



**Cambridge Assessment International Education**  
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

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**HISTORY**

**9769/04**

Paper 4 African and Asian History Outlines, c.1750–c.2000

**May/June 2018**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 90

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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.

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**Generic Marking Principles**

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level 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.

**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.

**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.

**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.

## Section 1: North and East Africa

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p><b>What best explains Italy's desire for colonial territories in the Horn of Africa in the years 1882–1936?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – By 1914, Italy had annexed Eritrea and Somalia. It had failed to conquer Ethiopia. (Mussolini conquered Ethiopia.) The unification in 1861 brought a political desire to be counted a great power and to have a colonial empire in keeping with those of the other great European powers. Italy managed by agreement with England to exploit its diplomatic position and annex Massawa in Eritrea. Control was also established over the future Italian Somaliland. The desire to control Ethiopia ran through Italian life from 1882 to 1936. What may have begun as a desire to exploit economic resources or establish a strategic presence became, after 1896, a matter of honour as Italy was defeated at Adowa. Talk of revenge and also of a new Roman Empire predated Mussolini. Colonies were also a solution to over-population in the south of Italy. There seems to have been more overt political motives by 1935, but both diplomatic and economic factors were significant. Italy had rising unemployment. The political impetus of Fascism had died down and a war would revive it, and the seeming courtship of Italy by France and Britain as a counter to Germany seemed to offer likely diplomatic support. There was also the theory of empire based on Social Darwinism and the need to keep up with Hitler. The weakness of opposition in the region, which had allowed the annexation of Jubaland in 1924 was also a factor. In the late 1930s, the regime encouraged extensive emigration to the colonies; around 300 000 colonists went to East Africa, suggesting some economic motivation. Candidates may balance purely economic considerations against internal factors.</p>	30,

