

## **MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2013 series**

### **9697 HISTORY**

**9697/32**

Paper 3, 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 should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

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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 be required to demonstrate all of the descriptions in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band.

Band	Marks	Levels of Response
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 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, a fair attempt to provide an argument and the 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.

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## Section A

1. 'In the 1950s and 1960s, the People's Republic of China was wrongly denied membership of the United Nations.' 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 China and the UN in the 1950s and '60s 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.

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.

L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE 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.

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.

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).

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.

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.

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**Please note:**

- Y** supports the hypothesis
- N** against the hypothesis
- Neutral** neither supports nor opposes hypothesis

**Context**

At the founding of the UN, China was afforded ‘big power’ status and a seat in the Security Council. By 1949, China had undergone a revolution and Mao controlled the whole of the Chinese mainland. Only the island of Formosa (Taiwan) remained in the hands of the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-Shek. Since the USA and many other states refused to accept that Mao’s communist regime constituted the legal government of China, Taiwan retained China’s place in the UN. The USA, with its deep fear of communism, was opposed to the People’s Republic of China becoming a member of the UN. The Soviet Union argued that the communists represented the true government of China and campaigned, in both the Security Council and the General Assembly, for them to replace Taiwan (even going so far as to boycott the UN in 1950). It was not until the 1970s that many states, including the USA, recognised the PRC as the government of China. Only in 1971 was the PRC granted the right to represent China at the UN.

**Source A**

**Context:** From an article in a Western magazine in 1954, at a time when the Cold War was at its height and there was fear of communist China, especially following its involvement in the Korean War.

**Content (Face Value):** The writer disagrees with the hypothesis. The source argues that the UN is right to leave China’s seat at the UN in the hands of the government of Chiang Kai-Shek, even though Mao’s communist government controls most of China’s land. The communists gained this land by ‘force and violence’, and Mao’s government is described as a ‘ruthless tyranny’. While it might be convenient to accept the communists as the rightful representatives of China in the UN, this would go against the principles on which the UN was founded. Moreover, the Charter was originally signed by Chiang Kai-Shek and not by Mao. **(N)**

**Content (Beyond Face Value):** The writer believes that China should continue to be represented in the UN by the exiled government in Taiwan (**X-Ref with Source C, which describes the PRC’s continued flouting of international law**). The fact that the communists controlled virtually all of China is not seen as a crucial factor; indeed, the writer still refers to the *government* of Chiang Kai-Shek, implying that this is the legal government of China **(N)**. This source comes from a Western magazine at a time when the Cold War was at its height and fear of communism was rife in the West. The communist Chinese had effectively fought against the UN in Korea. The source contains considerable anti-communist bias, as shown by emotive phrases such as ‘by force and violence’, ‘ruthless tyranny’ and ‘The Soviet Union, *of course*, supports the admission of the communist government’. The source ignores the fact that China’s seat in the UN remained in the hands of those who represented only a tiny fraction of the total population of China, and strongly supports the USA’s stance on the issue. **(N, but the argument is tarnished by the anti-communist bias and failure to address the fact that the vast majority of the Chinese population is not represented in the UN.)**

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**Source B**

**Context:** Article by a Chinese academic in 1956 attempting to justify membership of the UN by the PRC.

**Content (Face Value):** The PRC should be allowed a seat in the UN since its exclusion is unjust and dangerous. The inclusion of the PRC would ease international tension. The source states that the PRC is the legitimate government of China, since it controls the vast majority of China’s land and people, and since it came to power by removing a corrupt government. Moreover, the PRC is both democratic and stable. **(Y – the PRC is the true government of China and should be allowed to represent the country in the UN.)**

**Content (Beyond Face Value):** The PRC is democratic and stable, and is only being denied membership of the UN by the ‘selfish motives’ of some countries, a clear reference to the USA (Y). However, the writer is a supporter of the PRC, and this is reflected in much of the content. For example, the writer argues that China’s seat in the UN should be ‘restored’ and that China is ‘entitled to a permanent seat on the Security Council’; in fact, China already had both – the issue is not the restoration of China’s seat, but who should represent it **(X-Ref with Sources A, C and E)**. In 1956, China was still represented by the Chiang Kai-Shek government in Taiwan. The writer claims that the state established by the PRC is ‘democratic’, but Mao’s China was certainly not the type of democracy which would have been understood in the West. The source also contains subtle anti-American bias. **(Y, but the source is unreliable due to its provenance.)**

**Source C**

**Context:** Article from an American magazine in 1961.

**Content (Face Value):** The source is opposed to the PRC gaining China’s seat at the UN. It argues that the PRC has consistently flouted UN principles and international law and the USA is right to do everything it can to prevent the PRC gaining membership of the UN since this would not be in the interests of the ‘smaller nations’. **(N)**

