

#### Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY		9489/42
Paper 4 Depth study		May/June 2024
MARK SCHEME		
Maximum Mark: 60		
	Published	

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge International will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

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#### **Generic Marking Principles**

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptions for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

#### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

#### **GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:**

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

#### **GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:**

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit
  is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme,
  referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

#### **GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:**

Rules must be applied consistently, e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

#### **GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:**

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

#### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

AO1 – Re	ecall, select and deploy historical knowledge appropriately and effectively.	
This mar	k scheme assesses the quality and depth of knowledge deployed to support t made.	the
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

#### **Annotation symbols**

EXP	EXP	Explanation (an explained valid point)
✓	Tick	Detail/evidence is used to support the point
+	Plus	Balanced – Considers the other view
?	?	Unclear

AN	AN	Analysis
^	۸	Unsupported assertion
K	К	Knowledge
EVAL	EVAL	Evaluation
NAR	NAR	Lengthy narrative that is not answering the question
2	Extendable Wavy Line	Use with other annotations to show extended issues or narrative
~~~	Horizontal Wavy Line	Factual error
JU	JU	Judgement
ID	ID	Identifying a factor in (a) responses
SIM	SIM	Similarity identified
DIFF	DIFF	Difference identified
N/A	Highlighter	Highlight a section of text
N/A	On-page comment	Allows comments to be entered in speech bubbles on the candidate response.

#### Using the annotations

- Annotate using the symbols above as you read through the script.
- At the end of each question write a short on-page comment:
  - be positive say what the candidate has done, rather than what they have not
  - reference the attributes of the level descriptor you are awarding (i.e. make sure your comment matches the mark you have given)
  - be careful with your spelling

Question	Answer	Marks
1	'Mussolini failed to solve the economic problems facing Italy.' Discuss.	30
	Candidates might wish to set out the economic problems facing Italy in 1922 before explaining how Mussolini aimed to solve them and reaching judgements about success. At the highest levels of AO2, the responses should take a holistic view of his policies, rather than simply judging each policy in turn to reach a balance sheet approach. The best responses might also set out the stages of economic development in this period.	
	Criteria for making judgements could include Italy's economic challenges, which might include the weakness of the south and rural poverty, the lack of raw materials and the widespread unemployment and inflation at the end of World War I. They might also set out his aims and how they developed to include autarky and the creation of a 'Corporate state.' Some discussion of how far Italy dealt with the problems caused by the Great Depression might also be expected of the better answers.	
	Candidates might provide an account of the economic approach during the early stages of Fascist rule under di Stefani which largely stuck to traditional liberal methods of reducing state intervention and attempting to reduce inflation. There could be a suggestion that Mussolini was fortunate that these years coincided with a general European recovery.	
	There will inevitably be attention paid to Mussolini's 'battles', specifically lira, grain and land. There should be judgements of the individual successes and failures of these policies when measured against their aims, although the best responses will aim to put these into the overall context of Mussolini's goals. For example, the Battle for Grain should be linked to the desire for autarky and candidates might link this and policies such as the Battle for Lira to the aim of enhancing Italian prestige.	
	Italy's response to the Great Depression is another area that demands attention. Well informed candidates should be able to discuss the role of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction and other policies such as the extension of public works schemes to help Italy avoid the worst effects of the crisis. There should also be some references to the Corporate State, its aims and the reality. They may well point out its structures played little role in responding to the Depression and that employers benefitted to the detriment of workers, shorn of trade unions.	
	Candidates should be able to produce a balanced response which makes an overall judgement on the extent of success of policies in dealing with the economic difficulties facing Italy and the extent to which Mussolini's aims were achieved.	

Question	Answer	Marks