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>Why did Britain find the Sudan harder to control than Egypt in the years 1882–1898?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The nationalist revolt of Col Arabi in Egypt was put down by British forces sent by Gladstone. The British were able to declare Egypt a protectorate, because they already had extensive authority in the region and there were good communications to land forces. In the Sudan, the opposition of the Mahdist revolt was more difficult. The cattle owning Arab elite, the Baggara, faced a weak Egyptian administration and used the revolt of Mohammed Ashmad, who proclaimed himself an Islamic Mahdi or guide, for their own ends. Fired by religious enthusiasm and also hopes for community of goods and equal rights, his followers defeated Hicks Pasha in August 1881 and this led to a series of victories over Egyptian forces. Gordon was sent to organise an evacuation. but instead tried to organise a stable government in Sudan. However, the growing power of Mahdi and his followers, who simply looked on all foreign authority as that of ‘Turks’ whom they hated for religious reasons, led to the assault on Khartoum in which Gordon was killed. The relief operation was too slow to save him. The Mahdi was succeeded by another powerful ruler, Abdullah, and it took until 1898 to defeat him.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates may distinguish between the more established central authority in Egypt, with whom the British were able to work, and the more anarchic and disjointed situation in the Sudan, where powerful Arab tribes could ally with the populist movement of the Mahdi. They could compare the more problematic communications of the Sudan to the ports of Egypt at which troops could be landed. Whereas military operations were successful in Egypt, the relief force to save Gordon was not. Unlike Egypt, with the importance of the Suez Canal, it took a long time for there to be both the political will and the military capacity to reimpose control over the Sudan.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>Why, after 1951, was independence more contested in Algeria than in other parts of North Africa?</b></p> <p>AO1 – On 1 November, 1954, guerrillas of the National Liberation Front (FLN) began a revolt. Pierre Mendès-France rejected any suggestion of compromise and set the tone for the next decade. As the FLN campaign spread through the countryside, colon vigilante units, with the passive cooperation of police authorities, carried out reprisals. After massacres in Philippeville in 1955, all-out war began in Algeria. Late in 1957, General Salan constructed a heavily patrolled system of barriers to limit infiltration from Tunisia and Morocco. Meanwhile, the French army shifted its tactics at the end of 1958 to the use of mobile forces deployed on massive search-and-destroy missions against National Liberation Army (ALN) strongholds. Within the next year, France appeared to have suppressed major rebel resistance. In September 1959, de Gaulle dramatically reversed his stand on Algeria and uttered the words ‘self-determination’ in a speech. The Colons, with backing by elements of the French army, staged abortive insurrections in January 1960 and April 1961. Peace talks began, and Algeria became independent in July 1962.</p> <p>AO2 – The French state was not willing to accommodate nationalism as in the case of Morocco or Tunisia; perhaps, because French rule went back further, to 1830, and there were more and better-established colons. The bitterness of the terrorism and counter-terrorism made it difficult for either side to stop, and equally the nature of the war made it difficult for either side to win. The issues had become enmeshed in internal developments in France and in perceptions of France as a major power. Candidates might discuss the relative importance of internal factors and the situation in Algeria. Some may put the struggle into a wider context of fears of the decline of the West.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>Assess the view that Nasser achieved more in his role as Arab statesman than he did as ruler of Egypt.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Nasser had a very clear vision for modernising Egypt. He identified five targets that he wanted to address: poverty; ignorance; ‘national oblivion’, neglect of infrastructure; and, lack of national identity. He was also keen to see Egypt free of any overtones of colonialism. To support his beliefs, Nasser did what he could to restore national pride to all Arab nations, not just Egypt. In 1956, Nasser nationalised the canal, provoking an attack on Egypt by the French and British. This attack was condemned at an international level and the British and French had to withdraw their forces, when it became clear that America did not support what they had done. This could be seen as a victory for a bold move against colonialism. Nasser set about the ‘Egyptianisation’ of his country. Civilian titles as associated with the Royal Family were banned. Laws were brought in that limited the amount of land someone could own and they also widened the opportunities for land ownership. In 1961, Nasser nationalised some corporations, so that the wealth that they generated could be used to improve the lifestyle of the Egyptian people. One year later, a decision was announced that Egypt would be run on Arab socialist lines. The Aswan High Dam was completed, and was a project that generated world-wide attention. Iron and steel mills, aluminium plants, car and food factories were also built (in total, over 2000 new factories were built). However, Nasser suffered a major blow when Egypt and other Arab nations were beaten by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967. After the war, Nasser went to great efforts to modernise the Egyptian military and this remained one of his primary aims until his death in September 1970.</p> <p>AO2 – His reputation as Arab statesman rests on the 1956 Suez Crisis, when he turned a military defeat into a dramatic political victory. He oversaw the union of Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958 as a first step towards Arab unity. His alliance with the Soviet Union resulted in funding for the Aswan Dam and resistance to Western Influence. He was active in Pan Arabism and in opposition to Israel. He was seen as a ‘new Saladin’, but his influence depended a lot on US policy towards Suez, the Cold War, and the military power on which he based his influence was revealed as flawed in 1967. At home, there could be discussion of Arab Socialism, and how far his reforms eradicated inequality of wealth and led to long-lasting economic and social change.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>‘Barren of achievement.’ Assess this view of Gaddafi’s rule in Libya to 2000.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Gaddafi successfully maintained himself in power from 1969, when he led a coup which overthrew King Idris I. This was achieved by: 1) His blend of Arab nationalism and what he called ‘Islamic socialism’ funded by oil revenues, which made him a charismatic figure; 2) Creating a state that openly stood against the West and subsidised terrorism, which gave him a heroic image at the time; and, 3) His theatrical image, and the way that he created popular communes and a people’s state from 1977. He maintained a high level of personal power which, given the fragmented nature of Libyan society, could be seen as an achievement.</p> <p>He promoted national interests; for example, in the prolonged war over boundaries in Chad, and suppressed Berber language and culture to favour his Arab supporters. However, his regime depended heavily on repression – opponents were killed, police and security forces strengthened – an army coup failed in 1994, and anti-Gaddafi riots in 1996 were severely repressed. Prestige projects seemed to stress the wealth, power and beneficence of the regime; for example, the very large scale Manmade River which was begun in 1984 to bring irrigation to the desert, and the world famous astronomical centre. Critics argue that too much was spent on these projects at the expense of stronger developments of infrastructure.</p> <p>Many aims of his foreign policy failed, and Gaddafi brought about damaging sanctions and air attacks by the US as a result of his support for terrorism in the 1980s. However, he was wise enough to temper his activities and in the late 1990s, he announced his opposition to Al-Qaida. Events after his rule reveal its limitations in establishing genuine national unity and sound economic development, and many will see a vainglorious and expensive dictatorship which was too focused on personal power to generate much in the way of achievement.</p>	30

