



## Cambridge International AS & A Level

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**HISTORY**

**9389/41**

Paper 4 Depth Study 41

**May/June 2021**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

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**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.

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This document consists of **16** printed pages.

**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 descriptors 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.

Question 1–12	Generic Levels of Response:	Marks
<b>Level 5:</b>	<p>Responses show a very good understanding of the question and contain a relevant, focused and balanced argument, fully supported by appropriate factual material and based on a consistently analytical approach.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses may be expected to be analytical, focused and balanced throughout. The candidate will be in full control of the argument and will reach a supported judgement in response to the question.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses might typically be analytical, consistent and balanced but the argument might not be fully convincing.</p>	<b>25–30</b>
<b>Level 4:</b>	<p>Responses show a good understanding of the question and contain a relevant argument based on a largely analytical approach.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses are likely to be analytical, balanced and effectively supported. There may be some attempt to reach a judgement but this may be partial or unsupported.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses are likely to contain detailed and accurate factual material with some focused analysis but the argument is inconsistent or unbalanced.</p>	<b>19–24</b>
<b>Level 3:</b>	<p>Responses show understanding of the question and contain appropriate factual material. The material may lack depth. Some analytical points may be made but these may not be highly developed or consistently supported.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses contain detailed and accurate factual material. However, attempts to argue relevantly are implicit or confined to introductions or conclusions. Alternatively, responses may offer an analytical approach which contains some supporting material.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses might offer narrative or description relating to the topic but are less likely to address the terms of the question.</p>	<b>13–18</b>
<b>Level 2:</b>	<p>Responses show some understanding of the demands of the question. They may be descriptive with few links to the question or may be analytical with limited factual relevant factual support.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses might contain relevant commentaries which lack adequate factual support. The responses may contain some unsupported assertions.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses are likely to contain some information which is relevant to the topic but may only offer partial coverage.</p>	<b>7–12</b>

<b>Question 1–12</b>	<b>Generic Levels of Response:</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>Level 1:</b>	<p>Responses show limited understanding of the question. They may contain some description which is linked to the topic or only address part of the question.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses show some awareness of relevant material but this may be presented as a list.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, answers may provide a little relevant material but are likely to be characterised by irrelevance.</p>	<b>1–6</b>
<b>Level 0:</b>	<b>No relevant creditworthy content.</b>	<b>0</b>

**Depth Study 1: Europe of the Dictators, 1918–1941**

Question	Indicative content	Marks
1	<p><b>‘The Bolsheviks won the Civil War due to their opponents lack of support.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>Arguments supporting the statement might consider how the population was largely neutral, disinterested, ignorant and illiterate, interested primarily in the business of surviving and getting enough food. The various foreign powers, such as the British, French, Japanese and Americans, also had limited support in Russia, particularly once the Bolsheviks started to play the ‘nationalist’ card strongly. Additionally, the Tsar had alienated the mass of the population and few were prepared to support a restoration. The Provisional Government also had little support or apparent legitimacy while the other opponents, such as the liberal constitutionalists and the various left-wing factions opposing the Bolsheviks, also struggled to gain popularity.</p> <p>In challenging the statement arguments might consider the sheer ruthlessness and opportunism of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Also, Lenin’s willingness to compromise; over the NEP for example, and his willingness to take decisions such as Brest-Litovsk. Enhancing the position of the Bolsheviks was also the ability of Trotsky and his Red Army, coupled with the incompetence and failings of the Whites. Much of this incompetence came from their total inability to find a common cause. They ranged from the quite radical SRs through to committed Tsarists and potential military dictators like Kornilov and consequently could not agree common objectives. The Bolsheviks also had control of the existing communications systems and the ‘centre’ of Russia which enhanced the effectiveness of Lenin’s willingness to use terror and propaganda. Lenin was also pragmatic and was able to secure peasant neutrality by abandoning War Communism and allowing the earlier land seizures to stand.</p>	<b>30</b>