2	Assess the extent to which workers benefited from the economic changes in the USSR from 1924 to 41.	30
	This question relates specifically to the economic transformation experienced in the Soviet Union under Stalin. The focus is on the impact of these changes on the working classes. A balanced argument is expected to reach the higher levels of AO2 marks.	
	There might be some consideration of the popularity of the Five-Year Plans with many urban workers, particularly among the younger and more idealistic sections of society. The policy of proletarianism was popular with many and it could be argued that workers expected to receive benefits that NEP had not delivered to them.	
	To some extent, their hopes were fulfilled. There were greater opportunities for those with technical skills to improve their position and those fitted to benefit from advanced technical education were able to do so in many cases. Their standard of living improved significantly more than the remainder of the working class. There were rewards such as higher pay, improved working conditions and, possibly, living conditions for those who toed the line and exceeded their targets. When wage differentials were introduced in 1931, some workers received better pay and other privileges.	
	There were also opportunities for women in the workplace, with millions entering the workforce, albeit generally receiving lower pay and fewer opportunities for advancement than men.	
	Other social improvements such as education and health might also be discussed to argue against the statement.	
	However, counter-arguments might be based upon the extent of control exerted on workers, with the introduction of labour books, internal passports and stiff penalties for absenteeism or poor performance. It might also be expected that there will be some attention paid to living standards in the rapidly expanding industrial cities. Candidates might wish to challenge Stalin's assertion that 'life has become better comrades' by discussing poor quality housing in over-crowded barracks with dismal standards of hygiene and the continued lack of consumer products available for purchase.	
	Candidates might also choose to discuss the impact of policy on the peasantry. Consequences of collectivization might include dekulakisation and the famine experienced in Ukraine in 1932–33.	
	Candidates might reach the conclusion that the evidence points towards only a minority of workers benefitting from economic developments in this period. Their criteria could encompass living and working conditions, opportunities, both in the workplace and through education, and for women.	

Question	Answer	Marks
3	Evaluate the effectiveness of the Nazi regime's responses to the Great Depression.	30
	Candidates might wish to outline the extent to which Germany was affected by the slump in trade caused by the Great Depression. There could be some commentary on the impact of Weimar Germany's reliance on American loans and the scale of the economic problems which affected the country. By 1932, 18 000 farmers had gone bankrupt, 50 000 businesses closed between 1930 and 1932 and there were some six million unemployed, with millions of others having hours and pay cut.	
	The Nazi Party had promised 'work and bread' and introduced several policies to create employment. There was an increase in public expenditure and investment to boost consumer demand. The public works programme which had begun in 1932 was extended, with particular attention paid to the building of homes and to the autobahn network, creating employment among the private companies who were given the contracts from state funding. Private sector employers were provided with subsidies to encourage hiring more workers and the size of the government bureaucracy grew. Candidates might consider Nazi agricultural policies and there could be discussion of the Reich Entailed Farm Law and the impact of the Four-Year Plan.	
	Conscription was introduced in 1935, with males aged between 18 and 25 required to complete armed service, further removing men from the unemployment figures. Good candidates will be able to discuss the work of Schacht in using deficit financing, for example mefo bills, to fund these policies. By 1936, rearmament had become the major driver of the German economy, with employment being created in heavy industry as a result.	
	In terms of assessing the impact of these policies, there was clear success in reducing unemployment, as 0.2 million were registered as such by 1938. However, removing women and Jews from the workforce and forcing young men into the RAD, for low pay could be used to argue against this apparent 'miracle', as might counting part-time employees as fully employed. There were also limitations in the extent to which agricultural policies succeeded in rejuvenating this sector of the economy, with small farms continuing to struggle. Without unions to defend their interests, workers found their average working hours increasing. Candidates might also make the point that Germany was already beginning to recover before 1933	
	However, it is reasonable to argue that Germany had recovered well in many respects by 1939, with the apparent creation of full employment.	

Question	Answer	Marks
4	Assess the view that women's roles and status did not change significantly in Britain in the period 1919–39.	30
