

Example Candidate Responses

Cambridge
International
A Level

Cambridge International A Level History

9389

Paper 4

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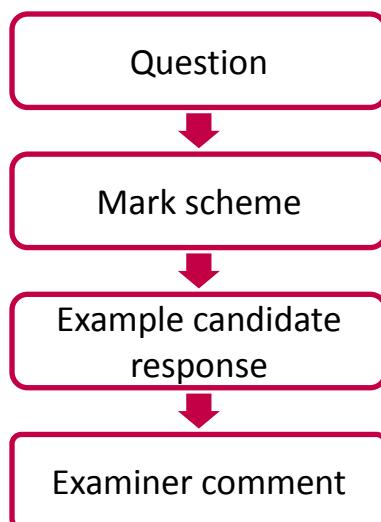
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Introduction

The main aim of this booklet is to exemplify standards for those teaching Cambridge International A Level History (9389), and to show how different levels of candidates' performance (high, middle and low) relate to the subject's curriculum and assessment objectives.

In this booklet candidate responses have been chosen to exemplify a range of answers. Each response is accompanied by a brief commentary explaining the strengths and weaknesses of the answers.

For ease of reference the following format for each component has been adopted:



Each question is followed by an extract of the mark scheme used by examiners. This, in turn, is followed by examples of marked candidate responses, each with an examiner comment on performance. Comments are given to indicate where and why marks were awarded, and how additional marks could have been obtained. In this way, it is possible for you to understand what candidates have done to gain their marks and what they still have to do to improve their marks.

This document illustrates the standard of candidate work for those parts of the assessment which help you assess what is required to achieve marks beyond what should be clear from the mark scheme. Some question types where the answer is clear from the mark scheme, such as short answers and multiple choice, have therefore been omitted.

Past papers, Examiner Reports and other teacher support materials are available on Teacher Support at <https://teachers.cie.org.uk>

How to use this booklet

Question 3

3. (a) What was the Freedmen's Bureau?

Real exam paper questions

You can use these to create homework or create mock exams for your learners.

Mark scheme

- 3 (a) What was the Freedmen's Bureau?

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

Level 1: General answer

e.g. "This was an organisation set up to help people improve their lives."

Level 2: Describes events

e.g. "The Freedmen's Bureau was established by Congress in March 1865. It provided medical supplies to African Americans but also to white southerners affected by the civil war. Freedmen Bureau schools were constructed and 250 000 African American children. However, the Bureau was dismantled in 1869 due to pressure from some members of Congress who opposed it."

Mark scheme shows you the basis on which examiners award marks. It helps you understand the levels required and gives you break down of marks and possible example of answers given.

Use them as part of mock exams to ensure your marking is up to Cambridge standards!

Example candidate response – high

3	a	<p>In the 1860s, the Freedmen's Bureau was formed. Its goals were to help and minister with education, dairy life. They provided people wanted an education with one. provided former slaves with free clothes, food, and blankets. The Bureau was organized to help those African Americans and other minorities in need of help.</p>

Examiner comment – high

3 (a) The candidate shows a good understanding of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau formed after the end of the Civil War. They are able to describe how the Bureau provided economic help and that it was targeted at former slaves. To gain full marks the candidate could have included more specific information about the work of the Bureau or the length of time it operated.

Mark awarded = 4 out of 5

Examiner comment indicates the overall quality of response (high, middle, low) and explains the strength and weaknesses of each answer. This helps you to interpret the standard of Cambridge exams and helps your learners to refine exam technique.

Assessment at a glance

A Cambridge International A Level qualification in History can be achieved either as a staged assessment over different examination series or in one examination series.

Advanced Subsidiary (AS) candidates take:	Duration	Weighting
Component 1 Document question	1 hour	40%
Component 2 Outline study	1 hour 30 minutes	60%

Advanced Level candidates take:	Duration	Weighting
Component 1 Document question	1 hour	20%
Component 2 Outline study	1 hour 30 minutes	30%
Component 3 Interpretations question	1 hour	20%
and Component 4, one of:		
Depth study 1: Europe of the Dictators, 1918–1941	1 hour 30 minutes	30%
Depth study 2: The History of the USA, 1945–1990	1 hour 30 minutes	30%
Depth study 3: International History, 1945–1991	1 hour 30 minutes	30%
Depth study 4: African History, 1945–1991*	1 hour 30 minutes	30%
Depth study 5: Southeast Asian History, 1945–1990s*	1 hour 30 minutes	30%

* only available in the November session

Teachers are reminded that the latest syllabus is available on our public website at www.cie.org.uk and Teacher Support at <https://teachers.cie.org.uk>

Paper 4 – Depth Study

Question 2: Europe of the Dictators, 1918–1941

- 2 Evaluate the reasons for the failure of democracy in Italy by 1922. [30]

Mark scheme

- 2 **Evaluate the reasons for the failure of democracy in Italy by 1922.** [30]

What is expected here is an analysis of a range of reasons why the democratic process came to an end in Italy in 1922. There are many possible factors. The state was a new one and had undergone a long, brutal and costly war. Democracy had had little time to prove itself and Italy's social and economic divisions were deep. There was simply an absence of consensus about what the country's priorities were and how they could be solved. Italy had been invaded and humiliated by its old foe Austria, and the Italian people felt that they had been lured into the war under false pretences and never forgave the political class that they felt was responsible.

The structure of the state arguably was unsuited to the needs of the times, and the electoral system, while not causing instability, certainly reflected it. Too few saw a future in democracy and there were alternatives which offered a better future on both the left and the right. Many of the ruling class despised it. The influential Church not only gave it little support, but actively undermined it at times; it had not forgiven the state for the events which led up to 1871.

Democracy had few supporters and too many opponents. The Orlando's and Giolitti's were seen to be utilising the process for their own ends and it did not seem to provide the stability and order that the small farmer, the Church, the industrialist, the army and the King wished for. Fear of the Left was endemic amongst too many of the ruling classes and Mussolini proved to be brilliant at exploiting that fear.

Example candidate response – high

Q1 Evaluate the reasons for the failure of democracy in Italy by 1922.

Plan. (preserve the parliamentary system + unified Italy)

The Liberal government's weaknesses + unpopularity

↳ Prior to World War II even => Libyan war 1911

all for → alienate socialists
resolution + conservatives

Giolitti (Socialist extremism)

↳ Post World War II => situation worse b/c ↑

labour militancy, inflation,
workers suffered

=> Nitti's govt + Giolitti did
not crave power, alienate
industrialists + landowners

OPEN CONFLICT INSTABILITY.

↳ failure to remain in power => Mussolini's
ability to create an effective alternative

↳ train council of (Ras)

↳ Parliamentary alliance

↳ sabotaging the regime

↳ convincing that only fascists can

solve the problem (propaganda) division

↳ Liberal govt's inherent weaknesses => no power
- no alliance

Example candidate response – high, continued

In October 1922, the ~~liberal~~ king Victor Emmanuel, ~~was~~ supported by the liberal government and conservative elements invited Mussolini to become prime Minister of Italy. That the Liberal's invited the instrument of their own destruction into power in 1922 is testament to both the weaknesses of the liberal parliamentary regime as well as the strength of Mussolini and his ^{government} tactical manouevrings. The liberal ~~govt~~ sought to preserve parliamentary democracy, albeit of a limited form initially, but failed to do so ~~successfully~~ because they lost mass support by the end of the world war, although they began losing support even prior to this, and because they fell prey to Mussolini's cunning genius. Additionally the liberal government was plagued by problems that existed since its inception. These weaknesses also played a role in the fall of the Liberal government. With the ~~liberal~~ government out of ~~the~~ way in Oct Mussolini in control by 1922, the parliamentary system in Italy began to witness its last days.