Question	Indicative content	Marks
2	<p data-bbox="316 248 1313 282"><b>Assess the reasons why democracy came to an end in Italy after 1922.</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 315 1313 752">Discussion and reasoning might consider the enormous damage inflicted on Italy by involvement in the First World War. Italy was humiliated by the defeats and the cost in both human and material terms was very high indeed. Italians felt that after the sacrifices of the war they deserved a much better ‘reward’ at Versailles. They had been told when entering the war that there would be substantial territorial and prestige gains, and they were bitterly disappointed with the democratic government which failed to deliver on those promises. There was also no strong tradition of democracy in Italy and the highly influential Roman Catholic Church was a bitter enemy of the State and no lover of the democratic process. Additionally, there was a widespread fear of communism amongst the political and economic elites and a concern that the democratic process, which allowed communists to stand for election, would be an ‘entry’ process for communism.</p> <p data-bbox="316 786 1313 1088">Discussion might also consider the considerable economic upheaval, inflation and unemployment and how the quality of political leadership in the 1918–22 period was limited; most Italians regarded the leadership of the main groupings as self-serving and corrupt. The electoral system also created challenges as it was of a type which, although did not cause instability, reflected it with weak and divided coalitions. The effectiveness of Mussolini and his propaganda might also be identified together with the various roles of the King, the army and the Northern manufacturers. The work of the ras and Squadristi are also useful points of discussion.</p>	30

Question	Indicative content	Marks
3	<p><b>'The purges were the most important reason why Stalin retained power.'</b> How far do you agree?</p> <p>Arguments supporting the statement might consider how the sheer size and scale of the purges had an enormous impact on both Russia and the subject nations. They targeted opponents but also potential enemies and anyone who was deemed a likely threat. This meant that no-one was safe and therefore the population was primarily concerned with the survival of themselves and their families and little else. The purges were designed to enable Stalin to be able to deflect any responsibility for any failures onto others and the 'confessions' were useful propaganda opportunities. The purges also became self-perpetuating and took the focus away from anything else because they terrified opponents and proved to be a real deterrent to any possible challenge.</p> <p>In challenging the statement arguments might consider the effectiveness of Stalin's propaganda – particularly the development of the cult of personality and selling himself as the 'heir' of Lenin and the revolution. There was also a lack of any tradition of a 'loyal' opposition in Russia since it had been an autocracy for centuries where opposition was normally viewed as treason. There was genuine support for many communist ideas and a desire to obtain the social justice and equality that had been promised earlier in the revolution. During the Second World War, Stalin played the 'patriotic' card exceptionally well. There was a real fear of Nazism, and a fear of being crushed by capitalism. Stalin also managed the Nomenklatura very well and ensured there were many privileges for the few. There were also real improvements for many in areas such as health provision, education and careers open to talent.</p>	30

Question	Indicative content	Marks
4	<p><b>‘His opponents were leaderless and divided.’ How far does this explain the lack of effective opposition to Hitler after 1933?</b></p> <p>Arguments supporting the statement might consider how opposition came from both Left and Right and there was no chance of any possible agreement or concerted action there. The Left was seriously divided between the Liberals, Socialists and Communists. The biggest group was the Communists and Stalin destroyed its leadership on at least two occasions. There was also no major figure on either the Left or the Right who could command serious respect of loyalty outside a limited number of people. The Right was bitterly divided between monarchists, nationalists, self-severs, and those who believed they could manage Hitler and use him for their own ends and those who ultimately were prepared to adopt Nazi ideas and support Hitler openly.</p> <p>In challenging the statement arguments might consider Stalin’s incompetence in destroying the communist leadership in Germany, the communists being the only group large enough to challenge the Nazis. The communists were not allowed to consider a ‘National Front’ against the Nazis either. Also influential was effective use of Terror, both before and after 1933 which restricted effective opposition – the work of the SA in elections and in the intimidation of the Reichstag for example, when the Enabling Act was being passed. The Nazis also employed a highly effective propaganda machine and was able effectively manage elections before and after 1933, helped of course by the huge sums of money and support from men like Hugenberg. Hitler also had a successful ability to maintain the appearance of legitimacy; there was no ‘coup d’état’, and he waited to get the invitation from Hindenburg. There was also no tradition of ‘loyal’ opposition in Germany. The democratic process was discredited as a result of events between 1918 and 1933, such as Versailles, hyperinflation and deflation. Equally, there was little support for democracy amongst so many elites, the army the Church, the judiciary and the police.</p>	30

## Depth Study 2: The History of the USA, 1945–1990

Question	Indicative content	Marks
5	<p><b>'The position of women in society saw little change in the period 1945–60.' How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>Although women had done a lot to support the war effort in many ways it was expected that they would return to the home after men came home. Women in the period were often still expected to look after children and support their husband, the breadwinner. The baby boom of the late 1940s meant they had to stay at home as nursery provision was minimal and grandparents not always close at hand. Furthermore, the domestic goddess role also continued to be dominant in the media of the time and especially in women's magazines. It has also been argued that the context of the times – the Cold War and the nuclear age – caused people to turn more to the family as a source of security. The move to the suburbs which was a key feature of the decade also meant that more mothers had to stay at home – at least until the family had a second car. Betty Friedan's <i>The Feminine Mystique</i>, published in 1963, was a critique of women's lifestyles in the 1950s. She argued that these lifestyles caused women much unhappiness. Candidates may argue that any real change did not happen before 1960.</p> <p>However, there were clear changes in the lifestyles of women and families during the period. In 1950, women formed 34% of the labour force, in 1960 38%. More significantly, 60% of married women were employed in 1960 compared with 52% ten years earlier. Women's work was often low paid and/or part-time. Married women both stayed at home and went out to work, the latter as the children became older. Women also took jobs rather than had a career. The fashionable Tupperware parties of the era enabled many women to do both at the same time. Moving away from married women, the greater freedom offered by cars and jobs outside of the home did begin to change sexual norms although it could be argued that this did not really develop until the 1960s.</p>	30

