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HISTORY

9769/04

Paper 4 African and Asian History Outlines c. 1750-c. 2000

May/June 2016

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 90

Published

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This document consists of **20** printed pages.

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These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question. Information about AOs can be found in the 2016–18 Cambridge Pre-U History syllabus.

Introduction

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and should be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners will give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They will be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit will be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners will use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It goes without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners will also bear in mind that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 4 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach will be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners will first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

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Band 5: 25–30 marks

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations.

Band 4: 19–24 marks

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary.

Band 3: 13–18 marks

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected.

Band 2: 7–12 marks

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated.

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Band 1: 1–6 marks

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; the answer is likely to include unsupported generalisations, and there will be some vagueness and irrelevance. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated and investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources are not to be expected. The answer may be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished.

Band 0: 0 marks

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

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Section 1: North and East Africa

- 1 'Italian involvement in the horn of Africa had only negative consequences for the region.' Discuss.**

AO1 – The involvement was the occupation of the Somali and Eritrean Coasts in the 1880s, the abortive attempt to conquer Ethiopia in the 1890s, the conquest and occupation of Ethiopia in 1935–6 and the rule until the defeat of Italian forces in the Second World War.

AO2 – The fighting brought loss and damage to the region. There were attempts at modernisation under Fascist administration, but that has to be set against exploitation and loss of liberty. There was some transport development and urban development but the savage repression, for example, which followed an attempt to assassinate Graziani in 1937 in Addis Ababa, was more typical.

- 2 Who ruled Egypt more effectively: Nasser or Sadat?**

AO1/2 – Answers might assess the degree of modernisation and change brought by Nasser after 1952, the importance of agrarian reform and industrial projects with high economic growth rates and the prestige of Egypt within the Arab world until the defeat of 1967. Against this, answers might set the restrictions of state controls and the degree of personal domination by the president. Sadat ended the reliance on the USSR, brought Egypt closer to the US and came to terms with Israel, and reduced the state controls of Nasser's Arab Socialism. He also reduced the repression of opponents, especially the Muslim brotherhood. Judgements might be made in context – Nasser asserting Egypt's independence, challenging the domination of the West, increasing prestige and helping the masses; Sadat re-thinking the Cold War policies, relaxing restriction, but falling victim to Islamic extremists. No set answer is expected.

- 3 How serious were the problems faced by indigenous Europeans in North Africa after 1945?**

AO1/2 – Answers may well focus on the problems of the *pieds noirs* in Algeria in the face of nationalist agitation and the hesitation of the home government to support unlimited repression. The main challenge could be seen in the gap in perception between the mother country of colonies and the settlers, and the problems offered in demands for independence. After independence, there were problems of either accepting North African rule or emigrating. A good answer which focuses mainly on Algeria, but shows some knowledge of other developments in North Africa could score highly.

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4 What best explains unrest in Algeria after independence?

AO1/2 – There were deep divisions within the National Liberation Front (FLN) as the War of Independence drew to a close. The founding of the new state was marked by rivalries between the provisional government and the so called Political Bureau of Ben Bella and Boumédiène. Army, party and government represented different power bases. Left wing opposition was repressed and the government grew more dictatorial, provoking opposition, and a major insurgency emerged in the Sahara. A military coup deposed Ben Bella in 1965. Unrest was caused by Arabisation measures and the emergence of fundamental Islamists. Economic problems and social unrest culminated in strikes and riots in 1988. Victories by the Islamic Foundation Front (FIS) in the elections of 1991 led to a state of emergency imposed by its opponents. The 1990s saw continuing terrorism, violence and repression. Better answers will draw distinction between the earlier factional quarrels and the deeper discontents of the 1980s and 1990s.

5 Was poverty more of a cause than a consequence of war in the Horn of Africa in the period c. 1941–2000?

AO1/2 – War might include the fighting in the Second World War, the Somali civil war from 1991, the Ogaden war 1977 and subsequent conflicts. Some conflicts were motivated by wider rivalries and answers might consider foreign intervention; for example, the considerable help given to Ethiopia by communist regimes, religion and regional rivalry, but also the social distress of poverty as a cause. The impact of the wars differed, but obviously the consequences have been impoverishment. Better answers will consider different periods and offer developed judgements.