**Content (Beyond Face Value):** The source uses phrases from the UN Charter to demonstrate the PRC’s unwillingness to conform to UN principles **(X-Ref with Sources A and D)**. The PRC has even fought against the UN, for example in Korea. The USA is right to do everything it can to prevent the PRC gaining membership of the UN. However this source comes from an article in an American magazine at a time when the USA was convinced that there was Sino-Soviet collusion in a plot to dominate the world (in fact, Sino-Soviet relations were already deteriorating by 1961). The last sentence implies that the USSR had a vested interest in admitting the PRC to the UN **(X-Ref with Source A)**. Inclusion of the PRC would seriously undermine the USA’s power-base within the UN **(X-Ref with Source E)**. The USA refused to accept the PRC as the legitimate government of China. The pro-American and anti-communist bias is evident in the frequent use of the term ‘Red China’ and by the use of emotive words such as ‘flouted’, ‘inflicted’ and ‘violated’. The USA is depicted as the defender of the ‘smaller nations’ against the might of the communist forces of the USSR and the PRC, each year since 1951 orchestrating a moratorium to prevent the admittance of the PRC to the UN **(N but the source is unreliable due to its provenance)**. However, it should be noted that, despite the considerable power and authority which the USA had in the UN, the most recent vote on such a moratorium was quite close, with a large number of abstentions; this implied that many countries did not agree with the American strategy to keep the PRC out of the UN **(X-Ref with Source E)** **(Y – an increasing number of UN member states believed that the PRC should be admitted to the UN).**

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**Source D**

**Context:** Article by an American academic in a periodical which specifically focuses on issues relating to China.

**Content (Face Value):** It is wrong that 600 million Chinese are not represented in the UN (Y). However, the article is critical of the government of the PRC, claiming that membership of the UN would not change its 'attitude and behaviour'. The implication is that the PRC does not have the 'legal and moral right' to represent China at the UN (N).

**Content (Beyond Face Value):** In many ways, this is a more balanced judgement than that in Source C (X-Ref). The writer claims that 'it would be desirable from everybody's point of view' if 600 million Chinese were represented in the UN; without this, China is barred from 'effective relations with the rest of the world', which is dangerous in terms of maintaining world peace. (Y) However, the writer questions the communist regime's claim to have a 'legal and moral right' to represent China in the UN. The source is critical of the PRC's 'attitude and behaviour' (X-Ref with Sources A and C), and does not believe that being admitted to the UN would lead to any modification in these. The final sentence implies that membership of the UN would harden the PRC's 'attitude and behaviour' still further by giving it international recognition (N). While agreeing that the population of the Chinese mainland should be represented in the UN (X-Ref with Sources B and E), the writer does not believe that the PRC should be admitted. In effect, this is in agreement with American foreign policy, which, in 1962, still did not accept the PRC as the legal government of China.

**Source E**

**Context:** Article by an American academic in 1963.

**Content (Face Value):** There was a difference of opinion between the UK and American governments' attitude towards the representation of China in the UN. The UK had clearly accepted that because it controlled the vast majority of China, the PRC constituted the legal government of China and should replace the Taiwan government as China's representative in the UN. Conversely, the USA continued to support the Taiwan government as the true representatives of China on moral grounds (Balanced).

**Content (Beyond Face Value):** The article was written at a time when the Cold War was at its height, shortly after the Cuban missile crisis had brought the world close to nuclear destruction. Although this article was written by an American academic, it seems to support UK opinion on this issue. The statement that 'the American viewpoint appears to be less concerned with the legal merits of the problem' implies that the writer believes that the PRC is the legal government of China and should represent China in the UN (X-Ref with Source B). The USA's argument that the government of Taiwan should continue to represent China because it is 'democratic and humanitarian' is subtly dismissed by the use of the words 'allegedly championed by the regime installed in Taiwan'. Chiang Kai-Shek is described as 'Generalissimo', a title which conjures up neither democracy nor humanitarianism (X-Ref with Source B). The implication is that the USA continues to champion the Taiwan regime at the expense of the PRC purely for its own political reasons – opposition to communism and maintenance of its power-base within the UN (X-Ref with Source B). The fact that even the UK, one of the USA's staunchest western allies, believed that the PRC should have a seat at the UN, suggests that the USA was losing the battle to keep the PRC out of the UN (X-Ref with Source C) (Y).

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**Conclusion**

Sources B and E are in support of the hypothesis, largely on the grounds that the PRC was the government of China since it represented the majority of China’s land and people. Sources A and C challenge the hypothesis, largely on moral grounds. Source D has a degree of balance, believing that it is wrong for 600 million Chinese to be unrepresented in the UN, but tends to argue that there is no evidence to suggest that the PRC would temper its poor attitude and behaviour if admitted to the UN.