The liberal government began alienating itself and thus the parliamentary system as a whole even before the first World War. Ever since its inception the liberal government faced opposition from the left (radicals and anarchists) and from the right (nationalists and the church). The weakness of the economy during the premiership of Francesco Crispi and the collapse of big banks in 1893 ~~weakened movement~~

Example candidate response – high, continued

led to protest movements by fasci demanding better pay, lower rent and better living conditions as a whole. Under his premiership Giolitti attempted to bring Socialists into the fold, however, this Grand Transformismo was to end with the Libyan Campaign of 1911-1912. The Socialists vehemently objected to the campaign and it was at this point that they began becoming revolutionary in flavour, demanding the overthrow of the liberal regime. In reaction to this, many conservatives blamed the liberal regime for not curbing leftist extremism. Under Giolitti the government had decided it would remain neutral in labour disputes. The conservatives believed that the liberal government was responsible for the peak in revolutionary socialism. The Nationalists, those who opposed the parliamentary regime as a whole, and believed that Italy needed strong authoritarian government began to gain support. Thus even prior to the First World War, it can be seen that the popularity of the liberal regime was declining sharply and with it so too was the population's faith in the parliamentary democratic system.

Italy's entry into the First World War in 1915 was only to make things worse. The living and working conditions of workers during this period began to decline.

Example candidate response – high, continued

for a number of reasons. In order to fuel industry, workers were required to work longer hours and had less days off. Additionally, in order to finance armaments, the government began to print more money. This resulted in inflation and the workers saw that the value of their real wages together with their purchasing power decreased. At the end of the war, these grievances coupled with a decrease in military discipline in factories to produce a rise in labour militancy. Along with labour unrest more and more workers turned to join the Socialist party. In the elections of November 1919 the Socialist party established itself as the largest in the nation. Socialist Unrest was also spreading to the countryside, and agricultural trade union began to develop a stranglehold over employment. Despite this unrest the Liberal government continued to remain neutral in these disputes and this greatly angered industrialists, land owners and all those of a conservative leaning. In the absence of government intervention, those of the right took it upon themselves to clamp down on the Socialist threat. In central and Northern Italy, fasci began a programme of violence against the

Example candidate response – high, continued

socialists, this violence continued throughout 1919 and 1920. The Liberal Government was facing opposition from all sides and by 1920 its position was becoming increasingly precarious. The liberal government was unable to clamp down on the open violence in the countryside, nor could it assert its control. The final nail in the coffin for the parliamentary government however, would be Mussolini.

In 1919 Mussolini was the head of a rather insignificant party, farci diciannovenne. Initially socialist in flavour, Mussolini had since abandoned that program and instead attempted to create a movement for 'producers and combatants.' While Mussolini was not responsible for the outbreak of violence in 1919, he was able to take advantage of it. It was Mussolini who indeed transformed the fascist movement into an alternative ruling party that the liberal government ended up accepting, ~~and~~ and allowing into power. Initially Mussolini won the loyalty of the local fascist leaders (fas), by convincing them that he was the only one who could unite the fascists and create a ^{proper} respectable movement out of them. At the same time he began to convince the liberal regime that only the fascists could clamp down on the

Example candidate response – high, continued

(Bolshevik uprising; Mussolini took greater care to convince the liberals that he was not a radical. He would detach himself from the worst extremes of Squadrist violence and tell the liberals that it these responsible were renegades who Mussolini would discipline, however he could only discipline them if the liberal govt dealt with him. Thus Mussolini convinced the liberal government that firstly only the fascists could stop socialists, and second only Mussolini could deter radical fascists. These clever manouverings earned him an electoral alliance with Giolitti in May 1921.

Following the alliance Mussolini cunningly manipulated his advantage of a parliamentary foothold to discredit the liberal regime. He encouraged fascism in order to create a break down of law and order so that the liberal government would be further blemished. Additionally he unified the fascist movement into a fascist political party so that it became a more cohesive body. He also won the support of the church by stating that he opposed divorce and would work out the question of Rome on the Pope's terms. He won the support of industrialists and the right by dropping any

Example candidate response – high, continued

elements of the Socialist program he espoused. Mussolini was also a brilliant propagandist and as editor of his newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia* he would skillfully emphasize the strength of the fascists and the weaknesses of the liberal regime. In 1922 Mussolini showed that he was determined to crush the socialist threat by cracking down on a general strike that broke out earlier that year. In doing all this Mussolini was able to create a compelling alternative to the liberal regime, to such an extent that even liberals themselves bought into it.

Apart from a general loss of popularity, the liberal government also fell due to a number of structural weaknesses which prohibited strong government. Even in 1922 there was no liberal political party, but just factions which frequently fell out amongst each other leading to governments falling apart. The liberals were also slow to adapt to the realities of universal suffrage and the fact that parliament was not longer just the preserve of the liberals. Perhaps the liberals could have formed a strong government if the centre right had they formed an ~~attractive~~ lasting alliance with

Example candidate response – high, continued

the popolari, however liberal tradition militated against such an alliance. Additionally the popolari also distrusted the liberal making such an alliance even more unlikely.

Thus by 1922, the liberals had lost almost all support and many had begun to lose faith in the parliamentary system as a whole. The liberal ~~desper~~ hope to preserve parliamentary politics in Italy and democracy in Italy was to be only a piped dream when Mussolini came to power. In addition to losing support the liberal's fell victim to Mussolini's tactical mind as well as the weaknesses inherent in the liberal system.

Examiner comment – high

The opening paragraph is excellent and indicates that there has been careful thinking and planning before the writing started. It does not give too much detail or spend much time 'scene setting'. Instead it has a clear focus on the question and includes evaluation from the start. A very good range of relevant points are made, but with not too much detail early on. There is breadth and reflection in the impressive opening sections. The second paragraph is a good example of why this response did so well. The point about the early failings of the Republic is well made and backed up with well-chosen detail. There is a good level of comment throughout this section. The point about the impact of the war is well made, well substantiated and also relevant. The supporting detail about the role of Fascism in Central and Northern Italy, for example, demonstrates the right amount of knowledge and understanding for Level 5 in this 'Depth' paper. There is consistent evaluation throughout and this is well demonstrated in the critique of the Liberal Party towards the end of the essay. The candidate could have included some comment on Versailles.

To achieve full marks, the candidate could have used their own judgement to identify and rank the key factor(s) according to importance. Otherwise, this answer fully deserved Level 5.

Mark awarded = 26 out of 30

Example candidate response – middle

Q2. The world by 1922 had drastically changed from what it was before the world war. In Italy, the liberal government suffered insurmountable obstacles in its governance which by the end of 1922 made it impossible for the democracy to survive and the liberals to flourish. The aftermath of the first world war, the incompetence of the liberal government, the menacing Socialist threat and most importantly the rise of fascism and Mussolini were the reasons as to why the democracy failed by 1922.

After the First World War Italy had faced multiple problems. Firstly the gains Italy made in the war did not materialise and areas such as Fiume ~~were not given to~~ Moreover the cost of war had been enormous. 600,000 to 1 million soldiers had lost their lives and the ~~gross~~ foreign exchange reserves decreased at a rapid rate as keeping the soldiers fed and armed was exorbitantly expensive. Incited borrowing from the USA and Britain increased the national debt from 16 billion lire to ₩ 85 billion. The Government introduced an increase in money supply to deal with the monetary crisis but it led to high amounts of inflation in which the purchasing power of consumers suffered.

