil war. The OAU had no authority to remove illegitimate governments. It was described as a club for dictators. Many countries became dependent on economic aid with conditions attached. Their urgent need of foreign aid meant that they could not be non-aligned. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, the USA used aid packages, technical assistance and sometimes even military intervention to encourage newly independent nations to adopt governments that aligned with the West. Newly-independent nations such as Angola, Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo enabled Cold War proxy battles between the USA seeking to prevent the spread of communism and the USSR seeking to support it.	**30**

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GradeMax

Question	Answer	Marks
11	The desire to free Africa of all foreign interference was the rationale behind the establishment of the OAU but African countries realised that essential aid could only be obtained from the more advanced, developed areas of the world.	

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GradeMax

Question	Answer	Marks
12	**'The Suez Crisis benefited Egypt more than Israel.' Assess this view.** Responses might focus on the fact that, despite suffering a military defeat, Egypt benefited from continued Soviet support, the enhanced reputation of Nasser and its increased standing in the region. However, they should also consider the long-term benefits obtained by Israel compared to the short-term nature of Egypt's successes. Although the Suez Crisis ended in a military defeat for Egypt, it lost neither territory nor economic capability. Both the USA and USSR were opposed to the successful invasion and occupation of the Suez Canal zone beginning on 29 October 1956; they demanded a cease-fire. The USA called for the evacuation of Israeli, French, and British forces from Egypt under the supervision of a special UN force. This was complete by 19 March 1957. For Nasser, the Suez Crisis was a great personal success. The Sinai War consolidated his position and increased Egypt's influence within the Middle East. The Suez Canal Company, nationalised after Britain and the USA refused to fund the building of the Aswan Dam, remained nationalised with no British presence. Nasser humiliated the French and gave indirect aid to the rebellion in Algeria. Israel was prevented from making territorial gains. The Suez Crisis drove the spread of pan–Arabic ideology leading to the unification of Syria and Egypt and creating the United Arab Republic in 1958. Relations with the USSR were improved and it funded the work at Aswan. In the long term, Egypt did not have the military force to sustain its new political status; it was defeated in the Six-Day War of 1967. There was also a clash between the Pan–Arabic ideology and Egypt's desire to dominate Middle Eastern politics. This was the main reason why the union with Syria collapsed in 1961 and why talks to create a union between Egypt, Syria and Iraq did not end with an agreement. Israel derived long-term benefits. The Suez Crisis had proved to all Middle Eastern states that Israel would play a key role in the politics of the region. Ben Gurion's government continued to enjoy full support and maintained its policy of building a strong army able to face a possible attack from Egypt. The White House was impressed by Israel's military capabilities. The Israeli government's ability to implement its decision to withdraw, despite considerable domestic opposition, was an indication of the country's democratic strength. Relations between Israel and the USA grew closer. The USA developed bilateral relations, primarily with Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. The Sinai War also played a key role in laying the foundation for the special relationship between Israel and the USA that began in the mid–1960s. Relations with Britain improved steadily. Israel's alliance with the French was significantly boosted by the war. France continued its military and economic support of Israel; this included help with the establishment of the nuclear reactor in Dimona. Israel's relations with the bloc of non-aligned nations in Africa and East Asia improved. Israel became an important provider of agricultural and military knowledge for a large number of countries in the region. The wealth of Israel began to increase; Israel had a sense of security for the first time.	**30**

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