The issue was complicated by the fact that China had been represented at the UN by the government of Chiang Kai-Shek, and held Big Power status as a member of the Security Council. Since a country cannot be represented at the UN by two governments at the same time, admitting the PRC would mean expelling Taiwan. Such a move would run counter to US foreign policy. Alternatively, the PRC could have been admitted as representatives of China, and existing delegates could have been renamed representatives of Taiwan –not an option at a time when the Taiwan government saw itself as the government of China, while the PRC saw Taiwan as part of China. Admitting the PRC to the UN would be to acknowledge it as the legal government of China, something which the USA was not prepared to do until the early 1970s. Until then, the USA continued to use its power and authority within the UN to keep Red China out.

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**Section B**

- 2 'The development of the Cold War from 1945 to 1949 was caused more by superpowers' need for security than by their desire for expansion.' How far do you agree**

In support of the hypothesis, it could be argued that the USSR had suffered greatly during WW2 and was in no position to expand in its aftermath. Stalin's priority was to prevent future attacks from the West and this explains his determination to create a 'buffer zone' in Eastern Europe. The USA had been massively affected by the Great Depression and her economic security depended on developing markets in Europe and elsewhere. It was the superpowers' desire for such security which brought them into conflict. The USA interpreted Stalin's actions in Eastern Europe as expansionist and a threat to American economic interests in Europe. The USSR, which had a vested interest in keeping Germany weak and demanded heavy war reparations from it, viewed American attempts to restore Germany's economy with great suspicion. Post-revisionist historians would argue that it was the failure of the superpowers to understand each others' security issues which led to the Cold War.

In challenging the hypothesis, it could be argued that Stalin had openly advocated world communism and his aggressive actions in Eastern Europe were expansionist. The USA, therefore, had to defend Europe from the spread of communism and this explains the Truman Doctrine (the traditional view). However, it could be argued that the Truman Doctrine was intended to destroy communism in order to enable the USA to gain greater power within Europe, while the Marshall Plan was a form of dollar imperialism (the revisionist view). Both the USA and the USSR were attempting to expand their own power base by filling the European vacuum left by WW2.

- 3 'It was America's excessive fear of communism which caused the globalisation of the Cold War.' Discuss.**

In support of the view expressed in the question, it could be argued that America over-estimated the threat posed by communism, in particular through the assumption that there was a plot with the aim of world domination. This excessive fear led to containment, roll back and belief in the 'domino effect', which, in turn, led to American involvement in Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, the Middle East and South America, escalating regional issues into Cold War crises. In reality, there was no plot, the Sino-Soviet split making such a thing impossible. Both China and the USSR played a far less direct role in Korea and Vietnam than the USA, for example.

In challenging the view, it could be argued that America had a great deal to fear from the expansion of communism, in particular its economic interests (for example in Southeast Asia). The USSR, while not directly involved in the Korean War, had given 'permission' for the North to attack the South, while both the USSR and the PRC played significant roles in the Vietnam war, supplying the Vietcong with the weaponry necessary to achieve victory. In Cuba, the USSR created greater tension by placing nuclear weapons close to the USA itself. Also the USSR exploited post-colonial problems in Africa in an attempt to spread its influence.



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**4 How far was the USA responsible for the Cuban missile crisis?**

In support of the view that the USA was responsible, it could be argued that the USA who interpreted Castro's nationalist revolution as a significant communist threat in 'America's backyard'. To America, this was a flagrant breach of the Monroe Doctrine and a major blow to her prestige. The USA's ill-fated attempts to remove Castro and restore the pro-American and corrupt government of Batista (e.g. Bay of Pigs) led Castro to seek assistance from the USSR. In seeking to protect a new and vulnerable communist state from American aggression, Khrushchev placed nuclear weapons on the island, leading to the missile crisis

In challenging the view, it could be argued that Castro and Khrushchev were more responsible than the USA for initiating the missile crisis. Castro exploited superpower rivalry in order to protect his revolution from the USA, declaring himself a communist to secure Soviet assistance. Khrushchev had wider motives than merely defending Cuba: retaliation for the placement of American missiles in Turkey; wanting to test the resolve of a new, young and inexperienced American President; gaining international prestige for the USSR as leader of the world communist movement at a time when China was a growing threat; maintaining his power base and credibility within the Soviet Union.