Example candidate response – middle, continued

and standard of living fell. labor militancy rose and workers were frequently revolting for higher wages, shorter hours and better standards of living. These impacts of the World war had made life for the liberal government increasingly hard and their inability to deal with these problems led to its fall in by 1922.

Moreover the initial greatest enemy to the democracy was the Socialist threat. Socialist policy ~~stated~~ was staunchly against liberal views and radicalism was the major aim of the Socialists. Further problems arose when the Socialist influence in elections was extremely high. They won 130 seats in the parliament and had the power to be in complete opposition. Workers disillusioned with the inability of the government would come into the folds of Socialism. In one major event engineering workers asking for higher wages took over ~~new~~ factory. When the employers complained to the government Giolitti decided to adopt neutrality saying that government intervention would lead to a blood bath. The crisis did resolve in a month but the government was not forgiven for this incompetence.

The Socialist threat led to the rise of perhaps one of the strongest parties in Italian history ('The Fascists'). Socialists had started unfair practices of taking over lands and occupying factories, and became extremely violent. The industrialists and upper classes felt that the lower classes were in ascendancy and the government had

Example candidate response – middle, continued

abandoned them. Some townspeople and landowners ~~asked~~ in Emilia and Tuscany asked a group of fascists squads assistance against the socialists. These were ~~to~~ a disorganized group that had no coherent strategy and comprised chiefly of ~~any~~ officials and NCO's. These squads were extremely effective in burning Socialist offices and beating up Socialist members. They more people turned to the fascists and it attracted many members of the middle class, Conservatives and nationalists and further took support away from the democracy. The success of the fascists was seen as a major political opportunity for one man who would soon become dictator of Italy. This man was Benito Mussolini. His aim was to lead to the forefront of the movement and under his influence of his successful newspaper *Il Popolo* he would transform the image of the discordant party to one of respect, unity and hope for the people of Italy. Mussolini now became active in fascist policies and greatly wanted to increase his primary aim of achieving absolute power. One major occasion in which his power was consolidated was when a large Socialist revolt took place. Mussolini had said that if the government was unable to deal with this threat then the fascists would deal with ~~them~~ it themselves. ~~However~~ As the government ~~remain~~ did not do anything the fascists were instrumental in crushing the Soviets and gained further influence and isolated the

Example candidate response – middle, continued

Democracy.

The naivety of the liberal government was another reason as to why it failed. Giolitti offered an ~~an~~ alliance with Mussolini hoping to get rid of the Socialist threat and after which he would either be absorbed into liberalism or be dispersed completely. Initially Mussolini agreed to this but soon he made it clear that he was going to be no one's pawn. He effectively provoked to the industrialists, conservatives, middle classes and other institutions of the state how weak the democracy was and unstable governments were bound to fail. The March on Rome was set to be a final nail in the coffin was for the liberal government. Mussolini gathered a 30,000 ~~pop~~ militia and it was sent to Rome. He had made it clear that fascism was no threat to monarchy and they could work together.

Fascists took control of the ~~the~~ telephone exchanges and opened Postal Services. Facta government alarmed by this voiced out to the king who accumulated his troops but inevitably did not retaliate to the march because he may have thought that the threat ~~the~~ was too large, or that his cousin Aosta would depose him or just because he was not fond of the liberal government and may have confided in Mussolini who brought promises of loyalty and stability.

Soon he was made Prime minister and inevitably he destroyed the democracy and emerged with a dictatorship in 1926. The frost managed to

Example candidate response – middle, continued

lastly the democracy had lost the support of the popolari who were integral to the proper functioning of the government. Giolitti had introduced a law that reduced the Vatican's financial investments and the Pope chose not to support it in anger.

Moreover Mussolini's conciliatory attitude with the Church through disagreeing with contraception and divorce did not necessarily make the Pope like him. Inevitably the democracy had failed.

Therefore the Democracy failed by 1922 due to a vast multiplicities of reasons namely the impact of the first world war, the uncontrollable Socialist threat and the sheer brilliance of Mussolini; whose primary aim for increasing his personal power was detrimental to the democracy by 1922.

Examiner comment – middle

This is a competent answer which shows a good grasp of the topic but does not quite do what the question asked, which was to evaluate the reasons for the collapse of democracy in Italy. Much of the focus tends to be on why Mussolini got into power, which is not quite the same thing, although some of the material is appropriate. There is too much listing of factors and virtually no reflection on what part they played in the collapse of democracy and, above all, why. The second paragraph contains relevant detail but only some evidence of evaluation or reflection. Much the same can be said of the paragraph dealing with the socialist threat. The detail is good but the point being made is not always clear. Similar criticisms can be made of the sections on the rise of fascism and Mussolini himself.

For higher marks there would need to be more evidence that the candidate had really thought about why democracy had failed. Which were the key reasons and why? Was it 'doomed' from the start or was it the incompetence of those in leadership positions? Did Mussolini merely give an institution in terminal decline a small push, or was his accession to power solely the result of his own brilliant efforts? There is no 'right' answer, but the question was looking for more than a list of factors which might be considered.

Mark awarded = 19 out of 30

Question 1: Europe of the Dictators, 1918–1941

- 1 ‘Lenin failed to solve Russia’s economic problems.’ How far do you agree? [30]

Mark scheme

- 1 **‘Lenin failed to solve Russia’s economic problems.’ How far do you agree? [30]**

An analysis of Russia’s economic problems in 1917–18 and then of Lenin’s attempts to manage them is expected here. An examination of the situation in 1917–18 would indicate an inheritance of staggering difficulty, and a contrast with the situation in 1924 shows substantial progress, admittedly from a low base.

Total breakdown was the order of the day on Bolshevik accession to power. Infrastructure had collapsed, there was anarchy in the countryside, the governing and managerial class had largely disappeared. Brest-Litovsk saw the disappearance of food and raw materials, civil war raged throughout large parts of Russia as well as foreign invasions. War Communism evidently failed and famine and cannibalism were features of Russia at the time. Hostility to the regime was endemic, both within and outside Russia. The money economy had collapsed and inflation was out of control.

By 1924, the situation had changed radically. Central planning was coming in. The NEP ensured that food production recommenced and that a money economy was beginning to return to normal. Industrial production did not reach 1913 levels until 1926, and then it was only by making use of existing assets. There was a growing awareness of what the problems were by 1924 and a debate growing about possible solutions. Arguably he did little more than apply cosmetic measures to ensure temporary survival and left the attempt to apply an ideologically-based solution to his successors. The evidence points to ‘yes’ but ‘any’ might seem harsh.

Example candidate response – low

	Depth Study 1
1	<p>Lenin based his sanctions to govern Russia on Marxism theories. With certain diversions for Russia's economic and political situations, he combined Marxism with his Leninism. As for Russia's economic problems, I agree to a large extent that Lenin failed to solve Russia's economic problems.</p> <p>After I agree to a large extent because after overthrowing the Provisional Government, Lenin first focused his attention to accomplish his rulings in Russia and restore his leadership. By promising to give free elections to the Constituent Assembly, he disobeyed his promise because of his fear of being overthrown. Supporting the Congress of Soviets which favor the Bolsheviks more, Lenin replaced many useful officers for his own interests. While people were still starving from WWI, ^{Lenin} Stalin paid great attention to his self interests instead of solving the economic problems. From his focus on restoring leadership in Russia rather than being highly motivated to take advantage of fair election for solutions, I agree to a large extent that he 'failed to solve'.</p> <p>Moreover, I agree to a large extent because even if people were starving from WWI, Lenin still signed the unfair Brest-Litovsk Treaty. This negotiation with Germany, Austria etc. ended badly because Russia therefore lost 54% of its industry and over 30% of its population. Such treaty didn't pull Russia back on track, instead created further starvation and severe economic problems. Russia lost some of its most resourceful lands because of Lenin's compromise. Nevertheless, such reaction fulfilled Lenin's promise to pull Russia out of the war. Although with</p>

Example candidate response – low, continued

great prices to pay, at least Russians no longer needed to participate the war and sacrificed more working force. From the aspect of avoiding further losing its people, such treaty helped alleviate Russia's economic problems in the long run.