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Section 2: West, Central and Southern Africa

6 What best accounts for the civil wars in Liberia in the late twentieth century?

AO1/2 – The coup by Doe in 1980 marked a significant change in the position of the tribes of Liberia, suppressed by the American-African elites. However, tribal hostilities emerged after a failed coup in 1986 and the mistreatment of the Goas and Manos provoked resentment. Dissidents found bases in neighbouring countries, especially Charles Taylor whose invasion in 1989 began the civil war. His rival, Prince Johnson, whose support was from the Goas, offered a challenge and the civil wars continued after the fall of Doe. Not only internal conflicts following a major change in the balance of power, but also foreign intervention, sustained the conflict. The failure of a series of attempted compromises must be seen against a background of increasing indiscipline among the rival forces. A second civil war was fought from 1999 to 2003 but need not be considered for highest marks.

7 Assess the influence of Jomo Kenyatta on Kenya before and after independence.

AO1/2 – Kenyatta was secretary of the nationalist Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) from 1928 and edited the newspaper. He lived, studied and worked abroad for 15 years prior to 1945, mixing with other intellectuals and writing about Kenya's independent future. As president of the Kenya African Union (KAU), he spoke in favour of land reform and independence. Falsely accused of terrorism, he was imprisoned from 1952 to 1961. He negotiated independence and was president in 1963. He gradually expanded his personal power and introduced Africanisation. Opponents were repressed and a one-party state emerged in 1969 dominated by the Kikuyu tribe.

Kenyatta instituted land reform in the context of a moderate pro-Western state; he oversaw the transition to independence and joined the United Nations (UN). The regime relied increasingly on one-party authoritarianism and on favouring the Kikuyus, and there were accusations of corruption and accumulating large amounts of confiscated property. Answers might contrast the high-minded opposition and the moral influence of a peaceful leader falsely imprisoned with some negative influence after independence, or might balance authoritarian and corrupt rule with progress, both economic and social.

8 To what extent were the problems of any one country in this region after independence a result of its colonial past?

AO1/2 – The elements that might be considered are: the boundaries imposed by colonisation making it difficult to achieve unity and political stability after independence; the favouring of some elements by the Europeans; and, the problems of lack of appropriate economic and social development. Alternatively, answers might stress: problems arising from the way post-colonial governments ruled, problems of tribalism and regional imbalance; the failure to maintain democracy; and, the influence of the military and interference in the affairs of other countries.

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9 To what extent did the policy of Apartheid in South Africa fulfil its aims?

AO1/2 – Its aims might be seen as the prevention of majority rule and the maintenance of white supremacy; to make blacks ‘foreigners’ in the 86% of the country designated as white, restricting them to reserves, later homelands, unless they were in direct employment by whites. There was successful implementation of official racial classifications (1950). Acts designated Group Areas and there was regulation of many aspects of social life. White employers were able to enforce low wages. Education was brought under state control in 1953 and tailored to support separation. Thus, in the short term, the policy was developed and legalised, and led to the continued domination of the white nationalists. However, the longer term aim of ensuring white domination failed and the opposition to it, both internal and external, could not be suppressed, or the impact of changes in Africa and the World be avoided.

10 What best accounts for the lengthy political dominance of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe to 2000?

AO1/2 – Answers may draw a distinction between the personal qualities and leadership of Mugabe himself and the circumstances which allowed him to maintain power and to resist both internal and external opposition. The struggle made him a hero and he played on anti-colonial feeling and rhetoric. There was a reliance on force to suppress opposition and also to pursue in the 1990s populist land redistribution programmes which seemed to reward ‘war veterans’ and maintain Mugabe’s support in Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the armed forces. External opposition, which has not amounted to any effective measures to overthrow him, may have strengthened his internal position and made him seem the supporter of Zimbabwe’s independence. Lack of seemingly viable alternative leadership and the President’s ability to mix violence with political charm and concession could be analysed.