	This question requires knowledge of the extent to which women experienced improvements in their rights and opportunities. A balanced approach is to be expected to achieve high AO2 marks. Candidates might consider political, social, and economic developments, although all three are not necessary.	
	Politically, there was a major change in the granting of the franchise to some and then all women through the Representation of the Peoples Acts in 1918 and 1928. However, candidates might balance this by pointing to the lack of female representation in British politics in this period. Political parties did little to advance women candidates and there were no more than 15 female MPs at any point in this period. So, whilst women gained equality in voting rights there was a good deal of ground to make up in relation to representation, particularly at a national level	
	Economically, the advances achieved during World War I were limited by legislation in 1919. However, there were opportunities for often unmarried middle-class women, in areas such as clerical and retail work, as well as teaching and nursing. The professions remained largely restricted. despite examples such as Ivy Williams becoming the first woman barrister. In many areas of the economy, the Marriage Bar continued to apply, with the expectation that marriage would lead to resignation. Working class women continued to work in service and factories, often after marriage and children, where possible. Discussing the experiences of different classes of women is a subtle distinction which improves analysis of change. The concept of 'women's work' was still dominant and usually had to be combined with domestic duties.	
	In social terms, there were improvements such as the 1937 Matrimonial Causes Act, which improved access to divorce, although, again, it was likely not to be beneficial to working class women. There were some developments in family planning, with the GMC allowing doctors to give advice to married women from 1930. Another example of improved social freedom which might be used is in the behaviour of the so-called 'flappers', who took advantage of their improved economic status and relaxations in attitude to permissible behaviour during the war to dress and act in a manner previously unthinkable to many. Again, these freedoms were generally associated with the better off.	
	A range of examples might be used, indicating the AO1 marks to be awarded, with balance between changes and continuities crucial at the higher level of AO2. The differences in experience between upper/middle class and working class women is another way of analysing the situation.	

Question	Answer	Marks
5	Assess the effectiveness of the NAACP in promoting civil rights in the late 1940s and 1950s.	30
	By 1946 the NAACP had 600 000 members and had been active in the wartime period to promote the idea of a victory for democracy abroad and at home by linking Nazism with Jim Crow laws. Leading figures such as Walter White had been influential in promoting the interests of black servicemen and the NAACP had continued its legal work. The case of Morgan v Virginia was taken to the Supreme Court in 1946 when Irene Morgan refused to give up her bus seat to white passengers. The NAACP lawyers got a supreme court ruling that Virginia segregation statutes should not apply to interstate travel. The NAACP expanded its work with young people with a large youth conference in 1946. It scored a success when Truman addressed its annual convention in 1947 supporting anti lynching laws and ending segregation in the military. DuBois petitioned the UN in 1947 for rights for African Americans. In 1948 the NAACP backed a key case Shelley v Kramer which resulted in a Supreme Court decision that private restrictive covenants enforcing segregation could not be enforced by federal courts. It could be argued that the Truman Executive orders of 1948 barring discrimination in civilian agencies of the federal government and the armed forces were a success for the NAACP. The NAACP's Legal Defence Fund pursued cases aimed to end discrimination in the University of Texas Law School and in dining cars on interstate trains and the National Emergency Rights Committee organised a large-scale lobby of Congress in 1950 in support of a Fair Employment practices bill.	
	The thrust of the NAACP remained directed towards legal change and peaceful lobbying and publicity. Thurgood Marshall was a leading figure and a key case was Brown v Board of Education which was essentially a continuation of the type of activism of the 1940s but gained a far greater coverage. Eisenhower was compelled to act because of the national and international publicity and state sponsored segregation of public elementary schools was made unconstitutional by a Supreme Court decision. A new departure was the Montgomery Bus Boycott December 1955 with local NAACP activists Edgar Nixon and Rosa Parks challenging segregation and the NAACP organising a bus boycott lasting 381 days and which utilised economic pressure. Legal action was taken in the case of Bryan v Austin when black teachers in South Carolina were dismissed for not taking an anti-NAACP oath. The NAACP challenged a ban by Alabama which led to a favourable Supreme Court ruling in 1957.	