## Section 2: West, Central and Southern Africa

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>‘Between 1880 and 1948 the Boers fought two wars against Britain and then two wars on Britain’s side.’ What best explains this change?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Explanation may focus on the change in the context, with British imperial expansion being pitted against Boer desires for independence, and with the issue of discrimination against Uitlanders and the discovery of gold and diamonds being spurs to conflict. The defeat of the Boers ended the power of opponents like Kruger; but the British themselves changed from the imperialism of the period before the war. The chastening effects of humiliations during the war and the admiration of the Boer resistance led to a moderate settlement and the granting of a federal solution which permitted a great deal of self-government. The influence of key figures like Smuts was important in encouraging support for the Empire and Lloyd George made sure that he was an important voice in imperial policy. By 1914, the prospects of adding German territory and a feeling of community of interest with an Empire which offered economic advantages, and which gave no resistance to the racial policies of the white South Africans led to support for war. Shared experiences in the First World war had a knock-on effect in ensuring support for Britain again in 1939. Resistance among pro-German elements was not strong enough, given the experience of integration since 1908, to prevent assistance. In both wars, the loyalty of British-origin South Africans was a strong element and the constitutional changes in the interwar period gave South Africa a good measure of self-government within the Commonwealth.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>Was Liberia better governed in the nineteenth or the twentieth century?</b></p> <p><i>Nineteenth Century</i></p> <p>AO1 – Liberia was established as a Republic in 1847. The democratic ideals of the USA were established in Libya and it was hoped that democracy, prosperity, freedom and tolerance would be obtained. However, there were problems from the early days which governments failed to resolve; for example, the relationship with the indigenous people of West Africa, especially the Gio and Mano tribes. What started as peaceful co-existence ended with domination and exploitation by the American-Liberians who essentially brought alien ideas and culture. The uneasy relations with the French and British colonists led to annexations and competition which reduced the trade and prosperity of Liberia. The domination of a single party – the True Whigs after 1877 – mirrored the problems of racialism and corruption in late nineteenth century America and strengthened the role of the ruling elite, with the support of the USA. Financial and economic weaknesses eroded hopes of stability and prosperity, and increased reliance on the USA. By the late nineteenth century, Liberia had lost a lot of its previous trading income and there were problems of poverty and under-development.</p> <p><i>Twentieth Century</i></p> <p>AO1 – Though more US aid in the twentieth century helped, it led to the power of the Firestone Corporation which established itself from 1926 and dependence during and after the Second World War on US investment and grants. A big gap emerged between the ruling elites and the other ethnic groups. This led to the beginnings of a long period of political unrest in 1980, when Sergeant Kenyon Doe led rebellious army units against President Taylor who was killed. Doe did allow elections in 1985, which were fixed and led to further unrest. From 1989, a series of civil wars began with the intervention of Bukina Faso and the Ivory Coast in Liberian affairs, in backing a rebellion by Charles Taylor. An army made up of excluded tribal groups under Yonie Prince Johnson led to violence and instability in which Doe was killed. Singhalese troops backed by the USA intervened against Taylor. A Libyan-backed force restored him and he instituted a period of repression after 1997. In a second civil war, US and Nigerian troops intervened to prevent a bloodbath by rebels against Taylor, who was deposed in 2003. 200 000 Liberians died in civil wars.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates may argue that the damage of civil war and foreign intervention showed that the government was less effective in maintaining unity and preventing corruption and unrest in the twentieth century. On the other hand, they may argue that the corruption of the ideals of the founders in the nineteenth century laid the basis for future problems.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b>Assess the achievements of Hastings Banda as a national leader.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – 6 July 1964, Nyasaland became a fully independent Commonwealth country and adopted the name Malawi. On 6 July 1966, Malawi became a republic, and Hastings Banda assumed the presidency. After the constitution was amended in November 1970, he became president for life. Banda dealt with external problems with mixed success: he faced territorial disputes with Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique; and, he was accused of fostering relations with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal to sustain these claims. Malawi recognised South Africa in 1971 and received aid and arms. Banda also faced opposition; there was an attempted coup in 1967, which led to death sentences and repression, and this became more marked as Banda grew older. Several thousand people were imprisoned for political offences at one time or another during his rule. By 1994, there had been decreasing support for his authoritarianism. He faced problems arising from the war in Mozambique which were not dealt with successfully. The Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), in its efforts to bring down the government in Maputo, seriously disrupted Malawi's railway links with Mozambique ports. As a result, an increasing share of Malawi's trade had to be routed by road through Zambia and South Africa at great expense.