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Section 3: Themes: Africa, c. 1750–2000

11 What best explains the involvement in the slave trade of local rulers in West Africa?

AO1/2 – European traders lacked the military power to capture slaves on any scale. The main source of their trade, which was largely confined to coastal districts, was local warfare and captives. By the eighteenth century, prices for slaves rose and there was an incentive for local rulers to take advantage, but this was largely a by-product of local warfare, often based on the expansion of states. In Benin, a period of expansion in the fifteenth century saw sales of slaves to Portugal increase, and when the power of Benin was challenged and there was greater military expansion again in the eighteenth century, slave sales again increased. Local colonisation activity resulted in captives being available.

Ideological or religious wars (for example by the Muslim Fulbe of Futa Jalon) led to conflict and captives, as did the growing state building of kingdoms such as Dahomey. The availability of guns to be purchased for slaves encouraged even greater conflicts and more slaves. The immediate benefits of weapons and high prices outweighed previous benefits of ransoming captives or keeping them as slaves locally.

12 To what extent can the development of opposition to colonialism in Africa be explained by colonial misrule?

AO1/2 – Answers might consider examples of oppression, of assaults on local customs and the use of violence. These could be weighed against wider developments: the effects of two world wars; the development of ideology; and, the example of decolonisation in other areas, for example British India. There is also the changing international context, with neither great Cold War power being in favour of European overseas empires, thus encouraging opposition to feel more confident; and the impact of economic, social and education change. No set answer is expected.

13 Did women encounter greater obstacles to equality in African societies before or after independence?

AO1/2 – Obstacles might be seen in terms of: lack of educational opportunities, restricted economic situations, male attitudes, religious views, and poor communications which maintained regional isolation. With greater change in independent African countries, there was more progress, but political opportunities were often restricted by the development of one-party states, or regimes which favoured certain tribes and regions. More urban development and greater education in some areas helped women, as did more awareness of changes in Europe. However, the development of Islamic groups could be even more restricting in some countries or in some areas. Women sometimes played a greater role in the struggle for independence than they did once independence was achieved.

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14 'War by proxy.' How accurate is this description of the Cold War in Africa?

AO1/2 – Answers might consider support given by the West to rulers who were clearly anti-Communist, for example in Zaire, and the support given by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to governments likely to be sympathetic, for instance Angola and Mozambique. However, this might be thought to be exaggerated given the limited overall strategy and the relatively limited amounts of direct aid or trade concessions. The list of countries which received some diplomatic or military support might include Guinea Bissau, the Ngouabi regime in the Congo, Egypt under Nasser and Somalia in 1969 before it changed sides, Ethiopia under Mengistu and Benin under Kerekou. It could be seen as a 'war by proxy' or more as a series of *ad hoc* policies showing limited grasp of the internal situations in these countries. The West did not so much pursue the war by proxy as try and ensure sympathetic regimes and, in South Africa's case, strategic positions, by accepting racism or by supporting regimes which could be repressive and corrupt, for example, Mobuto.

15 'International aid to Africa was undermined by corruption and misuse.' How valid is this judgement in the period 1945–2000?

AO1/2 – There is a view that, particularly in the 1980s when foreign aid doubled from \$7.6 billion to \$15 billion, it simply inhibited the economic and governmental reforms needed to increase investments. Answers could consider the extent of misuse of large sums of money and the failure to develop infrastructures rather than to engage in military spending and prestige projects. However, a distinction may be made between different types of aid and the short- and long-term effects.

16 What factors most inhibited the growth of pan-Africanism in the period?

AO1/2 – Initially, a response to increasing European colonisation and the work of educated individuals, pan-Africanism as an intergovernmental movement dates from 1958 with the Conference of Independent African States. Initially, sub-Saharan states were under represented. There was no common agreement about the nature and aims of the movement. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) of 1963 was to promote unity and cooperation and end colonialism. Inhibiting factors were: border disputes; interference by states in the affairs of other countries; the failure to bring colonialism and white separatist regimes to an end; differences between the nature of the regimes; religious and regional differences; and the limited commitment to developing common institutions or economic and political unity.