Nevertheless, I agree to this statement to a ~~small~~^{large} extent as Lenin did propose rules like maximized 8 hours' work per day and at most 48 hours per week. Even though socially people could have improved living standards, their output didn't go up tremendously with fewer working hours. Meanwhile, there's education free for children, leading to a decrease in child labor. Though Lenin emancipated the Russians' freedom to a large extent like allowing abortions and legalizing divorce, these sanctions did little to help improving the economic problems. Thus I agree to the statement to a ~~large~~^{small} extent.

However, I agree to a small extent because once Lenin's treating the workers' with minimum wages and maximum working hours, Russians became more motivated. This led to higher efficiency within the given hours. The trainings on workers and children from education also helped cultivating future leaders. In the long run, Lenin might help solving Russia's economic problems as he did give out lands to peasants.

On the other hand, I agree to Lenin failed to solve Russia's economic problems to a small extent because his using cheka to defeat his opponents led to innocent people's death. Claiming eliminating the opponents to the party, he was literally instructing the cheka to take down, shot and kill whoever disrespected him. Such action led to 140,000 people's death, which was ten times the Tsar murdered. Such cruelty led to

Example candidate response – low, continued

decreased labor for production. Thus the economic problems were hardly solved.

Moreover, while Lenin used Red Terror to attempt to win the Civil War, he murdered innocent men, gathered 30,000 Red Army to fight. Such distribution led to massive deaths of the soldiers and deduction in the production's labor force. Meanwhile, as the military troops needed to be fed, Lenin ordered the peasants to requisitioning the crops, rationizing the food and being forbidden to keep extra food. The soldiers could enter any peasants' home to rob food whenever they needed to. If the peasants refused to give in the extra crops, they'll be shot and mercilessly killed. The use of war communism worsened Russia's economic situations as the working forces failed to feed themselves because of the strict and harsh requirement to support the troops. I agree to a large extent as Lenin's efforts towards Red Terror and War communism decreased labor force and even starved more Russians. The famine started for Lenin's policies, which reflected more serious economic problems due to starvation, ~~and~~ Cheka and banned of black market.

I agree that Lenin failed to solve Russia's economic problems as he pushed troops so hard that led to Kronstadt Uprising. The soldiers couldn't even bear Lenin's cruel and harsh policies, trying to overthrow him. Under Lenin's govern, soldiers lost their families, unemployment went up and people were starved. Such uprising was suppressed but effectively indicated Lenin's incapability in solving economic problems.

Example candidate response – low, continued

However, I agree to a small extent because Lenin did get rid of the kulaks, trying to distribute the wealth to the public. He tried to boost the economy by introducing NEP. Though he claimed it as a temporary plan which indeed aimed to win over Russians as a result of the Kronstadt Uprising, he was still condemned as a betrayer of communism. The New Economic Plan actually effectively improved the situations as the peasants were allowed to keep some extra crops. The police wouldn't take these food away because once taxes and required crops were handed to the government. This policy motivated the Russian peasants to continue producing, which increased the agricultural production level. Moreover, so small factories were allowed to operate themselves. As Lenin no longer banned free trades between Russians, they bartered to gain necessities to survive. At least the NEP saved the Russians from receiving 3 ~~calories~~ calories per day per person on average. Thus I agree to a small extent for Lenin's efforts to solve Russia's economic problems which led to improvements because of NEP.

As Lenin insisted on controlling the big factories and heavy industries, he recruited and trained peasants to work within the firms. I agree to the statement to a small extent as Lenin decreased unemployment rate and solve some economic problems at the time.

Overall, I agree 'Lenin failed to solve Russia's economic problems' to a large extent because he spent great efforts and labor forces on eliminating opponents. Instead of concentrating on production and distributing lands to peasants,

Example candidate response – low, continued

he nationalised bank and large factories which barely solved economic problems. Though he controlled newspaper for propaganda, Russians still tried to overthrow him for his violent policies. Thus I agree to a large extent to his failure to solve Russia's economic problems.

Examiner comment – low

This response did not start well. There seemed to be no connection between the first and second sentences. There was just a statement in the second sentence with no supporting reasons or any indication of balance. More successful answers to this question began by describing the nature and extent of the economic problems facing Russia in the period 1917 to 1924 and then indicated whether Lenin did or did not succeed in dealing with them. The second paragraph gained no credit as it was not linked to economic issues. The lack of any identification of what the economic problems were resulted in low marks. There seemed to be an assumption that there were some problems, but what they were was never made clear. The point about Brest-Litovsk was not developed, and the link between it and the actual question was not apparent. Much the same could be said of the paragraph about the CHEKA. It was only towards the end of the essay with the sections on War Communism and the NEP that credit started to be gained for relevant material and there were signs of a response to the question set. The conclusion did not really seem to fit in with the earlier detail.

For higher marks there needed to be much more focus on the question and careful reflection on the nature and extent of the economic (not political) problems which faced Lenin when he seized power. There needed to be a much higher level of supporting detail linked to the question. Paragraphs needed to have a clearer point made followed by relevant supporting information.

Mark awarded = 14 out of 30

Questions 7 and 5: The History of the USA, 1945–1990**7 How successful was Reaganomics?**

[30]

Mark scheme**7 How successful was Reaganomics?**

[30]

Reaganomics was the economic policy associated with President Reagan. It involved a mixture of supply side economics and monetarism. **Supply side economics** focused on the supply side of the economy rather than demand. It meant removing the obstacles to increasing the supply of goods and ensuring more competition between companies. These obstacles included high direct taxes, especially on the rich, restrictive practices, especially by labour unions, and excessive public expenditure on welfare. **Monetarism** meant control of money supply to curb inflation, which in 1979–80 was very high. In general, Reaganomics opposed Keynesian economics, which had been economic orthodoxy since the 1940s. Keynesian economics focused on the demand side of the economy, aiming to ensure economic growth by means of public expenditure and levels of taxation. It was an approach which by 1980 seemed to have failed, resulting only in stagflation.

The most dramatic illustration of Reaganomics was Reagan's decision in August 1981 to sack some 11 000 striking air traffic controllers, showing how far he was prepared to go in attacking the power of labour unions. His federal budget of the same year reduced higher-rate income taxes as well as welfare entitlements. However, it also increased defence expenditure at a time of the Second Cold War. Thus the Reagan Presidency ran an increasingly large budget deficit, which did not fit traditional fiscal orthodoxy. Inflation fell in the 1980s but not because the government limited the supply of money. Monetarism was soon abandoned – if it was ever practical. Instead, an initial recession of the early 1980s had resulted in falling prices, a trend accelerated by falling oil prices after the second oil price crisis of 1979–81. By the mid-1980s, the US economy was growing again. Reagan could claim a success for his economic policy, for breaking with Keynesianism. In reality, especially via his hugely expanded defence budget, Reagan had acted to increase demand for US goods and services.