Question	Indicative content	Marks
6	<p><b>Evaluate the reasons why Nixon chose to end the gold-dollar standard in 1971.</b></p> <p>The gold-dollar standard consisted of the dollar being fixed against gold – at \$35 per ounce – and other currencies being fixed against the dollar – though the latter could be altered, e.g. UK devaluation 1967. The dollar was the international reserve currency. Other countries could ask the US to convert the dollars they held into gold if they wished. In the immediate post-war period, most countries were happy to keep their dollars to pay for US imports. Immediate causes that encouraged ending this system include the 1972 election – Nixon believed that mismanagement of the economy had cost him the 1960 election. Nixon was not going to let that happen again. Economic conditions had begun to deteriorate. The inflation rate, 1.5% at the beginning of the 1960s, had risen to 5%. Unemployment was 5%. The issue was how to bring down inflation without slowing the economy and raising unemployment. Protecting the dollar was also an important motivation. Nixon wanted to protect the dollar from international speculation and removing the gold standard was part of that. An extra 10% tariff was also levied on all dutiable imports to induce the USA's major trading partners to adjust the value of their currencies upward and lower their trade barriers downward allowing for more imports from the United States. This would increase employment in time for the 1972 presidential election without fuelling inflation; the gold window would be closed. This was successful and Nixon won the election.</p> <p>Longer term factors might include political motivations. In 1945, the USA dominated the 'free world'. The international currency system, known as Bretton Woods, worked to its benefit. By 1970 the system worked against the interests of the United States. The US government wanted to regain the freedom to act for the US, i.e. internationalism gave way to nationalism. Additionally, governmental issues were influential. As leader of the West, the United States had too many overseas commitments which meant the expenditure of large sums overseas, not least of which was the Vietnam War. This increased the outflow of dollars, which could be cashed in for gold. Therefore, in August 1971, in what became known as 'the Nixon shock', and without consulting America's allies, President Nixon announced the suspension of the convertibility of dollars into gold. This was meant to be a temporary move. It proved not to be. The era of fixed exchange rates had come to an end.</p>	30

Question	Indicative content	Marks
7	<p data-bbox="316 248 1278 313"><b>Analyse the reasons for Reagan’s victory in the Presidential election of 1984.</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 349 1313 913">Ronald Reagan won the 1984 presidential election by the largest of margins: he won the Electoral College vote in 49 of 50, which meant he won 525 of 538 of the Electoral College votes. This was a crushing victory influenced by several factors including his personal popularity – Reagan was more popular than the Republican Party. He won 59% of the popular vote in 1984. Republicans contesting Congressional elections in 1984 did not do as well; the Democrats kept control of both houses of Congress. His popularity was based in part on his personal skills. Reagan was the ‘Great Communicator’. His easy-going manner, his fondness for jokes and the skills he learnt as a film actor meant he was able to establish a rapport with most Americans which was extremely rare. Similarly, Reagan’s message was a popular one as it was positive and upbeat. His campaign slogans of ‘It’s morning in America’ and ‘America is back’ gave positive messages which was in stark contrast to the downbeat nature of the Carter presidency and the uncharismatic nature of Walter Mondale, his rival in 1984. Mondale and the Democratic party were still hampered by many of the issues of the 1970s.</p> <p data-bbox="316 954 1305 1319">The growing economy was also significant. By 1984, the economy was growing after the recession of the early 1980s. Inflation was falling, especially oil prices, as was unemployment, if more slowly. Again, this compared favourably with American memories of the Carter era. America’s place in the world also played a significant part in Reagan’s election – especially his foreign and defence policy which was successful in standing up to the ‘evil empire’ of the USSR. Reagan spent huge amounts of money on US weaponry, increasing the federal budget deficit to do so. The US invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983 won him much popular approval as he showed determination to halt the advance of communism in America’s backyard.</p>	30