</p> <p>Though his pro-Western stance did gain him support and aid from the West, there was growing resistance to Banda. In 1992, there were church-based protests against detention without trial and harsh treatment of political prisoners. Foreign pressure included threats by aid donors abroad to suspend assistance and, in October, Banda agreed to hold a referendum early in 1993 on whether Malawi should remain a one-party state. On 16 May 1994, the National Assembly adopted a provisional constitution and the country held its first multi-party elections.</p> <p>Against the obvious demerits of a cult-like repressive dictatorship, Banda did adopt policies which led to some economic growth, particularly in the 1960s, with Import Substitution policies, road and infrastructure development and public investment. There was some development of education, and anti-Communist foreign policy encouraged Western aid. However, personal corruption and reliance on paramilitary violence to support a one-party state may lead to greater criticism than praise in assessments.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b>How well did the rulers of Ghana deal with the problems that faced them after independence?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Nkrumah (1957–66) was an advocate of African Socialism. Though relatively advanced, socially and economically, Ghana lacked a strong industrial base and Nkrumah believed this to be essential for true independence from the Western capitalist system and its imports. Cocoa, gold, diamonds and manganese had given the country a strong reserve and Nkrumah developed infrastructure with aid from the USA and the World Bank. The great Akosombo Dam was built in 1965 and agreements with US companies led to a large aluminium smelter. However, not all the projects were successful; falling prices for cocoa led to financial problems by the mid-1960s and curtailing of over ambitious public projects, and Ghana relied on supplier credits to finance projects, adding to debt and reliance on the West. Foreign loans became necessary to import essential commodities. It has been argued that Nkrumah bequeathed considerable economic problems as well as improved infrastructure to his successors. Politically, too, there were problems as hardships increased for the cocoa farmers after 1954. Nkrumah resorted more and more to repression. He was overthrown by a military coup in 1966, prompted by disillusionment with his ethnic and regional decisions, and democracy problems. Rule by senior members of the police and army gave way to parliamentary rule in 1970. Ghana struggled with problems of unemployment and rural development, and foreign competition for cocoa. This led to a coup in 1972 and rule by a National Redemption Council; he was faced with problems of pressure on food prices and inflation of oil prices, and internal opposition with regional and ethnic conflict. The constitutional government was reinstated in 1979, but a coup by Jerry Rawlins led to a military council which oversaw the new civilian administration, making for inherent instability and removal of the governments.</p> <p>Between 1966 and 1981 there were eight governments. Rawlins attempted to govern through popular committees, but the country suffered serious economic problems. District Assemblies and a national economic recovery programme were features of the 1980s, but a fourth republic re-established multi-party rule with Rawlins elected as president until he stepped down for his own nominee in 2001. Candidates may see political instability and sustaining parliamentary rule as problems which were dealt with unevenly by successive governments, while others may see reasonable stability being provided by Nkrumah and Rawlins but economic problems and divisions being less well coped with.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p><b>What best explains the political dominance of the National Party in South Africa after 1948?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The victory of the National Party by a narrow margin in 1948 represented Afrikaners' hostility to ongoing British influence and a desire for new racial policies. It was these policies that kept the party in power. Once apartheid had been established then it became too dangerous to change. Protest led to repression which strengthened the hold of the Nationalist leaders over the White electorate, while on-going Afrikaner nationalism culminating in the declaration of the Republic in 1961 represented only 52% of the White electorate, but enough to confirm the party in power. Trenchant leaders like Verwoerd were adept at representing racial concerns and Afrikaner pride. The emergence of opposition tended to strengthen the National party. South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 in an attempt to crush mounting opposition in exile, but the action was a complete failure. In 1976, open rebellion erupted in the black township of Soweto, in protest against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in Black schools. Over the next few months, rioting spread to other large cities of South Africa, which resulted in the deaths of more than 600 Black people. In 1977, the death of leader Steve Biko in police custody (under suspicious circumstances) prompted protests and sanctions. The National Party increased its parliamentary majority in almost every election between 1948 and 1977, and despite all the protest against apartheid, the National Party got its best-ever result in the 1977 elections with support of 64.8% of the White voters and 134 seats in parliament out of 165.</p> <p>The Cold war meant that the West did not challenge apartheid for much of the post-1948 period. However, when it was clear that change was needed, the National party leaders were flexible enough to ensure that white South Africans did not face a blood bath and in 1989 the National Party won the election on the promise to negotiate an end to Apartheid. Botha had begun the transition and de Klerk continued it.</p> <p>AO2 – The ability of the National Party to deliver key elements of change might be seen as the key: from 1948, when the changes involved apartheid and the lessening of British influence; to the strengthening of controls and repression of opposition; and, to the willingness to make concessions. This might be assessed in relation to: the wider context of the Cold War and the increasing fear of Communism and African nationalism which strengthened the party's hold; to the leadership of key figures in the party; and, to the relative weakness of the opposition.</p>	30