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Section 4: China

17 Why did foreign powers continue to have so much influence in China in the period c. 1895–1911?

AO1/2 – After the humiliations of the Opium Wars and the sack of Beijing, China did not modernise or institute major changes in its military and economic structure. The Japanese were able with their modernised forces to defeat China in the war of 1898, which encouraged the West to consolidate or extend their spheres of influence, while Japan took Taiwan and effective control of Korea. The Boxer rebellion confirmed western power. The reforms instituted by the Manchus were not enough to overcome the military strength of the foreign powers and long-term weaknesses in China were not overcome in the period before the Revolution.

18 How far did the Chinese Revolution of 1911 fulfil the hopes of its supporters?

AO1 – The hopes of the various opposition groups varied: from the desire to establish a western democracy; to ending foreign domination, reforming corruption and increasing China's military power; to personal and local ambitions and redress of grievances.

AO2 – In the short term, there was limited success in establishing a representative democracy with low numbers voting and the establishing of a dictatorship by Yuan Shikai. Foreign influence continued and Japan increased its demands and took more territory. Central authority was weakened by warlord regimes, some of which were intensely corrupt, and China lost territory – Xinjiang, Outer Mongolia and Tibet. However, a barrier to progress had been removed; a nationalist party had been successful and was to be re-founded after being outlawed in 1913; nationalist feelings emerged in the Fourth of May movement; there was some educational and social change and the revolution increased hopes and aspirations.

19 How important was the support of the peasantry in explaining the survival of the Chinese Communist Party in the period 1928–1945?

AO1 – From the persecutions of the Communists in the late 1920s to the end of the War with Japan, there were failed attempts to extirpate them by the Nationalists.

AO2 – Explanations based on the support of the peasantry involved disciplining the Red forces not simply to confiscate food from the peasants and to establish land reforms in the soviets set up by the Communists. Alternative explanations might include: the weaknesses of the Nationalists and the failed strategies of Jiang Jieshi; the leadership of the Communists and the Long March; and, the changing circumstances brought about by the war with Japan from 1937.

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20 (Candidates offering 5j China Under Mao Zedong should not answer this question.)

'Economic progress in Mao's China in the period 1949–1957 was achieved at too great a cost.' Discuss.

AO1 – Answers could consider the post-revolution land and currency reforms, the economic plans and concerted efforts to modernise, and the Great Leap Forward.

AO2 – Some might challenge the idea of progress in practice as opposed to ideology. There was considerable human cost in the reforms and some dislocated the economy to a considerable degree, bringing about very large scale famine. There could be discussion of the implications of 'too great a cost' – for Mao and his supporters there may have been the need to sustain the revolution and the outcomes were not merely measured by statistics, but by the moral and political implications of economic progress. Better answers may draw a distinction between the measures taken to address long-standing issues of land and industrial growth and the more ideologically radical policies from 1958.

21 What best explains the growth of China's influence in South-east Asia after 1976?

AO1/2 – Answers may link China's influence over South-east Asia with the economic and social developments after Mao. There was a need to establish markets and trading connections, to end the isolation, to develop China's soft power and to ensure that US influence did not predominate. The end of the Vietnam War created opportunities as US influence was reduced. The limited ability of South-east Asia to unite politically offered opportunities to try and extend influence and China's economic growth led to greater influence by affiliation with ASEAN nations. Better answers will draw a distinction between different parts of the period and consider different motives, assessing how far purely economic factors drove policy.

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Section 5: The Indian subcontinent and Ceylon/Sri Lanka

22 How important are religious factors in explaining the challenges to British rule in India in 1857–58?

AO1 – This refers to the First War of Independence which involved the mutiny of the sepoys and the spread of opposition to British rule exercised through the East India Company.