Example candidate response – high

Reaganomics was the economic theory of president Ronald Reagan which focused on the supply-side of the economy. This economic theory was used ~~⑩~~ during the years of Reagan's presidency from 1981-1989, and it achieved relative economic success, especially compared to the state of the economy during the late 1960's and throughout the 1970's. Reaganomics achieved success through its reduction in taxes, but it furthered the gap in income between the rich and the poor and it encountered a recession in 1982.

The policies of Reaganomics focused on increasing military defense spending, cutting taxes on businesses, and encouraging the aggregate supply of the country to shift to the right. This ~~⑩~~ policy is also known as the "trickle down" theory in which Reagan believed if he helped out the big businesses and the wealthy, the benefits would trickle down to the middle class and the poor. His policies did help in getting more people back to work because the reduction in regulation and taxes on businesses gave the businesses more prosperity; therefore, they could hire more people.

However, the income gap between the rich and the poor widened during the policies of Reaganomics. Reagan furthered Nixon's policies of cutting back on social programs and the welfare state.

Example candidate response – high, continued

In doing this, Reagan ~~make~~ upset the lower and middle classes who were hurting due to the high inflation of the 1970's. His "trickle-down" theory did not really work because the lower socioeconomic groups didn't reap the benefits like the wealthy did. However, they did like Reagan as president due to his charm and bold nature. ~~Reagan~~ His likeable qualities made ~~more~~ more people believe in his economic policy, even if it wasn't helping out ~~the~~ everyone equally.

One negative economic event during Reagan's years has been used by critics to say Reagonomics was not successful. This was the Recession of 1982 which was the worst recession since the 1930's. It was marked by high inflation and economic stagnation, also known as "stagflation." However, this recession was less than a year after Reagan became president, so it was not wholly due to his Reagonomics. It was mainly due to inflation and cuts in funding of social programs. ~~Reagan~~ This reduced spending for people since they didn't have as much money without the social programs. However, Reagonomics allowed the economy to move past this recession and grow for the rest of the decade.

Overall, Reagonomics ~~was~~ was relatively successful. It helped ~~more~~ more people become employed, and it really helped the wealthy which helped the economy grow as a whole.

Example candidate response – high, continued

However, it caused a huge increase in the gap between the wealthy and the impoverished as well as a huge increase in the country's debt. His military defense spending for programs ~~REAGAN'S~~ nicknamed "Star Wars" that were meant to defend against Communist threats combined with tax cuts caused the huge debt. This debt had to be dealt with by later presidents like Bush Senior and Clinton. ~~Reaganomics~~ Reaganomics, overall, helped the country recover economically from the late 1960s and 1970s, but ~~reduced~~ it also caused future problems. Therefore, it was relatively successful.

Examiner comment – high

This started sensibly and immediately started to gain credit. The term 'Reaganomics' was defined and reasons for this economic policy was included in the answer. There was not too much initial detail and there were indications of balance as well. The second paragraph was a little too descriptive; there was a need to make the point more firmly and link it directly to the possible success/failure issue. The section on the recession of 1982 was well done, as were the comments on the 'trickle down' effect (or intention). There was consistently good focus in this answer and a good level of comment and understanding which lifted it just into Level 5. For the very top marks there needed to be greater depth and more emphasis in the answer on the degree of 'success' attained.

Mark awarded = 25 out of 30

Example candidate response – middle

Reaganomics, also known as 'trickle-down', 'Voodoo', or 'Supply-side' economics, was fairly successful for businesses and the upper class; however, it did not help the middle or lower classes, and ended up worsening the economy.

Ronald Reagan's economic policy tried to combat the stagflation left from Carter's presidency, and involved cutting business regulations, and taxes on the rich, so the wealthy would therefore spend more money, circulating this money into the economy. The theory was that the increased spending would 'trickle down' money into the lower classes. Businesses on the upper level thrived under Reaganomics, as they no longer had to comply with an extensive list of regulations, so they saved money and could afford to supply more product (hence the synonym, 'Supply-side economics'). The rich also fared well - cutting taxes left them with more money to presumably spend. Reagan's economic policy also had negative consequences.

Middle-class and lower-class citizens did not benefit much from Reaganomics. Their taxes were not lowered, and the decrease in business regulations left some in unsafe working conditions and not being paid very much. Wealthy people, instead of spending the money that they saved after the tax decrease, held onto their funds and did not end up spending more than usual. As this was the primary ~~goal~~ necessity of Reaganomics, this economic policy did not do much to actually boost the economy. Although rich people had extra money to spend, this money failed to 'trickle down' into the hands of the less fortunate. Thus, poverty and homelessness was on the rise in many communities.

Another aspect of Reaganomics coincided with the Cold War and Reagan's stark anti-communist views. He tripled the defense budget, and spent substantial

Example candidate response – middle, continued

amounts of money on nuclear weaponry and his failed, but proposed, Strategic Defense Initiative. This money could have instead gone to funding America's lower class. This drastic military spending dramatically increased the national debt, which in turn hurt the economy and the status of the US government.

Rather than increasing the minimum wage or offering more job opportunities throughout the country, Ronald Reagan relied on the actions of the rich to benefit the poor, ^{while keeping} _{the government uninvolved}. This was the major flaw of Reaganomics – it tried, and failed, to coax the rich to spend more in order for the money to reach the lower classes. Businesses thrived, and Reaganomics seemed to be working in boosting the economy initially; however, this success was short-lived, as lower classes ceased to benefit from a lack of wealthy spending. Also, the increase of military spending hurt the American economy by growing the national debt. Relying on one group of people to help another based on hypothesis – unsure of whether or not that group would act as expected – left Reaganomics a failure. Reaganomics was only successful to a small extent, but the consensus can be made in which helping the supply-side to theoretically benefit the poor was not the right action to take.

Examiner comment – middle

This was a brief, but quite good response which started with a clear definition. More reflection on the criteria by which successes could be judged would have been helpful. The first paragraph looked at how Reaganomics could be seen as a success whilst the second considered how it could be seen to have failed. In both cases relevant points were made, but what kept this response at a middle level was the shortage of relevant points and supporting detail. While the response was convincing and it was clear that the candidate fully grasped the topic there are questions about how 'deep' the study has been. The whole answer was relevant and accurate, but it was too brief and undeveloped. To improve this essay needed more points and supporting facts whilst sustaining the focus and analysis needed to answer the question.

Mark awarded = 23 out of 30

- 5 Assess the reasons why the 1950s were a period of economic growth. [30]

Mark Scheme

- 5 **Assess the reasons why the 1950s were a period of economic growth.** [30]

The reasons why the 1950s were a period of economic growth include both international and domestic factors. The former included the comparative trade advantage that the USA had gained as a result of the Second World War. After 1945, the USA produced 60% of the world's manufactured goods. The needs of the economies of western Europe and Japan, rebuilding after the war, provided markets for US goods. The growth in trade was further encouraged by the reduction of national tariffs on foreign imports following the establishment of GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] in 1947. By 1960, there had been four GATT agreements to reduce tariffs. In addition, the onset of the Cold War further stimulated American economic growth, especially following the Korean War of 1950–53.

By 1960, the US defence expenditure was almost three times what it had been in 1950 – and that is in real terms. The Cold War in space following the launch of the first sputnik in 1957 further stimulated federal expenditure; NASA was formed in 1958. These external developments were supplemented by domestic factors such as increased social expenditure, e.g. on education, especially via the extension of the 1944 GI Bill in 1952. Within the USA, full employment enabled families to spend more money on new consumer goods, the most obvious of which were televisions.