	There was a new stress on more direct action and mass mobilisation by the SCLC formed in 1957 and some tension arose about how far to take more dramatic action with traditional NAACP leaders like Roy Wilkins more committed to the aim of using the courts and lobbying for legislation. Both had produced results, but the practical effects were seen as disappointing by more ambitious activists by the later 1950s. Despite court rulings, segregation continued, there was still violence against activists and the economic inequalities between black and white continued. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was limited and key issues such as discrimination over voting rights remained.	

Question	Answer	Marks
6	Evaluate the reasons why post-war economic doctrines lost influence in the 1960s and 1970s.  In the 1960s forces emerged that by the mid-80s would end the ascendency	30
	of Keynes's ideas. These can be divided into practical and intellectual dimensions; they are interrelated. The failure of what was at the time perceived to be Keynesian economics to halt the stagflation of the 1970s lent credibility both to academic and popular attacks on Keynes's ideas. Some even argued that the poor economic performance was due to Keynesian economics. Economic historians have labelled the period from about 1951 - 1973 as the <i>Age of Keynes</i> and its benefits were claimed to be relatively high average global growth, low unemployment, reduction of inequality, lowering of public debt and very low incidence of financial crises. However, when the US economy faced higher foreign competition, rising prices and issues of productivity, more credence was given to critical classical economic theorists and especially to monetarism.	
	Keynesian economics and a belief in the needs for government intervention to maintain full employment was rooted in the experienced of the 1930s with uncontrolled capitalism being seen as to blame for hardship. Greater government control had been more acceptable in the 1930s and in the war years so the development of the Bretton Woods system and the belief that communism had to be avoided by promoting development and growth both internally and externally was a natural development. Classical free market economic theory seemed rooted in the past. However, the development of economic theories which challenged controls and attempts to manage economies had developed through the work of Hayek and especially Friedman. When both inflation and stagnation set in in the 1970s, views that the high prices brought about by the Oil Crisis of 1973 were intensified by high levels of spending became more acceptable. Some analysts link this to a new generation who had not experienced greater economic freedom rejecting the economic controls by the established authorities which had not brought about a sustained prosperity. The US no longer had a favourable trade balance and from 1968 there was a move away from the financial regulation of the Bretton Wood era in the hope that greater freedom would make use of US strengths and overcome 'stagflation'. So, explanations could balance the intellectual changes in economic thinking, changed economic context with fear of inflation and stagnation and a change in attitude towards regulation and control by a new generation.	

Question	Answer	Marks
7	'Too little, too late.' Evaluate this view of the response of the US authorities to the outbreak of the AIDS epidemic.	30
	The debate might be between the relative reluctance of political leadership to recognise the implications of AIDS and to fear condoning sexual activity inimical to middle America and the more active stance taken by some medical authorities and some local authorities to deal with what they saw as a major public health issue. Criticisms that response to AIDS was slow and ineffective have centred on the reluctance of blood supply authorities to accept initial evidence that the virus could be transmitted through transfusions. This led to the spread of AIDs. There was also reluctance to accept that AIDS was appearing in children born to mothers who had been infected and the findings of paediatrics expert Dr Rubinstein were dismissed by the medical establishment. The response of city authorities was varied, with New York's Mayor Koch refusing to meet the gay community and with city health officials not recommending preventative measures. The Reagan administration did not do enough to promote effective measures or to take a lead in public education because of concern about costs and prejudice against the LTGB community and addicts. The National Institute of Health was unresponsive to pleas from some concerned medical bodies to release funds for research and public health campaigns.	