**5 Mikhail Gorbachev has been described as 'the most gifted leader Russia had seen for many years'. Why, then, did the USSR collapse within six years of his coming to power?**

Aged 54 when he came to power in 1985, it was inevitable that Gorbachev would be seen as more dynamic than the elderly leaders he replaced (Andropov and Chernenko). 1964-85 had witnessed a prolonged period of stagnation and decline within the Soviet Union, its economy was in disarray largely as a result of maintaining the arms race. While not wishing to end communist rule, Gorbachev sought to streamline and modernise the Communist Party. His reforms brought him into conflict with both radicals (e.g. Yeltsin) and conservatives (e.g. Ligachev), a split which became impossible to manage. Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika failed to have the desired effect, and encouraged latent nationalist groups both within the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. Gorbachev's removal of the Brezhnev Doctrine speeded up the loss of control over Eastern Europe. Whereas the Communist Party survived in China because it brought in economic reforms while maintaining strong political control, Gorbachev attempted to reform both economics and politics at the same time.

Some historians argue that the USSR was beyond reform by the time Gorbachev came to power and that its demise was inevitable. The corrupt nature of the political system meant that effective reform would be impossible. Without Gorbachev's reforms, the USSR would have continued to stagnate, and eventually collapse, especially after Reagan's escalation of the arms race.

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**6 How accurate is the view that the Soviet Union achieved supremacy in the nuclear arms race during the 1970s?**

In support of the assertion, it could be argued that, in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviets decided to make every effort to catch up with the American stockpiles of ICBMs and SLBMs. They hoped that gaining equality would enhance their own security, and encourage the Americans to limit and reduce the build up of nuclear weapons. As the US became more deeply involved in the Vietnam War, they had less to spend on nuclear weapons. By the early 1970s the USSR had overtaken the USA and her allies in numbers of ICBMs and SLBMs. The Soviets also developed ABMs, which would destroy incoming enemy missiles before they reached their targets.

In challenging the assertion, it could be argued that the USA retained supremacy in the nuclear arms race throughout the 1970s. The USA developed MIRV, a missile which could carry as many as 14 separate and independently targeted warheads. While the USSR quickly developed its own version (SS-20), this was not as sophisticated and could carry a maximum of 3 warheads. By the end of the 1970s, the USA had also developed cruise missiles which were based in Europe. These were able to penetrate Soviet radar by flying at low altitudes.

A balanced response might argue that both the USA and the USSR had enough nuclear weapons during the 1970s to destroy the world several times over. Both were aware of the danger that one side might try to strike first, destroying all the other side's weapons before they had time to retaliate. Both the USA and the USSR were determined to maintain constant technological progress. The avoidance of nuclear war depended on the maintenance of a balance of nuclear power.

**7 Assess the reasons for Japan's economic recovery after World War II.**

It could be argued that American help was vital in the early years of Japanese recovery. The USA believed that Japan was vital against the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. The USA supplied aid and new equipment, and allowed Japanese goods into American markets on favourable terms. The Korean War gave an enormous boost to Japan's recovery. It provided a base for the UN mission in Korea and Japanese manufacturers were used to provide a wide range of materials and supplies. With the USA effectively taking care of Japan's security, Japan was able to invest in industry without having to fund defence and armaments.

While American support was vital to kick-start the Japanese economic revival, there were other factors which encouraged and maintained growth. A land reform plan was introduced to move Japan from a semi-feudal system; government subsidies and regulations enabled farming to develop more effectively. Since much of Japan's industry had been destroyed during WW2, new plants were built using the latest technology. Japan was able to concentrate on high-technology goods for domestic and export markets. A government initiative helped to raise incomes, while the booming export market demanded the construction of shipping. Japanese products gained a reputation for high quality and reliability, and were highly competitive in the world market. Recovery was also aided by a series of stable governments. The dominant party was the LDP, conservative and pro-business in character and in power from the early '50s to the early '90s.

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**8 'Political instability was the main problem facing Africa in the period from 1960**  
**How far do you agree?**

In support of the hypothesis, it could be argued that African politicians lacked experience of how to work the systems of parliamentary democracy left behind by Europeans. Most African leaders who had taken part in guerrilla campaigns before independence had been influenced by Marxist ideas, and they tended to establish one-party states. In some cases (e.g. Kenya and Tanzania), this provided stable and effective government, but often it led to violence as the only means of opposing the government. There were military coups (e.g. Ghana 1966). Many countries were beset by tribal rivalries; these had been held in check by the fight for independence, but became prevalent again once independence was achieved. In Nigeria, Congo, Burundi and Rwanda, tribal differences led to civil war, often made worse by Cold War rivalries.

In challenging the hypothesis, it could be argued that economic problems and natural disasters were a bigger problem for Africa. The world recession in the 1970s and 1980s reduced demand for African exports such as oil, copper and cobalt, a major problem for countries dependent upon single-product exports. The severe drought (1982-5) caused crop failures, death of livestock, famine and starvation. Africa suffered from a severe debt crisis and, at the same time, was being forced by the IMF to make dramatic spending cuts in return for further loans. Many countries were forced to devalue their currencies and reduce food price subsidies, leading to increased prices at a time when unemployment was rising and real wages were falling. Governments were also forced to cut their spending on education and social services.