AO2 – Religious factors might include the activities of the missionaries and the restrictions on key religious customs as well as the religious grievances of the Indian troops. Wider issues might include: the modernisation efforts of Dalhousie; the alienation of some rulers, for example by the doctrine of lapse; and, the political desire for an end to British rule.

23 ‘Well-meaning but ineffective.’ Discuss this view of British responses towards Indian nationalism in the period 1919–39.

AO1 – ‘Well-meaning’ is a reference to the attempts to share power. These included Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the conferences held to resolve political grievances and the Government of India Act. The context is growing nationalist agitation from the Congress, the Muslim League and the non-violence campaigns of Gandhi.

AO2 – Discussion might focus on the inconsistencies of British policy in pursuing quite high levels of repression (e.g. the Rowlatt Acts) with concessions which created more problems. For example, the limited participation created resentment. There were complaints that Congress rule following the Government of India Act discriminated against Muslims. The change of policy after Lord Irwin revealed some lack of consistent thinking about India. The Quit India campaign of the war years may show that British policy was ineffective in gaining loyalty. It might also be argued that in resisting die-hard opposition to change and instituting major reforms, British policy was as effective as it could have been short of conceding independence.

24 Was Indian economic policy more successful under Nehru or under his successors in the period 1947–2000?

AO1/2 – The controls and planning of the Nehru era came under severe criticism from the more liberal and free market economists of the post-1991 era. Answers might consider how far Nehruvian policies dealt with underlying agrarian problems and how efficient the planning strategies were in practice, and consider the context of a lack of industrial development by 1947. The post-1991 growth rates and development of new technologies were impressive, but critics have seen losers as well as winners in globalisation and the persistence of rural poverty and urban squalor as costs of living rose in the cities.

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25 How well did the rulers of Bangladesh deal with the problems the country faced in the period 1971–2000?

AO1/2 – The new rulers faced considerable problems of economic disruption caused by the 1970 cyclone and the war of 1971. There were problems in establishing a new constitution and in nation making in a country which had suffered from under-investment and faced problems of rural poverty. The famine of 1974 polarised opinion and led Sheikh Mujib into more authoritarian government and the suppression of the socialist opposition. The coup of 1975 led to instability resolved only by the imposition of military rule. Despite some economic progress and movements to population control, the underlying problems of political instability were unresolved, and not until the mid-1980s did opposition become possible and then was affected by military states of emergency. Strikes and opposition in 1989 did lead to a transition to democracy. However, boycotts of parliament, charges of corruption, suppression of opponents, strikes and violent elections characterised the political life of the 1990s. Discussion might focus on the fragile maintenance of constitutional rule, the balance maintained between being an officially Islamic state and resisting the demands for oppressive treatment of minorities. There could be some discussion of how successfully economic policy has met the demands of globalisation and how far governments have tackled rural under-development and urban poverty.

26 Were relations between India and Pakistan substantially better by the end of the twentieth century than they were in the decade following independence?

AO1/2 – Issues over disputed territory in Kashmir and Jammu and the communal violence that accompanied partition, together with issues of resources and water, brought about bad relations in the period after independence. The issue here is whether subsequent armed clashes, the Indian support of Bangladesh independence, an ongoing failure to resolve the Kashmir dispute and nuclear rivalry have made relations worse, or whether efforts at reconciliation and negotiation, for example the talks of 1997, the aid given by Pakistan to the Gujarat earthquake of 2001 and cultural links led to better relations, given the problem of terrorism that has developed since 1950.

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Section 6: Japan and Korea

27 What best explains the Meiji Restoration?

AO1/2 – The crucial alliance of the Choshu and Satsuma clans resulted in the end of the Tokugawa shogunate and the official restoration of the emperor in 1868. Causes could include the concern that Japan was behind the rest of world after the arrival of Perry. The aim was to combine the enlightened developments of the West with the traditions of Japan. The awareness of backwardness in technology and military power; the ambitions of both intellectuals and powerful elite families; the decline of the Shogunate and the effects of isolation in the Tokugawa could be considered and long- and short-term factors weighed.