Example candidate response – low

- 5) The 1950s was a period of economic growth in the United States because of conformity and the start of war defense spending. Immediately following the end of ~~WWII~~ world war II in 1945, the US economy took a dive as the majority of the productions and factories in the US reverted from war production back to production of non-war materials. ~~For example,~~ Ford factories went from manufacturing tanks and other armed vehicles to ~~manufacturing~~ producing cars and car parts again. ~~This caused the economy to dip~~ because there was less money being put out for things and less for imports and less money coming in for exports. ~~Consequently~~ The economy began to grow in the 1950s because the US started defense spending. In 1950, with the introduction of NSC-68 (National Security Council memo 68), the US took on a policy of much harsher than Containment towards Communism. ~~The increased defense~~ The US increased defense spending to better prepare themselves and their allies from the threat of Communism. Similarly, the US involvement in the Korea war helped increase the economy because of increase in war production and defense spending. The Truman Doctrine and then the ~~more~~ Marshall Plan from the late 1940s helped increase the US economy by helping to rebuild other

Example candidate response – low, continued

country countries economies. By all improving others' economies, it ~~also~~ boosts the US economy because now that the economies are improved these other countries can resume trade and purchasing from the US to help improve our ~~econ~~ economy.

In addition to defense spending and policies such as the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, the conformity of the American household also helped the economic growth of the 1950s. Following WWII, the idea of the "traditional American family" did not exist. This was because since many of the men (fathers, brothers, husbands and sons) were away at war, the women took up the "traditional male" jobs, such as factory workers. Following the war when the men came back wanting jobs they took those back those in the factories and farms where the women had been working. This put the women back into the housewife position or ~~or~~ into "traditional female" jobs such as secretary or teacher. Thus the idea of the "Traditional American Family" was born. The traditional American family, with their working father, stay-at-home mother and 2.5 children, helped boost the economy because they were so uniform. The idea of conformity and "keeping up with the ~~Bones~~ Joneses" led to an increase in the economy because it was so predictable what

Example candidate response – low, continued

People were spending their money on. Throughout the 1950s and even after that, the US economy was experiencing a time of economic growth due to an increase in defense spending and the "traditional American family".

Examiner comment – low

This answer had a poorly developed opening paragraph. Answers which achieved higher marks identified a range of reasons and reflected on which might have been the most significant and why. Some argued that the factors which were important in the early fifties later declined in significance and others eventually replaced them as drivers of growth. The section in the first paragraph about the 'dip' after the war gained no credit as it was not relevant. There were valid points about the growth of defence spending as a result of NSC-68 and the Korean War and the Marshall Plan, but no attempt was made to assess these or reflect on their actual importance. There was an absence of any statistical evidence to back up points. The section about the American family had limited relevance and the reason why women were staying at home was linked to economic growth was not explained. Major points about interstate highways and motor manufacturing were not included.

The essay consisted of a limited list of reasons which were not evaluated. It could have included a much wider range of factors, considered and supported with more relevant detail. It could also have included an attempt to assess those factors and indicate which were the most important, when and why.

Mark awarded = 13 out of 30

Question 10: International History, 1945–1991

- 10** To what extent was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan responsible for the onset of the ‘Second Cold War’? [30]

Mark scheme

- 10 To what extent was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan responsible for the onset of the ‘Second Cold War’?** [30]

In support of the view that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was responsible, it could be argued that it led to widespread condemnation of the USSR and, to the West, was viewed as evidence of the continuation of the expansionist aims of the USSR. In retaliation, the USA withdrew from the SALT II Treaty. US President Carter was unwilling to allow the USSR to get away with another intervention in the affairs of a foreign country – he cut off trade links with Moscow, encouraged a Western boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980 and increased US expenditure on arms (including nuclear weapons). Despite this, US public opinion saw Carter as weak in confronting the threat of communism, and he lost the 1980 election to Ronald Reagan, a staunch anti-communist right winger.

In challenging the view, it could be argued that the period of détente was effectively already over before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The USSR had continued to violate human rights agreements made at Helsinki, while Brezhnev’s failing health had done little to enhance US-Soviet relations. The development of renewed superpower hostility can be seen as early as 1976. Conservatism was regaining strength in the USA, and it viewed the increasing influence of the USSR in the Third World as further evidence of Soviet expansionism (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia). Carter supplied US arms to anti-communist groups (e.g. El Salvador, Nicaragua) in an attempt to prevent the spread of Soviet influence. Opposition to SALT II was high in the US Senate well before the invasion of Afghanistan, and it already seemed unlikely that the USA would sign. When Islamic militants occupied the US embassy in Teheran (1979), American conservatives viewed this as evidence of the USA’s impotence in world affairs and argued that this needed to be addressed. Détente, therefore, was no longer seen as beneficial to either the USA or the USSR. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could be seen as the event which started the ‘Second Cold War’ rather than its cause.

Example candidate response – high

10 In order to answer the hypothesis, we must look at the two stages of Detente. Firstly the Slow Down in Detente 1972 - 75 and then the Breakdown in 1975 - 79.

As early as 1972 President Nixon had been criticised for giving up the ideological struggle, for conceding superiority to the Soviets by signing the SALT I agreements 1972 and by granting legitimacy to a barbaric government one which suppressed Jewish immigration, yet was still given 'most favourable nation' status in terms of trade. These accusations grew from the sporadic growth of Conservatism but by proponents such as Senator Henry Jackson. A man who would pass the Jackson-Vanik amendment 1975, stripping the USSR of the 'most favourable nation' despite its allowances to

Example candidate response – high, continued

abolish an 'exit tax' and to permit the exit of "50,000" Sns in 1973, something which Jackson would refuse demanding an increase to 60,000 alongside making what was meant to be a private state discussion into a very public one, he did so by going to the press.

Indeed the slow Down may have been delayed, yet the Watergate Scandal weakened the President. Ford was only a stop-gap President and the Vladivostok 1974 agreement on ICBM and Party and the capping of MIRVs to 1320 showed this. ↗

Factors outside the control of each governments also caused a breakdown in relations. The ~~to~~ warmth like Vienna Conference (1973-88) essentially broke down due to geographical asymmetry, in that if Soviet and American forces were reduced under Mutual and Balanced Force reduction, the Americans would be disadvantaged since they had the Atlantic preventing them from quick redeployment. Thus the Slow Down in Detente can largely be attributed to American Responsibility.

The ultimate Breakdown in Detente 1975-79 occurred due to many reasons. The SALT I¹⁹⁷² alongside the SALT II Agreements (the latter never being ratified but still being practised by the US government); many in the American public believed had conceded superiority to the Soviets. Indeed there were many loopholes in both agreements arising as well from an American as a Soviet desire to maintain their newly developed weapons such as the MIRVs and theatre nuclear weapons (SS-20s and

Example candidate response – high, continued

Pershings which would be deployed in Europe, although it is important to note that a third of Soviet SS-20s were aimed at China due to growing antagonism). American opinion however failed to realise that the so-called missile gap primarily arose due to Soviet military practice of not refining their missiles, also Americans' missiles such as the Trident II and Poseidon were far more accurate. Thus again failure in communication and understanding led to a mutual assessment ability in damaging Detente. It is important to state here that Brezhnev's failing health did much to worsen Detente, the military council under Defence Minister Ustinov found it much easier to increase military budgets in this new situation.

