

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2011 question paper**  
**for the guidance of teachers**

**9697 HISTORY**

**9697/32**

Paper 3 (International History, 1945–1991),  
maximum raw mark 100

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 must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- Cambridge will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

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### GENERIC MARK BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Examiners will assess which Level of Response best reflects most of the answer. An answer will not be required to demonstrate all of the descriptions in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band.

<b>Band</b>	<b>Marks</b>	<b>Levels of Response</b>
1	21–25	The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument. The best answers must be awarded 25 marks.
2	18–20	Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that a good solid answer has been provided.
3	16–17	Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.
4	14–15	Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be organised more effectively.
5	11–13	Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the requirements of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.
6	8–10	Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.
7	0–7	Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments that do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent. Marks at the bottom of this Band will be given very rarely because even the most wayward and fragmentary answers usually make at least a few valid points.

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## SECTION A

**1 Source-based question: WEAKNESSES OF THE UN: ‘The effectiveness of the UN has been hindered more by the self-interest of member states than by its own structural weaknesses.’ How far do Sources A-E support this view?**

**L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO VALID USE OF SOURCES [1–5]**

These answers will write about the weaknesses of the UN and might use the sources. However, candidates will not use the sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay-style answer to the question.

*e.g. The UN was established at the end of World War Two with the intention of keeping peace in the future. It was similar to the League of Nations, which was established at the end of the First World War.*

**L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [6–8]**

These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence, i.e. sources are used at face value only with no evaluation/interpretation in context.

*e.g. Source C agrees with the hypothesis because it shows how both the USA and the USSR have, for selfish reasons, often failed to support the UN OR Source B disagrees with the hypothesis because it shows that the real weakness of the UN lies in its structure, which gives too much influence to smaller countries, and in its inadequate financial resources.*

**L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9–13]**

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and to disprove it. However, sources are still used only at face value.

*e.g. Source A agrees with the hypothesis because it shows that the UN is entirely dependent upon the support of its members. However, Source E disagrees with the hypothesis because it clearly shows major flaws in the organisation of the UN which take away its credibility.*

**L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [14–16]**

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at their face value.

*e.g. Source C agrees with the hypothesis, showing how member states, such as the USA and the USSR, have simply ignored their obligations to the UN. However, the fact that they are able to do this would imply fundamental weaknesses in the structure of the UN OR Source D disagrees with the hypothesis, showing how the UN is in desperate need of reform in its administration and leadership. However, the speaker (a leading UN figure himself) clearly believes that this is only possible with the full support of member states, which, by implication, has been lacking.*

**[NB – no credit should be given at this level for unsupported assertions regarding source provenance: e.g. statements such as *Source D is unreliable because it is biased* – evidence/examples are required to substantiate such points.]**

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L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **AND** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [17–21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

e.g. both of the statements shown as examples in Level 4

L6 AS L5, PLUS **EITHER** (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED, **OR** (b) RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED [22–25]

For (a) the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing/disagreeing is better/preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement, i.e. not just why some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse.

e.g. *On balance, I disagree with the hypothesis. Whilst Source D clearly makes the point that the full support of member states is essential if the UN is to be effective, it also makes heavily critical points about the structure of the UN itself. Given that these are the words of a very senior and experienced UN official, who might be expected to defend all aspects of the UN's work, these criticisms are especially damning.*

For (b) include all L5 answers which use the evidence to **modify** the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it.

e.g. *An alternative hypothesis might be that the UN's effectiveness is seriously weakened because it does not have the power or the authority to enforce compliance from member states*

### Guidance on specific sources

(Y) = supports the hypothesis

(N) = does not support the hypothesis

### SOURCE A:

#### Description:

- primary UN Source, 1946

#### Level 2/3:

- makes no mention of UN effectiveness or weaknesses [**NEUTRAL**]

#### Level 4/5:

- source's utility limited by date of publication (i.e. just after establishment of UN; can't comment on its effectiveness) **NEUTRAL**
- that such a speech was deemed necessary would imply that, right at the beginning, there were serious concerns that UN delegates would put their own national self-interests above those of the UN [**Y**]
- Cross-referencing:
  - with Source C – member states putting their own interests first [**Y**]
  - with Source E – last sentence ('governments jockeying for position') [**Y**]
  - with Source D – member states needing to offer full support [**Y**]
  - contrast with other sources

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**Contextual Knowledge:**

- concerns regarding the failure of the League of Nations and the desire not to repeat the same mistakes
- UN born into a divided world

**SOURCE B:**

**Description:**

- 1985 – thus has perspective of UN work through most of Cold War period
- nature of the journal from which the article is taken would indicate that the focus is likely to be on the legal/structural aspects of UN