28 Why was Manchuria so important for Japan in the first half of the twentieth century?

AO1/2 – Answers should consider the rivalry between Japan and Russia for Manchuria. The Sino-Japanese War was largely fought there and Japan resented the Triple Intervention which was largely supportive of Russia's ambitions. Russia pressed China for more influence in Manchuria in 1896, especially with the construction of the South Manchurian railway. Russian expansionism was a major contributor to the Boxer rebellion. There was large scale Russian involvement, with 100 000 troops and, despite some withdrawal, Manchuria was dominated by Russia until the Russo-Japanese War. The heavy losses in fighting in Manchuria were significant for Japan. Gains in 1905 were of considerable importance for Japan's status. The main part of Manchuria was not effectively restored to Chinese control as a result of the 1911 revolution and the power vacuum in an area of strategic and economic importance with a large population and mineral resources, resulted in the invasion by the Kwantung army in 1931 when Japan was under pressure from the effects of depression. Manchuria was a symbol of growing nationalism, resentment of economic conditions and ambitions for an empire at the expense of a weak China.

29 'In 1941 Japan started a war it could not possibly win.' Discuss.

AO1/2 – Arguments that this was an unwinnable war might consider: the considerable commitment of forces in a drawn-out war in China; the need to maintain defences against a possible war with the USSR; and, the economic and potential military superiority of the USA. Arguments against this include: Japan was battle-hardened with high levels of discipline and military skill; the European powers and Russia were distracted by war against Germany; relations between the US and Germany were poor and conflict likely; and, rapid victory could gain resources and establish a strong defensive ring which it would take the USA, not on a war footing by 1941, a considerable effort to break. Had the attack on Pearl Harbour managed to sink the US carriers, then the back of US naval power in the Pacific might have been broken. In the end: Russia did not give way; the attack on Pearl Harbour was not wholly successful; US public opinion supported a vigorous counter attack and the crucial battle at Midway ended in Japanese defeat. There could be a discussion of whether all this could have been foreseen in 1941 and whether the War, given the imbalance in resources between Japan and the USA, was unwinnable.

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30 What best explains the extent of economic growth in Japan after 1945?

AO1/2 – Japanese wartime economic growth from 1937 to 1945 reached high levels before the massive destructions caused by bombing, but the technology developed in that period was applied to peacetime production. The nationalist desire to compete with the West and the corporate disciplines and loyalties passed into peacetime conditions. There was investment available. Starting again after the destruction of war was often beneficial in terms of establishing modern equipment. US support ensured cheap technology and free trade. Japan's cartels enjoyed low fuel prices and benefited from high levels of trade with the USA. The Japanese state was forbidden to remilitarise so resources were available for economic growth and there was a close relationship between the Japanese bureaucracy and business leaders. Capital was available from banks who received considerable amounts in private savings. The Korean War allowed Japan to relax restrictions on monopolies. Large interlocking financial and economic concerns were able to establish good labour relations through welfare and job security rather than by high wages. Answers could make a distinction between the qualities and organisation in Japan and the favourable external context and US aid.

31 'The Korean War did not have a decisive outcome.' Discuss.

AO1/2 – The political boundaries did not change decisively and the country remained divided along the lines of 1950. The victories of both Communist and UN forces could not be sustained and territory taken was lost by counter attacks. There was no formal treaty to acknowledge the permanence of the division and the 1954 agreement was not signed by either North or South Korea. A demilitarised zone marked the border and both sides maintained large scale armed forces. The ceasefire of July 1953 has persisted. The US did not demonstrate its power so decisively as to prevent future conflicts in South-east Asia. However, in terms of the aims of the participants, the attempt to unite the country under a communist regime did not succeed, so it could be argued that this was a decisive Western defence. The persistence of a communist regime in the North might be seen as a sign that the outcome was decisive in establishing a tenacious Stalinist dictatorship forged by war. Stronger answers will engage with the implications of 'decisive'.