	The proportionately higher number of people in the US who had died between 1980–2014 (636 000) compared with the UK (21 000) or Germany (27 000) might support the view, as would the slowness of public health officials to recognise the scale of the problem among intravenous drug users and provide needle exchanges as was done more in Europe. However, the CDC was quite quick to identify the disease and to urge action. In San Francisco by 1985 there were prevention measures such as closing bath houses and sex clubs and funding education programmes. There was the first national Aid Prevention Programme by 1985; Reagan eventually recognized the problem and there was a \$190 million programme aimed at prevention. The Surgeon General wrote to all US households about the dangers.  Much depends on whether from the first awareness of the disease in 1981 to the nationwide measures is seen as 'too late' and whether the programmes were 'too little' and how that is measured. Blood transfusion services did not get full data in the initial stages of the epidemic and there was evidence of local authorities, for example in Atlanta, taking early initiatives. The high mortality rate has been linked to exceptionally wide drug use and concentrations of the gay community in San Francisco and New York which did not have parallels with other nations which suffered less severely.	

Question	Answer	Marks
8	'Kennedy's policies towards Cuba were irresponsible.' Discuss this view.	30
	Supporters of the proposition will consider the hostility of the administration to Castro, the assassination attempts and the Bay of Pigs which drove Cuba into a closer relationship with the USSR. The administration's attitude to the missiles could be seen as irresponsible in that the naval action could have provoked a major war. Defenders of Kennedy's policies could point to his decision not to order a military strike on Cuba, despite strong advice to the contrary. Kennedy's decision to 'quarantine' Cuba rather than bomb the missile sites may have helped to prevent a full-scale war breaking out.	
	The USSR had already been sending missiles to Cuba when photographs were shown to Kennedy of Soviet troops setting up nuclear armed missiles but Kennedy had wanted to avoid a clash during the election campaigns for the November congressional elections and had said that he would not object to defensive weapons but if offensive weapons were introduced it would a matter of 'the gravest issues 'The attempts on Castro's life and the Bay of Pigs invasion justified for Castro asking for Soviet help to defend his island. Kennedy set up a special group of advisers – ExComm. Initially Kennedy agreed on a 'surgical strike' and not until a few days later did the argument that this might be seen as parallel to Pearl Harbor start to carry more weight. Instead, Kennedy opted for a 'Quarantine', demands for no further missiles and the removal of existing ones. Kennedy had been forced by his own warnings to take action but admitted that it was not significant whether a soviet missile was fired on the US from the USSR or Cuba. But he had made a challenge and Khruschev had called his bluff. Kennedy feared that if the USSR went unchallenged then they would move on Berlin. That would leave him with the inevitability of starting a nuclear war. Khrushchev backed down but Kennedy had authorised action against a Soviet submarine which had crossed the quarantine line – something that would have been highly hazardous. Kennedy also authorised US spy planes and low-level surveillance flights to monitor activity in Cuba – something that could easily have led to war had one been shot down.	
	However, Kennedy did not agree with his advisers to reject a demand from Khrushchev to withdraw the Cuban missiles if the US withdrew missiles from Turkey. He did however ensure that this deal was secret. Officially the deal was that the US promised not to invade, and the Soviet Union withdrew the missiles. Kennedy did not take the shooting down of a US spy plane as a cause of war, delayed acting as far as possible and made a deal over Turkey which defused the situation and prevented further action over Berlin.	

Question	Answer	Marks
9	Assess the impact of the death of Stalin on US-Soviet relations.	30
	Answers might focus on both the immediate impact of Stalin's death and on the long-term effects. Candidates are likely not only to consider how it led to anticipation of a thaw in relations with Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence and destalinisation policies but also how it had little impact on reducing Cold War tensions.	
	When Stalin died in March 1953, Eisenhower stated his commitment to peace in his first speech entitled 'Chance for Peace'; he made it clear the USA would not attack the USSR during this vulnerable period. However, his administration was reluctant to see the post-Stalin USSR as anything but an aggressive totalitarian state. Stalin's heirs, Malenkov, Beria, and Molotov launched a peace initiative but the USA was sceptical about it as they broached the issue of peace while praising Stalin's legacy.	
	Eisenhower challenged the new Soviet leadership to reject Stalin's style of governance. He wanted to 'roll back' the advances of Communism abroad. His 'New Look' at foreign policy proposed the use of nuclear weapons and new technology in an effort to threaten 'Massive Retaliation' against the USSR for communist advances abroad. In 1954 the Soviets tested a hydrogen bomb and in 1955 set up the Warsaw Pact with plans to use nuclear weapons against NATO if there was a war. Eisenhower's doctrine of massive retaliation left him without any options other than nuclear war to combat Soviet aggression. This was evident in 1956 when Eisenhower was unable to assist Hungary. Like Stalin, his successor was determined to retain control of the satellites.	