**Level 2/3:**

- structural weaknesses make UN ineffective [N]
- Security Council weakened by veto [N]
- General Assembly weakened by voting system [N]
- inadequate financial resources [N]

**Level 4/5:**

- even with the political will of member states, the UN would still fail because of its own structural weaknesses (as with League of Nations) [N]
- for the UN to have greater authority over member states, including the power to raise finances through taxation, it would need to be a very different kind of institution (almost a federal government in its own right)
- Cross-referencing:
  - with D and E to show structural and leadership weaknesses [N]
  - contrast with C which shows lack of support from member states [Y]

**Contextual Knowledge:**

- heavy use of veto by superpowers for self interest (e.g. USA over Israel, USSR over Hungary, Korea etc.)
- inadequate funding – e.g. UN relying on donations for its work with refugees

**SOURCE C:**

**Description:**

- 1991 – at end of Cold War – seen as an ideal opportunity for the UN to become more effective
- American writers – yet seems to be critical of USA's lack of support for UN
- title would indicate that the authors believe that a strong UN is essential for the benefit of mankind

**Level 2/3:**

- USA and USSR failing to fulfil responsibilities to UN [Y]
- USA only supporting UN missions which were in US interests [Y]

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#### **Level 4/5:**

- early enthusiasm for UN quickly eroded due to self interest of member states [Y]
- emotive content – e.g. ‘carnage of WWII’, ‘enthusiasm ran high’, ‘six weeks before Hiroshima and Nagasaki’, ‘unwilling to honour our obligations’, ‘disgracefully broken contractual agreements’, ‘humanity’s future’ [Y]
- split in US politics – Presidents wanting to honour obligations, Congress refusing
- writers clearly believe that an effective UN is essential for the future of mankind; thus heavily critical of how member states’ self-interest has reduced UN’s effectiveness [Y]
- Cross-referencing:
  - with A to show that full support from member states was essential
  - with the last sentences if both D and E
  - contrast with B, D and E which show weaknesses within the UN itself

#### **Contextual Knowledge:**

- USA dropped bombs on Japan shortly after agreeing to establish UN
- support for UN within USA has fallen dramatically since 1945
- growth of pressure groups seeking greater federalisation (cf European Union)

#### **SOURCE D:**

##### **Description:**

- 1996 – perspective of UN’s work throughout the period
- views of a very senior and experienced UN official – might be expected to defend UN against all criticism

##### **Level 2/3:**

- UN has very limited financial resources [N]
- UN needs reform to administration systems, leadership, management and civil service [N]
- UN needs real support from member states [Y]

##### **Level 4/5:**

- showing that UN is not and was never intended to be a federal government, with the authority to raise taxes and force member states into action
- shows how UN has done its best in difficult circumstances
- UN’s weaknesses are inevitable given the mandate by which it was established
- shows that the weaknesses inherent in UN can only be overcome with the full support of member states [Y]
- the most balanced source – contains arguments for and against the hypothesis
- Cross-referencing:
  - with A and C to show that the support of member states is crucial [Y]
  - with B and E to show the structural weaknesses of UN

##### **Contextual Knowledge:**

- by 1996, the UN’s role was far greater than that originally envisaged – e.g. huge demand for humanitarian actions, peacekeeping missions, health issues etc.

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#### **SOURCE E:**

##### **Description:**

- 2002 – perspective of UN's work throughout the period
- British origin

##### **Level 2/3:**

- shows weaknesses in UN structure [N]
- shows member states acting on their own self interests [Y]

##### **Level 4/5:**

- general Assembly voting system unfair [N]
- illogical decision making [N]
- Security Council not fully representative [N]
- Security Council inhibited by self-interest of members [Y]
- UN does not provide a satisfactory system of international law [N] – this was never the intention when the UN was established, for it to become so would require a fundamental change in its mandate
- Cross-referencing:
  - with B and D to show structural weaknesses of UN
  - with A, C and D to show the importance of full support from member states

##### **Contextual Knowledge:**

- with increasing problems in the world (e.g. wars, famine, epidemics, global warming etc.), many people believe that the UN needs to be strengthened and adapted

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## Section B

### 2 'The Truman Doctrine was a symptom not a cause of the Cold War.' How far do you agree?

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the causes and early development of the Cold War, and to deploy this in order to reach a reasoned conclusion regarding the validity of the hypothesis.

To support the hypothesis, candidates would need to demonstrate that the Cold War had effectively already started before the Truman Doctrine was announced in 1947 – e.g.