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Section 7: South-east Asia

32 To what extent, if at all, did the Dutch East Indies benefit from colonial rule?

AO1/2 – Though the Dutch East India Company had a long history and was taken over by the Netherlands state at the end of the eighteenth century, full centralised control over the East Indies was not established until the beginning of the twentieth century and ended in 1949.

Benefits might be seen as an efficient administration and police, and an increase in internal security. There was toleration of religious practice, but not of Islamic political activity. The Dutch state promoted alliance with secular elites, but local trading networks were damaged, leaving international trade in European hands and inter-regional trade in the hands of Chinese immigrants. Agriculture was dominated by the regulated trade in staple products – indigo, sugar, coffee – and trade and local farming disrupted to ensure supplies. Though the economy was diversified, less was in indigenous hands. Tobacco, rubber and, from the 1920s, oil was developed. Chinese immigration was encouraged. Urbanisation was not well managed and there were problems of poverty and bad conditions in cities. Despite the introduction of Western education, its diffusion was limited and illiteracy rates were among the highest in colonial South-east Asia. Nationalism was repressed and the Dutch were unable to protect their colonies from Japanese invasion.

33 What best explains the fall of Pol Pot?

AO1/2 – In the long term, the extreme nature of Pol Pot's rule from 1975 led to exiled Khymer Rouge helping to incite a Vietnamese invasion in December 1975 which toppled the leader. The guerrilla war Pol Pot waged from Thailand for 17 years ended with his overthrow and trial as a result of internal quarrels with his movement. In the short term, Pol Pot turned on his own comrades in an attempted purge in 1997. There were divisions within the Khymer Rouge. Forces in the west of Cambodia broke with Pol Pot's largely northern Cambodian forces. Pol Pot's dictatorial manner alienated many and when he ordered the assassination of the defence minister, Son Sen, and the purge of other leaders, this was too much. There were also the political motives of the need to gain more international support and credibility by putting a distance between the Khymer Rouge and the leadership and genocidal activities of Pol Pot.

34 What were the main obstacles to the development of democracy in Burma (Myanmar) after independence?

AO1 – Answers may consider the legacy left by British colonial rule in terms of ethnic divisions and arbitrary boundaries. The murder of Aung San in 1948 made it difficult to establish consensus on the new state and the lack of a federal structure led to discontent with the new country dominated by the Burmese. The suppression of unrest enhanced the political role of the army and led to direct military rule 1958–60 and for 40 years after the coup of 1962.

AO2 – Answers may weigh the ambitions of Ne Win and the military leadership against the situation which had left economic influence with Anglo-Burmese, Chinese and Indian elements which the Burmese military resented; the lack of democratic developments before independence and the ethnic and linguistic divide which seemed to require strong government to manage.

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35 Assess the political legacy of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

AO1/2 – Abdul Rahman negotiated Malay independence in discussions in London 1956 and was the leading political figure in Malaya until 1970. He envisioned the federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak in 1963 and was influential in making Islam the official religion.

AO2 – Answers might consider the maintenance of a federal democracy; the legacy of the NEP in the promotion of economic growth; the increasing dominance of Malays in the state, the imbalance of prosperity within Malaysia, and the management of the secession of Singapore from Malaysia.

36 How significant a problem has Islamic unrest been for the Philippines since 1945?

AO1 – Rural discontent and unrest lay behind the Huk movement and also the Moro National Liberation Front (MNFL), a Muslim movement, which by the 1980s had 15 000 guerrillas and was able to launch raids on the capital. In 1996, a settlement was effected which gave some local independence to the main base of Islamic unrest. Mindanao. The more radical splinter group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) did not negotiate after 40 years of conflict until 2001 and the Abu Sayyaf Group continues terrorism in the South.

AO2- The Islamic unrest should be seen in the context of other regional and cultural differences, the weaknesses of central authority and reliance on the loyalty of army commanders. It might be compared with the problems from the Huk, and from corruption and personal rule by Marcos.