Perhaps what many historians conclude is the fall of Willi Brandt from power in 1974, who's Ostpolitik initiative which propelled Detente forward was seriously damaged by his resignation arising from charges of espionage. The death of Mao and Prime Minister Zhou Enlai in 1976 also did much harm, no longer could the US pull the Russian lever and come to an agreement through discussion as opposed to force.

However, some fault is also to be borne by the Soviets who had seen the Helsinki accords of 1975 as a political tool to confirm Post war boundaries of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Democratic Republic of Germany. In doing so Brezhnev felt that the Helsinki accords would further his popularity as a man of peace and deflate Soviet dissidents. However blatant

Example candidate response – high, continued

disregard of Human Right and suppression of dissidents albeit not using the full extent of Stalins's machinery, resulted in a body blow to Debunko. The American pressure came under huge pressure & in changing its policy to a more aggressive stance with regards to the Soviet Union.

Lastly it can be argued and indeed it is by many American historians that the Soviets used Debunko as a quiesce to further their influence in the Third world. For example in 1975 North Vietnam would invade and conquer the South. Yet here we must remember American inability to see the Vietnamese conflict as one of nationalism, instead they saw it under the prism of the Cold War disregarding Soviet actions such as ~~as~~ asking for North and South Vietnamese admittance to the UN in 1957, instead they regarded communism as a monolithic movement. Indeed Africa too can be argued as an example of Soviet expansionism, however Khrushchev had already stated that actions in Africa should not change Soviet policy towards Debunko. Here too, it can be argued that the Americans never saw Debunko through a Soviet perspective whereby the latter used it as a means to decrease military expansionism or nuclear arms. The ideological struggle for Communism however was to be never given up since it was the *raison d'être* of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPUSA). Indeed it can be argued that Cuban support for the MPLA only came after US support for UNITA and the FNLA. A similar understanding can be seen in Nicaragua ~~1984-86 1970-79~~

Example candidate response – high, continued

where again Nixon's policy of linkages come undone, indeed Carter too can be blamed it was he who initially cut off arms to the Somosa government allowing the Soviet backed Sandinistas to come in power 1979. Perhaps it is Afghanistan which proves the most interesting situation, strong pressure from conservatism which had risen in America cited the Afghan revolution as an example of impotence of US power. The same conservatism it can be argued could be found in Senate which would have never ratified the SALT II agreements. Moreover the Soviets were trying to prevent fraternal fighting between the communist party by installing Babrak Karmal, their fears were only heightened by US-Chinese triangular diplomacy, and their own fear for the fall of Islamic states within the Soviet Union. Many argue that Brezhnev's Pincher movement was never intended to be used by Carter for re-election.

Revolte by its very definition is between two parts the end of it thus is also a result of the actions of both parties, whose actions led to a cumulative process which ultimately led to the end of Revolte through the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 1979. Ultimately it would lead to Reagan's firebrand of anti-communism, his use of SDI and the development of the much neutron bomb would lead to another era of increased antagonism. At the same time it is important to regard the effects of the rise in American conservatism with some historians claiming Revolte ended as early as 1976, when as can be evidenced through

Example candidate response – high, continued

Carkers support for anti-Communist rebels in E.L-Salvador.
Détente there was broken through mutual action and
reaction and to single out any one event would be
unfair.

Examiner comment – high

This was an impressive answer. It started with minimal background and kept everything very precisely on the central issue of détente. There was a brief, fully focused introduction. Initially, there was perhaps a little too much focus on the detail and the central argument did get a little obscured. However, by the second page, it was obvious that there was a consistently analytical focus. The comments on the other ‘outside’ factors were very perceptive and clear, and the way in which supporting detail was utilised was excellent. Overall the grasp of the topic and the level of understanding were impressive. The point about the ultimate breakdown was typical: clear, well-made and well supported with detail.

The objective of each paragraph and its key points were clearly stated and then the right level of supporting detail brought in. The ‘blame’ was spread wide, the Brandt issue being a good example of this. There was a good conclusion which did not simply repeat what went before. Arguably there could have been more focus on the impact of the election of Reagan. There could have been a little more use of sustained judgement as this would have helped to know exactly which factor the candidate felt was critical and why. Otherwise, this answer fully met the criteria for Level 5.

Mark awarded = 29 out of 30

Question 12: International History, 1945–1951

12 How far was Nasser responsible for the outbreak of the Suez War of 1956?

[30]

Mark scheme

12 How far was Nasser responsible for the outbreak of the Suez War of 1956?

[30]

The view that Nasser was responsible for the war was held by Britain, France, Israel and, to some extent, the USA, who feared his aggressive support for Arab unity and independence. His organisation of sabotage raids inside Israel, his refusal to renew the 1936 treaty allowing British troops at Suez and his deals for Soviet weaponry from Czechoslovakia all caused alarm. When the USA cancelled its grant for the Aswan Dam, fearing that the USSR was seeking to gain control of the Middle East, Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, intending to use its income to finance the dam. The West saw Nasser as a Hitler-like figure, who was planning to unite the Arab world under Egyptian control and Soviet influence. This posed a serious threat to peace in the Middle East, not least because Nasser had made no secret of his desire to destroy Israel.

In challenging the view, it could be argued that Britain and France were more responsible for causing the war. This was the opinion of the communist bloc, which accused Britain and France of imperialistic tactics. Britain, France and Israel planned for Israel to attack Egypt and remove Nasser from power, arguing that this was necessary to keep the Suez Canal open to international shipping. This ignored the fact that Nasser had promised to compensate shareholders and allow ships of all nations to use the canal.

Israel actually began the war by attacking Egypt, with notable success. The USA, afraid of upsetting the Arabs and forcing them into closer links with the USSR, refused to support Britain and France. At the UN, the USA and USSR agreed on the need for an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of Israeli troops. The Arab world blamed Israel for the war, seeing Nasser as the leader of Arab unity and the desire to remove foreign interference from the Middle East.

Example candidate response – middle

Ans.12.

Admittedly Nasser's responsibility for the Suez War was a key figure in the ~~end~~ ^{to} Suez War and there is a case to be made that it the Suez Crisis boils down ^{to} the nationalization of the Suez Canal, that was indeed a decision Nasser made. However that was in no way an act of direct aggression, as the only reason he did so was as a means of retaliation towards the UK and France, who ~~had~~ had cancelled the loans Nasser required to complete the Aswan dam project.

~~Granted~~ The legality of both actions dubious at best.

Furthermore, Israel may also be held accountable for consorting with Britain and France and acting Egypt.

Hence, as we can see, in terms of causation there were three main parties involved. However minor parties played a role as well, the only one of the main vectors that Britain and France off the world bank cut off funding for the Aswan Dam project was because Egypt was seen as a nation poised to join getting too close with the Soviet Union, a decision undoubtedly influenced by the American policy.

Example candidate response – middle, continued

of roll back and containment, ergo it may be argued that the root cause of the Suez Canal may have been essentially overwhelming antagonism of non-communist nations who were diplomatically friendly with the Soviet Union.

Furthermore one could argue, that the Aswan Dam was only being built due to ~~to~~ Israeli agriculture and irrigation policy which served to diminish the amount of water

Egypt and Syria were going to use and hence necessitated a similar response from the Arab side.

Lastly, as always one may always attribute the Suez Crisis as yet another manifestation of Arab-Israeli hate, festering since the creation of Israel in 1947 and the Sykes Picot agreement.

Regardless, we shall now attempt to appropriate responsibility, analysing each sides ~~effort~~ role in the onset, ignoring for the time being the forces which drew the crisis to a close, such as the Americans and various OPEC countries.