- long-term problems between capitalism and communism (temporarily disguised during WWII)
- Soviet fears of yet another invasion from Western Europe and Stalin's actions in Eastern Europe
- US fears of communism spreading and of repeating the problems associated with appeasement
- power vacuum in Europe and especially the issue of what should be done with Germany
- the USA's need to secure markets in Europe – fear of drifting back into depression
- USA's possession and use of atom bomb and delays in opening the Second Front
- misunderstandings between USA and USSR regarding their true intentions (i.e. the Post-Revisionist viewpoint)
- growth of antagonism between Yalta (Feb 1945) and Potsdam (July 1945) – Truman replacing Roosevelt
- Churchill's 'iron curtain' speech and the Long Telegram

To challenge the hypothesis, candidates would need to demonstrate that

- Truman Doctrine was the first openly antagonistic action of the Cold War
- open declaration that USA intended to contain communism and had no intention of returning to isolationism
- led to Marshall Plan
- Cominform
- Truman Doctrine significantly changed relationships between superpowers, and was a key factor in subsequent problems – e.g. Berlin, NATO etc.

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- be focused and balanced
- analyse/evaluate both the support and challenge cases
- reach a reasoned conclusion as to whether the hypothesis is to be supported or not

### 3 'The globalisation of the Cold War between 1950 and 1975 was caused by the USA's misguided and irrational fear of Soviet intentions.' How far do you agree?

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the globalisation of the Cold War, and to deploy this in order to reach a reasoned conclusion regarding the validity of the hypothesis.

Content in support of the hypothesis could include:

- the nature and purpose of US containment policy
- NSC-68 – regarded USSR as fanatics wanting to spread communism around the world
- fears regarding communism in China after 1949 – USA incorrectly saw USSR and China as one Communist bloc
- USA became involved in a series of regional conflicts, whose causes were more to do with post-colonial nationalism than communist world domination e.g. Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Chile, Mozambique, Angola
- failure of roll-back



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Content to challenge the hypothesis could include:

- Stalin's explicit notion of communist world domination; Khrushchev also believed in this, although felt that it would come naturally
- NATO and Warsaw Pact
- nuclear arms race
- Soviet involvement in essentially regional disputes – e.g. Korea, Middle East
- fears of domino theory seemed justified
- USA had to respond to the very real threat of Soviet nuclear weapons in Cuba
- USA's need to protect her economy and prestige

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- be focused and balanced
- analyse/evaluate both the support and challenge cases
- reach a reasoned conclusion as to whether the hypothesis is to be supported or not

#### **4 How far were Arab-Israeli relations affected by the Cold War between 1956 and 1979?**

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the Arab-Israeli issue between the Suez War of 1956 and the Camp David peace agreement of 1979, and to deploy this in order to evaluate the impact of the Cold War on events.

Relevant content could include:

- essentially a regional conflict – USA and USSR involved because of importance of Middle East – at crossroads between the West, the Communist Bloc and Third World, Asia and Africa
- oil also significant
- superpower involvement limited to providing weapons and military advisers
- Suez War 1956:
  - Nasser of Egypt wanted Palestinian liberation from Jews – got equipment of military advisers from USSR – USA perceived this as communist plot to move into Middle East, whilst Britain and France worried about access to Suez Canal
  - war was disaster for Britain and France. Israel now looked to USA as its chief supporter
- Six Day War, 1967:
  - USSR encouraged Egypt and Syria against Israel and hinted that USSR would support them if war came – USSR keen to maintain influence in Middle East
  - Arab states prepared for war against Israel – Israel attacked first and gained easy victory
  - Israel kept newly acquired land as a 'buffer zone'
  - USSR supplied Egypt and Syria with more modern weapons
- Yom Kippur War, 1973:
  - Palestinian terrorist organisations became more assertive
  - Sadat (Egypt) wanted to gain US support for Arabs so that USA would persuade Israel to agree a peace settlement
  - Egypt and Syria attacked Israel, hoping that this would force USA to be mediators
  - Israel had American weapons and quickly won
  - USA and USSR, with UN support, agreed it was time to seek a peace settlement in Middle East
- Camp David:
  - Arabs realised they couldn't win
  - Israel pressured to make peace by USA (worried by high defence costs, world recession etc.), President Carter played key role in negotiations

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- be focused and balanced
- analyse/evaluate the extent to which superpower involvement shaped or merely responded to events in what was essentially a regional conflict
- reach a reasoned conclusion regarding the impact of the Cold War on the Arab-Israeli conflict

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**5 'Deng Xiaoping's move towards *market socialism* was both the cause of the crisis of Chinese communism and the reason why it survived.' How far do you agree?**

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of Deng Xiaoping's approach to the problems facing China, and to deploy this to show the effects of his reforms on the Chinese Communist Party and to test the validity of the hypothesis.