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Section 8: Themes: Asia, c. 1750–2000

37 What best explains the varying fortunes of the East India Company in the period 1750–1857?

AO1/2 – Factors could include wars: the Seven Years War which saw domination of Bengal under Clive but the persistence of French presence in Pondicherry; the American War of Independence which saw the French as a renewed threat; and the Revolutionary Wars which saw the taking of Pondicherry. There were also the Maharata Wars and the wars against Mysore which extended Company influence. Then there was the changing relationship between the Company and the British government, restricting its activities and instituting greater control, such as the India Acts of 1784 and 1786 and the acts of 1833 and 1853 ending the trading activities and also the powers of patronage of the company. In terms of its extensions of control, the influence of leading military and political figures might be discussed. The period saw an extension of its military power, but also growing unrest and the revolt against British authority in 1857.

38 ‘Futile and pointless.’ Discuss this view of foreign intervention in Afghanistan in this period.

AO1/2 – The British invasion of 1838 and the retreat from Kabul prefigured failures by foreign powers to maintain control over Afghanistan during both the period of Anglo-Russian rivalry – ‘the Great Game’ – and in the Cold War period, when Russia failed to maintain its dominance. ‘Futility’ might be dealt with in terms of the possible aims and whether they were worth the effort and were achievable given the nature of the terrain, and the problems of subduing warlike people in a country with bad communications together with shifting loyalties. ‘Pointless’ might be considered more in terms of whether the outcomes were likely to offer positive outcomes for Britain, or merely involve greater military commitment and cost in pursuing control which was almost impossible to maintain.

39 Has Western Aid been the most significant consequence of the Cold War for Asia since 1945?

AO1/2 – Both sides in the Cold War did use aid to bolster sympathetic regimes and increase influence. However, given the powerful consequences of armed conflict in Asia and the impact on the Continent, this could be challenged, especially as aid did not, for example, always secure the political stability needed for Western influence to continue or the widespread prosperity which might have made communist alternatives less appealing. Russian aid to Nasser’s Egypt was a consequence of the Cold War but has greater consequences.

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40 'Women in Asia have enjoyed greater economic progress than social progress since 1945.' Have they?

AO1/2 – To support this view, answers would have to consider changes in employment and opportunities to use training and education in order to sustain independent business enterprises and to take advantage of changing markets in agriculture. There would be considerable variation between some highly developed Asian economies and some which have remained dependent on low wages and traditional production methods. To challenge this, answers would consider developments, such as the relationships within families, mobility, education, political awareness and participation and independence. Here again, distinctions would be made between different regions and different countries, especially between regimes which maintained strict Islamic observance and countries where this was less significant. No set answer is expected but arguments should be supported by examples.

41 Why has the growth of Islamic fundamentalism been more influential in some Asian countries than in others?

AO1/2 – Elements might include: the need to struggle against internal or external enemies, for example Pakistan; it could derive from weak central control by more moderate groups; it could emerge from struggles against foreign rule and influence; it could derive from radical leadership of the states themselves; it could be explained in terms of globalising and a reaction against growing western cultural and economic influence; it could derive from social conditions and unrest or from specific historical developments as in Palestine. Some distinction might be made between the influence of groups and inspirational leaders and the influence of external developments and circumstances.

42 With what justification has the term 'tiger economies' been used in connection with the economic development of some Asian countries?

AO1/2 – 'Tiger economies' refers in some contexts to some Asian economies, especially South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong, who experienced high growth rates in the 1980s and 1990s, characterised by high investment levels, low labour costs, use of technology, high export levels and governments sympathetic to business and financial development. Some countries had high labour productivity, for example Singapore, and low interest rates subsidised business development. However, 'tiger' has also been applied to the economies of Japan, Malaya, Indonesia, China and the Philippines. Some doubt about growth sustainability was cast by the 1997 Crash in Asia, but growth rates have compared favourably with those of the West. Some analysts have predicted diminishing returns after tiger-like jumps in growth and 'tiger' may well be more applicable to a small number of very high achieving economies in a limited period, but if the term indicates strength and resilience with continuing growth, than it may apply to more countries over a longer period.