	However, it can be argued that the death of Stalin led to a temporary thaw in the Cold War. The Korean war ended in July 1953. In 1955 at the Geneva Summit the Cold War leaders suggested uniting under a common cause for peace. In 1955 Austria regained its sovereignty and became an independent, neutral nation after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia, telling Tito that 'there are different roads to communism'. The USSR announced plans to reduce its armed forces by more than 600 000 troops. Khrushchev called for 'peaceful coexistence' between the East and West. It seemed as if there would be a relaxation of Cold War tensions.	
	On 24 February 1956, Khrushchev made a speech denouncing Stalin at the Communist Party's Twentieth Congress. He also criticised the idea of the inevitability of war between communism and capitalism stating that communism would eventually prevail. In the late 1950s, the USA and the USSR initiated a cultural exchange programme and in 1959 Khrushchev visited the USA briefly meeting Eisenhower at Camp David. Predictions of improved future relations were reported which praised 'the spirit of Camp David' showing both were willing to enter into dialogue.	
	The possibility of Mutually Assured Destruction made peaceful coexistence more attractive as it would reduce the risk of nuclear annihilation. However, suspicion remained as shown by events in Berlin and later the Cuban Missile Crisis demonstrating that Cold War hostility was very much alive.	

Question	Answer	Marks
10	Analyse the extent to which the Korean War was responsible for Sino–US hostility in the 1950s and 1960s.	30
	Candidates might focus on the fact that Sino—US relations were already tense when the Korean War erupted in June 1950 and that the enmity they displayed during the war affected their future relations. However, differences of ideology and political ambitions were also responsible for Sino—US hostility.	
	The Korean War began in June 1950. General MacArthur, commander of the US forces, not satisfied with the reconquest of South Korea, crossed the 38 <sup>th</sup> parallel. Afraid that the USA was interested in taking North Korea as a base for operations against Manchuria, the PRC secretly sent an army across the Yalu River with Soviet backing. By 31 December 1950, US forces had been driven back to the 38th parallel and were retreating. In June 1951 more UN troops were deployed to Korea and the communists were eventually driven back. The war ended with an armistice signed on 27 July 1953 with North Korea remaining communist. Sino–US hostility persisted.	
	The PRC's involvement in the Korean War led to a change from minimal US support of the Nationalist government to protection for it. The two Taiwan Straits crises of 1954-1955 and 1958 brought the PRC and the USA to the verge of another direct military confrontation. The USA continued to work to prevent the PRC from taking China's seat in the UN and placed an embargo on trade with the PRC. Despite the Sino–Soviet split in the 1960s, Sino–US relations remained hostile until the 1970s.	
	However, when the Chinese communists defeated the Nationalists in 1949, the PRC and the USA turned from allies to bitter enemies. 'Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought' was proclaimed as the ideological foundation of the PRC. The USA tried to disrupt and destabilise the PRC's communist government believing that communism needed to be contained and that the PRC was a major threat to its key interest in Asia and to the security of Japan. The Sino–Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, signed in February 1950, changed the balance of power in Asia from the USA to the USSR.	
	Their different beliefs, aims and ambitions ensured that hostility persisted. Mao labelled the USA as a dangerous imperialist power while to the USA the PRC was an aggressive, expansionist power. In September 1951 the ANZUS Treaty was signed to protect security in the Pacific and in September 1954, the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization was formed. US entry into the war in Vietnam in 1965 was made to contain communism; the PRC assisted the North. The USA encouraged its allies not to enter into diplomatic relations with the PRC, cut off trade and orchestrated an international embargo of the PRC.	
	Mao believed that a strong coalition of countries in the Third World could be decisive in Cold War confrontations; he supported national liberation struggles to force out the remaining colonial regimes and to reject the West.	

Question	Answer	Marks
11	'Kenyatta's leadership was the main reason Kenya was able to gain its independence.' Discuss.	30
	Discussion of Kenyatta's leadership and his role in attaining independence might be weighed up against the Mau Mau uprising and the attitude of the British government in order to reach a judgement.	
	In1946 Kenyatta had become the leader of the Kenya African Union (KAU). He appealed to all Kenyans to unite behind the KAU to gain recognition for their rights and liberties. In 1952, the colonial government declared a state of emergency and arrested many Kenyan independence leaders, including moderates, like Jomo Kenyatta. He was raised to the status of an icon in the struggle for independence during his imprisonment. With the slogan 'Kenyatta and independence' being chanted at political meetings, the figure of Jomo Kenyatta came to represent independence; he symbolised the country's liberation and the ending of the repression which had begun in 1952.	