Example candidate response – middle, continued

Firstly, let us look at Britain and France's role. Both these nations in an attempt to ~~re~~ re-establish dominance and control over the Suez Canal which was important for their economic well-being, plotted and breached the ~~so~~ territorial border of a sovereign nation, resulting in an all out war between the injured party and Israel with whom they collaborated with. Their only justification being a sort of ~~reverse~~ ~~de jure~~ claim to the Suez Canal due to the fact that they had built and managed it previously. Ignoring the fact that both had already covered costs many times over with profit this was in no way justified under international law and constitutes a gross violation of the several standing ~~states~~, treaties and conventions.

Conversely, when one talks about Nasser's role in the Suez Canal, one inherently brings up the illegality of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, which up to that point had been ~~to~~ ~~by~~ owned by British and French companies. However the problem is that ~~of~~ ^{most} ~~actions~~ have a ~~right~~ most executives have a right, constitutionally, to invoke imminent domain or both land and enterprise / add to that

Example candidate response – middle, continued

the fact that Nasser was acting under severe duress due to the cutting of bars and one may find ~~it~~ that Nasser was merely reacting b a situation he was put in, keeping in mind his reputation as a the brave, voice of the Arabs, blocking down would have been political suicide.

Lastly, the Israelis acted in accessory to a violation of a violation of sovereign nation- civ space and had borders, actively engaged in warfare without ~~any~~ proven ~~cross~~ belli and used of unprovoked aggression to occupy a large part of the Sinai, a part of a sovereign state. Furthermore it was only Israeli involvement that allowed Britain and France to carry out their plans.

Hence, to conclude, one must keeping in mind the burden of proof, the majority of blame may be placed on Britain and France, with a lesser ~~but~~ responsibility on Israel, while Nasser was perhaps less complicit.

Examiner comment – middle

This was a competent response. There was a fairly sound level of knowledge and understanding and grasp of the topic. The opening paragraph had a sensible analytical focus and tried to set out the issues quite well, but it lacked clarity. The point about ‘legality’ for example was not clear enough. More time spent on planning and ensuring that the answer was clear in the candidate’s mind would have helped.

There is an attempt at a focused answer. It looks at the roles of Israel, France and the UK and then broadens out to consider other influences such as the World Bank and the USSR. However, there is little or no comment here and it is not related to the issue of Nasser’s responsibility. The answer seems to imply that it was not all his fault, but this is not clearly stated. The lack of certainty in this response is illustrated by the phrase ‘now we shall attempt to’. While the points about ownership of the Suez canal and the profits that the UK and France had made were valid in their own way, they were not linked to the question.

To earn higher marks, the candidate needed to make a judgement about how far Nasser was responsible at a much earlier stage in the essay and develop this. More depth was also required. While there was some knowledge, understanding and analysis, there was just not enough of all three to gain a higher mark.

Mark awarded = 20 out of 30

Question 10: International History, 1945–1991

- 10** To what extent was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan responsible for the onset of the ‘Second Cold War’? [30]

Mark scheme

- 10 To what extent was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan responsible for the onset of the ‘Second Cold War’?** [30]

In support of the view that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was responsible, it could be argued that it led to widespread condemnation of the USSR and, to the West, was viewed as evidence of the continuation of the expansionist aims of the USSR. In retaliation, the USA withdrew from the SALT II Treaty. US President Carter was unwilling to allow the USSR to get away with another intervention in the affairs of a foreign country – he cut off trade links with Moscow, encouraged a Western boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980 and increased US expenditure on arms (including nuclear weapons). Despite this, US public opinion saw Carter as weak in confronting the threat of communism, and he lost the 1980 election to Ronald Reagan, a staunch anti-communist right winger.

In challenging the view, it could be argued that the period of détente was effectively already over before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The USSR had continued to violate human rights agreements made at Helsinki, while Brezhnev’s failing health had done little to enhance US-Soviet relations. The development of renewed superpower hostility can be seen as early as 1976. Conservatism was regaining strength in the USA, and it viewed the increasing influence of the USSR in the Third World as further evidence of Soviet expansionism (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia). Carter supplied US arms to anti-communist groups (e.g. El Salvador, Nicaragua) in an attempt to prevent the spread of Soviet influence. Opposition to SALT II was high in the US Senate well before the invasion of Afghanistan, and it already seemed unlikely that the USA would sign. When Islamic militants occupied the US embassy in Teheran (1979), American conservatives viewed this as evidence of the USA’s impotence in world affairs and argued that this needed to be addressed. Détente, therefore, was no longer seen as beneficial to either the USA or the USSR. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could be seen as the event which started the ‘Second Cold War’ rather than its cause.

Example candidate response – low

- Soviet invasion of Afghanistan directly set off Second Cold War. Jimmy Carter, partly influenced by his Secretary of state, felt that Russia was trying to encircle the Middle East. However Afghanistan was important to USA because it was near its allied countries. Hence, if it went under Soviet control it the country could influence the states around it which would be a loss for USA that it couldn't afford.
- However, the end of Detente was long time coming. USA was growing anxious of USSR's involvement in different parts of the world supporting liberation movements. The Soviets had already supported struggle in African colonies of Angola, Congo, Nicaragua, and also in the middle-east. Against. While the Soviets felt there was nothing wrong in their decisions because they had been doing the same thing in other places and were doing it for their security. For the Americans on the other hand it was the last straw. Carter, particularly influenced by his Sec of State, believed the USSR was trying to encircle the Middle-east. He was convinced of Soviets' expansionist nature, as was the US public.

Example candidate response – low, continued

USA had failed to stop USSR's influence in Cuba, in Vietnam where North Vietnam took over South Vietnam while the neighbouring two states of Laos and Cambodia also fell to communism. More over in Ag Angolia the USSR supported group won, which was another defeat for USSR. Afghanistan was a country near their two states of interest- China and Iran. It couldn't let it become another loss.

Other reasons are the nuclear arms race. Although SALT I had already taken place and SALT II was in process, both sides were still making arms that the treaties didn't underline. It was the cause of tension between the two states and they already had disagreements over it.

On the other hand Soviet Union was becoming distrustful of USA, even more so than it had been. Like USA, USSR was ~~was~~ also threatened by its interventions around the world. Their superiority in arms was a thorn in this side. The Detente had cooled things between the two countries but the underlying tension never truly went - it. It post-allowed both sides to develop their strength again. Although in USSR it would soon

Example candidate response – low, continued

deplete. Invasion of Afghanistan was a wrong move on USSR's part because it ruined all the credibility it had built over the last two decades. It lost the support of its Muslim allies and the war seriously shook their economy, making it worse.

In conclusion, although the war was caused mainly immediately by the invasion of Afghanistan, it was a number of factors that led to it. The Cold War inevitable with the growing tensions between the two countries. Cracks had already appeared. Afghanistan just gave the final blow.

Examiner comment – low

This was a basic pass essay. While it contained some relevant knowledge and understanding and there was some focus on the question, it was limited. There was a very abrupt start and no indication of how the argument might develop. The first paragraph is not well written and very vague. While there is a valid point made about the build-up to war, it lacks both clarity and appropriate supporting detail. There is a lack of focus in the point about Angola, for example. Was it a 'defeat for the USSR'? The subsequent point about the USSR being 'distrustful' is also lacking in detail and, above all, in supporting evidence. While it is not possible to include everything in an A Level response, the impact of the arrival of Reagan and the 'neo-cons' should have been made as well.

Mark awarded = 15 out of 30

Paper 4 – Depth Study

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