Question	Indicative content	Marks
8	<p data-bbox="316 248 1214 315"><b>Analyse the effectiveness of US foreign policy in Asia in the late 1940s.</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 349 1299 1223">The dominance of the United States in Asia during the Second World War meant that they were perceived as being largely invincible by 1945. With this power came the responsibility for re-structuring the region, complete with all the issues which had been apparent before the war and had grown during the conflict. Arguments discussing the effectiveness of US foreign policy might consider the restructuring of democracy – the US sought to establish close relations with Asia and to reconstruct Japan and the Philippines as model states, exemplifying the success of democracy. It intended to uphold capitalism and develop strong economies based on free trade in South-East Asia. Their prosperous economies would help spread the costs of defence. Furthermore, the Philippines was set up as a ‘model state’ to display the notions of democracy and capitalism to the rest of the world. The country also offered a ready market for US goods as well as a source of raw materials for American activities in the region. Truman was also prepared to accept the return of old European powers to South-East Asia as he believed this would help pay for the defence of the region and aid him in his goal of keeping the region free and democratic in the face of mounting Communist pressure. The US policy in Japan can also be perceived as a success in that they were able to guide the restructuring of democracy and capitalism. The introduction of the new Japanese Constitution in 1947 was widely accepted by the population. In 1947, the Chairman of Chrysler and a group of American businessmen ended Zaibatsu privileges and helped set up a Japanese car industry. In 1949, Congress authorised \$500 million per annum in aid to Japan, to allow the purchase of the foodstuffs and raw materials essential to Japanese economic growth.</p> <p data-bbox="316 1256 1310 1760">However, the US did not always understand the nature of political movements in Asia. Whilst pumping money and aid into countries to try and stop the spread of Communism they did not recognise that many of the nascent political movements were far more ‘nationalistic’ than communist. Unlike in Europe these were not countries that had been used to democracy and free trade; rather they had often been under the power of European empires. This meant that the US did not always deal with new political movements sensitively. The United States underestimated the determination of Mao. He appointed loyal generals whose tactics contributed greatly to the Communist success. The ordinary soldiers in the army were treated with respect while thousands of Nationalists deserted and joined the Communists. Mao’s generals were able to transform small guerrilla bands into a conventional army by 1947 and by the end of January 1949 most of China was in the hands of the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists retreated to Taiwan.</p>	30

**Depth Study 3: International History, 1945–1991**

Question	Indicative content	Marks
9	<p><b>How effectively did the United States uphold the Truman Doctrine in the period 1950 to 1963?</b></p> <p>Discussion about the extent to which the Truman Doctrine was effectively upheld might identify the importance of geography, for example the doctrine was successfully followed in certain parts of the world and not in others. The creation of East Germany and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 could be identified as a symbol of how it was not possible to stop the communist regimes. Hungary is an example whereby the communists crushed revolution and the United States, together with western European powers, were powerless to help. Cuba might be considered as a partial success as the Castro regime was to continue but the spread of Soviet military power was stopped, albeit the USA had to remove their missiles from Turkey. Conversely Korea might be discussed as an example of successful containment, involving the United Nations and an international coalition. Vietnam was only a success in the early stages and the USA was determined to replace France and stop the spread of communism, which was ultimately unsuccessful.</p>	<b>30</b>

Question	Indicative content	Marks
10	<p><b>Assess the reasons why Gorbachev undertook reform in the Soviet Union after 1985.</b></p> <p>Discussion about the motives of Gorbachev in trying to reform the Soviet Union after 1985 might identify the Policies of Glasnost and Perestroika, the ending of the Brezhnev Doctrine and the ultimate failure to reform the Communist Party. The domestic and international situation might be discussed as being a significant motivation. For example, the United States administration under Reagan, the Second Cold War, SDI and the failure of the war in Afghanistan all created compelling circumstances for introducing some reform. Equally significant were the economic problems facing the Soviet Union and the increased realisation that the system, as it stood, needed to be adapted. Gorbachev's main aim was arguably to ensure the survival of the Soviet Union by making it stronger and by laying a basis for it to be ruled by the Communist party, but also being a better society for the citizens. Discussion might also assess how the policies did not turn out as expected, with Eastern Europe breaking free, the growth of nationalism in Eastern Europe and ultimately in the Soviet Republics themselves.</p>	<b>30</b>