Content which might be used to show how 'market socialism' led to the crisis could include:

- reversal of changes made during Cultural Revolution – wanted a prosperous modern state
- economic reforms – joined IMF and WB and accepted foreign loans, profit-sharing schemes etc. initial success, but then inflation grew etc.
- greater social freedoms – e.g. greater religious freedom, greater freedom for intellectuals in literature and the arts, Democracy Wall
- these changes led to demands for more radical reform – e.g. the right to criticise the government, representation for non-communist parties, freedom to travel abroad, abolition of communes
- reforms upset the traditional, conservative members of CCP
- student demonstrations in 1986 supporting Deng's 'four modernisations' but demanding greater democracy
- many people, including Gorbachev, felt that it was impossible to have economic reform without political reform.
- Tiananmen Square 1989 – demanding political reform

Content which might be used to show how 'market socialism' helped CCP survive could include:

- Deng maintained control of CCP by balancing the various factions within it – e.g. replacement of the reformer Hu Yao Bang with Zhao Zhi Yang, who was an economic reformer but not interested in political reform – after Tiananmen Square, Deng supported hard-liner Li Peng
- CCP retained support of the army which was used to disperse demonstrations
- international criticism, but Deng was convinced that one-party control was needed to supervise the transition to a 'socialist market economy'
- Gorbachev's experiences in USSR might seem to confirm that Deng was right
- counter arguments might suggest that CCP would have faced a crisis with or without Deng's 'market socialist' policies and that the CCP would have survived because of its hard line approach and control of the army

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- be focused and balanced
- analyse/evaluate the impact of Deng's policies and apply the conclusions reached to both elements of the question
- reach a reasoned conclusion regarding the validity of the hypothesis

**6 How and why did the USA's nuclear deterrence strategies develop between 1954 and 1967?**

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the USA's nuclear deterrence strategies, and to deploy this to show how and why they changed in the period from 1954 to 1967.

Relevant content could include:

- Massive Retaliation (1954):
  - USSR developed atom bomb, so USA developed hydrogen bomb in 1952 – USSR achieved this in 1953
  - USA remained ahead in number of weapons, but USSR took lead in 1957 with development of ICBMs – USA followed suit with Atlas
  - USA developed shorter range Jupiter missiles with launching sites in Europe and Turkey
  - USSR launched sputnik in 1958; USA followed suit

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- Mutually Assured Destruction (1964):
  - Cuban crisis revealed the full extent of the danger of nuclear war
  - Nuclear weapons now seen as creating stability due to balance of power
  - Nuclear Test Ban Treaty 1963
  - USA developed SLBMs (polaris and poseiden)
  - USSR developed their own stockpile of ICBMs and SLBMs – wanted to pressure USA into limiting arms build-up
  - USA had less to spend on nuclear weapons (e.g. cost of Vietnam War) – USSR catching up with USA's stockpile
- Flexible Response (agreed by NATO 1967):
  - originally developed under Kennedy
  - need for conventional weapons

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- be focused and balanced
- analyse the various strategies and explain them in context to show how and why they developed

## **7 How important was the USA to the development of the international economy in the period from 1945 until 1980?**

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of how the international economy developed 1945 – 1980, and to deploy this to analyse/evaluate the significance of the USA's role.

Relevant content could include:

- state of the international economy in 1945 – prominent position of USA
- USA wanting to keep wartime boom going – hence Marshall Aid and support for Japan etc.
- importance of the dollar
- GATT, World Bank and IMF – importance of USA
- problems in the international economy in the 1970s – significance of USA – e.g.
  - problems with US economy and reasons for them
  - impact on international economy – e.g. devaluing dollar 1971
  - OPEC and rising oil prices
  - free trade
- other factors
  - OPEC
  - Japan's 'economic miracle'
  - Asian Tigers

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- be balanced between the significance of the USA and other factors
- develop a logical argument focused on the specific needs of the question

## **8 'In the period from 1970 to 1991, international aid did more to hinder than assist Third World countries in the development of their economies.' How far do you agree?**

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the international aid given to Third World countries 1970 – 1991, and to deploy this in order to evaluate the impact of this aid.

Relevant content could include:

- neo-colonialism – rich countries still expected the Third World to continue providing food and raw materials, and expected them to buy manufactured goods from rich countries – no encouragement was given for Third World countries to industrialise
- role of multi-national companies

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- Third World countries lacked finances to diversify and many remained dependent upon one-product economies – e.g. Ghana (cocoa), Zambia (copper), Ethiopia (coffee)
- 1970s saw fall in prices of many commodities on which Third World countries depended, yet price of manufactured goods continued to rise
- financial aid was usually on a business basis – i.e. had to be repaid with interest– led to debt crisis
- rising populations in Third World countries
- wars/civil wars in Third World countries – aid often used for weapons etc.
- droughts etc.
- corrupt and inefficient governments

Characteristically, the best responses will:

- show sound knowledge of the type of aid given and of its impact
- give examples to substantiate the points made
- evaluate the impact of aid and develop a focused and balanced argument