	Kenyatta's release was central to the negotiations put together in London in January 1960. The two African representatives demanded his release as a prerequisite to any discussion. The general elections of February 1961 resulted in a victory for the Kenya African National Union (KANU), heir to the KAU, founded in May 1960. Their elected members refused to form a government as long as Kenyatta remained in prison. He was released on 14 August 1961 and was appointed prime minister on 1 June 1963. As head of state, Kenyatta created an image of himself as father of the nation. Kenyatta was accorded hero status on his release from prison in 1961. He represented order against the threat of corruption declaring in 1962 that Kenya was determined to have 'independence in peace' and he became regarded as a shield against radical nationalists.	
	Many argue that the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya was the catalyst for decolonisation as it showed that colonial control could only be maintained through extreme force. The Mau Mau were a militant nationalist movement of primarily Kikuyu people, also known as the Kenya Land and Freedom Army. Mau Mau members carried out violent attacks against colonial leaders and white settlers as well as targeting those among the African population who refused to join their ranks.	
	The moral and financial cost of colonisation concerned British voters, and the Mau Mau revolt brought those issues to a head. In 1952, the colonial government had declared a state of emergency in the colony in order to eradicate the Mau Mau organisation which was defeated in 1956 with great brutality. As the British government feared both international criticism if they kept using force in Kenya and voters' objections to the high costs of maintaining the colony, it began to consider granting Kenya independence. The rebellion persuaded them that social, political and agrarian reforms were necessary. In 1957, the British allowed the first direct elections of native leaders to the Legislative Council and, by 1960, Africans were a majority in the council. Kenya became independent on 12 December 1963.	

Question	Answer	Marks
12	Assess how far President Nasser was responsible for causing the Six- Day War (1967).	30
	To make a judgement candidates might consider the long-terms origins of the war as well as Nasser's policy of brinkmanship and the extent of Israel's responsibility for starting the war.	
	The origins of the war can be traced back to 1948 when a coalition of Arab nations launched a failed invasion of Israel as part of the First Arab-Israeli War. Arab leaders remained aggrieved by Israel's victory in 1948. In 1964, the leaders of the Arab states met in Cairo and spoke of the existence of Israel being a danger to them and that once military preparations were made they would be able to achieve 'the final liquidation of Israel'. They also set up the PLO aiming to win back land that the Palestinians had lost in 1948–49.	
	By 1967 Israel was close to acquiring nuclear weapons. Yitzhak Rabin, Chief of Staff, believed that Israel could not afford a single defeat. On 30 May, King Hussein of Jordan signed a defence treaty with Egypt which provoked the Israelis. A US suggestion that Israel should go it alone to open the straits was taken as a sign by Israel to take military action; Israel started the war.	
	However, Nasser concentrated on building a pan-Arab nationalist movement which he believed could exact revenge on Israel. A series of border disputes were the major spark for the Six-Day War. In April 1967, the skirmishes worsened; Israel and Syria fought an air and artillery engagement in which six Syrian fighter jets were destroyed. The Soviets then fuelled Arab suspicions about Israel; on 13 May Moscow warned Cairo that Israel was amassing troops on the Syrian border and would attack within a week. Nasser knew that this was untrue but he went ahead with his policy of brinkmanship. He promised that Egypt would not fire the first shot while making increasingly aggressive statements.	
	On 14 May 1967 Nasser moved 100 000 Egyptian troops into Sinai; this raised the Israeli suspicions as it brought the troops closer to their border. On 16 May he obtained the withdrawal of the UN Emergency Force from Egypt and on 22 May he closed the Straits of Tiran, effectively re-imposing the blockade of the port of Eilat that had been lifted in 1956. Nasser's radio station broadcast from Cairo to the rest of the Middle East, a series of alarming threats to Israel announcing that 'if Israel wishes to threaten war, we tell her, you are welcome'.	
	Nasser portrayed to the world an image of the leader of the Arabs challenging the Jewish state with a modern fighting force ready for action. On 29 May he made a speech in the Egyptian parliament demanding that Israel should allow Palestinian refugees to return to Israel and that Israel should surrender the land taken in 1948–9. He continued with this policy of brinkmanship but failed to declare war on Israel. This led to Israeli leaders voting to counter the Arab military build-up by launching a pre-emptive strike on 5 June 1967.	