Question	Indicative content	Marks
11	<p><b>Assess how far communes were responsible for China's agricultural problems during Mao Zedong's rule?</b></p> <p>China was experiencing agricultural problems before the first commune was established in 1958. By 1952 agricultural production had recovered from the civil war but this recovery proved to be very brief. Mao was determined to make China equal with the major industrial nations but in the first five-year plan 1952–57 this came at the expense of agriculture and it was difficult for grain production to keep up with population growth. Mao began a programme of collectivisation designed to bring about state control of farming. Farmers were set high targets, but the government had assumed ownership of all land and equipment. There were hostile reactions from the peasants and millions left the countryside to live in the cities. By 1957 well over 90% of farms had been collectivised. Under the plan agriculture fared particularly badly. Its targets were over-ambitious, and agriculture was neglected. An experimental commune was established in Henan early in 1958, and communes then spread throughout China with each commune containing about 5000 families. The idea was to use the peasants both to increase agricultural production through collectivisation and to engage in local industrial production. This strategy of 'walking on two legs' was designed to develop industry and agriculture simultaneously. However, peasants lacked the incentive to farm as everything they produced belonged to the collective and, punishments were severe for avoiding the laws. There was a good harvest in 1958 but the crops rotted because of lack of labour due to peasants' involvement in industry.</p> <p>The plan for agriculture failed because the methods that the peasants used were flawed. The methods were those put forward by the Soviet researcher, Trofim Lysenko. These included deep ploughing and close planting which failed to achieve the desired results as these methods stripped the farmland of nutrients and caused soil erosion. In addition, as part of the 4 Pests campaign, sparrows were destroyed because they ate the seeds. The result was thousands of dead birds and no birds to eat the insects which destroyed the crops. In 1959 and 1960 the harvests were poor but local officials were pressurised by the central authorities to report record harvests. These figures were used to determine the amount of grain to be taken by the state for the urban areas and for export. Mass starvation occurred which was largely confined to the countryside, where, as a result of these highly inflated production statistics, very little grain was left for the peasants to eat. The famine was made worse by a drought in 1959 and the Yellow River flooding. China also continued to export grain in the years 1958–60; Mao wanted the world to believe he had been successful and rejected outside aid.</p>	30

Question	Indicative content	Marks
12	<p><b>How far was the Palestinian refugee issue responsible for the destabilisation of Lebanon during the civil war, 1975–1990?</b></p> <p>The Lebanese Civil War was both an internal Lebanese affair and a regional conflict which resulted in the destabilisation of the Lebanese state between 1975 and 1990. Most of the population of Lebanon were either Christian or Muslim but by the 1970s there was a Muslim majority there. Many Palestinians had come to Lebanon as refugees, firstly in 1948–49 and then after the Six-Day War in 1967. Furthermore, the PLO had set up bases in Lebanon after they were expelled from Jordan in 1970 and they began to dominate the south of the country. From then there were frequent bomb raids on northern Israel to which the Israelis retaliated. In 1975 the government ordered the army to regain control of the south. The Palestinians resisted and the Lebanese Muslims helped them. Most of the Lebanese army were Christian and a civil war between Christians and Muslims developed. Throughout the Lebanese Civil War, the refugee camps were subjected to countless military attacks from Israeli forces and Lebanese right-wing militias. This created a political situation where the refugees of the camps became deeply and directly involved in defining the broader Palestinian struggle for liberation. The political organising of the refugees in Lebanon for the liberation of Palestine led to the Palestinian and Lebanese fighting together in one front, with the aims of liberating Palestine and all oppressed people.</p> <p>The PLO continued with its attacks on Israel; in 1978 it attacked a bus near Tel Aviv killing 37 passengers. Three days later Israel invaded Lebanon, seizing the south of the country, withdrawing after pressure from the US; UN troops were sent to keep peace on the border. However, the Palestinian armed forces continued to grow recruiting from the 40 000 refugees in Lebanon. Early in 1982 the Israelis planned another invasion of Lebanon, 'Operation Peace for Galilee'. The Israelis advanced north and surrounded Beirut. The US intervened in mid-August and persuaded the Israelis to stop shelling Beirut. The invasion resulted in the eventual removal of PLO militia from Lebanon supervised by a multinational peacekeeping force, the transfer of the PLO headquarters to Tunis and the temporary withdrawal of Syrian forces. However, Shiite groups emerged, including Hezbollah, that led an insurgency campaign against Israeli troops. Western peacekeeping forces withdrew in 1984 and by mid-1985 most of the Israeli troops had also withdrawn. The Lebanese Civil War was made worse by foreign intervention, but it now became increasingly sectarian. The Palestinians in turn endured serious infighting between Fatah factions of the PLO that had begun to return to the country following the Israeli withdrawal. Between 1985 and 1989 Lebanon descended into a 'war society' with the militias involved in smuggling, extortion and the arms and drug trades. Finally, the Ta'if Accord of 1989 provided the basis for the ending of the civil war.</p>	30