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

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p><b>‘European involvement in Africa c.1750-c.1850 was the biggest factor in bringing social change.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Some change was related to economic development. In Central and East Africa, the major stimulation for economic growth was the decline of the slave trade with Europe. Internal trade could not replace the Atlantic trade and caused a rapid increase in population as young men were no longer being sent away. This led to more slave labour being used for agriculture and the development of alternative trade and enterprise. The Chokwe emerged as specialised traders in beeswax and ivory, and later rubber. Long-distance trading emerged, and new groups such as the Ambaquista and Ovimbundu emerged. Imports of firearms, woollens and Indian cotton, were traded for copper from the Congo/Zambia, ivory and salt, and captives. Professional traders like the Bisa and the Yao emerged. The prazeros, descendants of Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese traders and hunters, dominated the Upper Zambezi slave and ivory trade. Thus, a major upsurge in trading activity developed from the diversification and extension of trade. In West Africa, there was also the development of ‘legitimate commerce’. New crops from America such as maize and cassava were tried in the 1830s, and a range of alternative products replaced slaves (though slaves were used in their production), such as: gum Arabic from Senegal; groundnuts from Guinea; and, palm oil and gold from Asante. Dahomey had to depend on internal slave traders until the 1860s ended the demand from Cuba and the USA. Palm oil developed as a major export and was in demand by the European factories as a lubricant. However, diversification had little benefit for the majority of the peoples and the resulting increase of European textile imports undermined local production. In Southern Africa, the pace of economic development was more limited and by 1850 both conquerors and conquered, White and Black, depended on small-scale farming and some export of hunting products, rather than a highly developed cash crop such as palm oil or long-range trade. Economic activity was more associated with the need for power, as in Sotho’s imports of guns and horses from the White colonists. In North Africa, the prolonged war in Algeria retarded economic progress, but the reforms of Mohammed Ali in Egypt saw economic growth. His control of the Mamaluk lands and his irrigation projects brought an increase in land cultivated and the growth of cotton and wheat for export. The invasion by Egypt of the Sudan opened up trade with the Red Sea and a revival of the pilgrim trade to Mecca. British interest in developing trade led to overseas investment at the end of the period. Other change was generated by increasing contact with the West and colonisation, for example the expansion of France into North Africa, and changes related to the ending of the external slave trade. Candidates could consider population development and internal migrations.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p><b>‘The scramble for Africa cost European powers more than it was worth.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – With greater European and US manufacturing, there was a need for markets; for example, cloth, clothing, alcohol, arms and metal goods needed African markets, and there was a pressure to protect those markets by more formal control than fluctuating treaties. So, answers could discuss whether the scramble for markets also brought economic benefit to the colonisers and therefore was worth the cost. There was also the belief that Africa held riches, e.g. vegetable oils, ivory, gold and diamonds. So again, the possible benefits from the resources could be discussed. There was some infrastructure development and new transport, as when the French started a railway in 1879 linking Dakar to the upper Niger to secure markets. Once the scramble began, political factors came into play, as nationalistic mass electorates were impressed by ideals of imperial expansion and an extension of imperial missions to Africa. Thus, there might have been some political benefit for the supporters of expansion.</p> <p>The ability of European powers to cooperate as at the Berlin Conference was also a factor. This too could be seen as a possible beneficial ‘spin off’. This cooperation based on a European power’s ability to ‘effectively occupy’ territory opened the door to conquests whose motives might be varied. Bismarck’s own acquisition of land in West, East and South Africa was more motivated by diplomatic or political factors than any belief in economic significance or civilising mission. The benefits or otherwise could be discussed. The French desire for re-establishing prestige was important, and Britain’s desire to protect earlier gains and maintain her position in a challenging world was important. Responses could assess whether the costs outweighed these possible benefits. Threats from indigenous people – like the Asante in Nigeria or the Boers – could be a factor which involved bloodshed and costly war, and colonial expansionism could be said to have brought about international mistrust and tension which led to a build-up of arms and eventually long and costly war. Candidates should consider the criteria for assessing costs and gains. Did the European powers gain the strategic advantage they sought by blocking rivals? Did the economic benefits outweigh the military and administrative costs? Were they, like the Italians in East Africa drawn to unsuccessful and costly attempts to develop the interior of their colonies? Did The Scramble bring political benefits or simply make internal political situations in Europe more fraught because of costs and problems? Was there benefit to those who migrated to Africa?</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p><b>Why was opposition to European colonialism not more effective before 1939?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Before 1939, African nationalism faced confident and well-armed European imperial power which had grown rather than contracted, as a result of the First World War. In 1936 the independent African state of Ethiopia was taken by Italy, leaving only Liberia as an example of independence. Colonial administrations had a confident grip on Africa and nationalist movements were often divided, lacked substantial support, and were impeded by poor communications and a lack of a widely accepted ideology. Though there were nationalist movements they lacked the distinctive leadership and support. The colonial administrations had been adept at ‘divide and rule’, and it was not until the weakening of colonial powers in the Second World War and the example of the British giving independence to India, that a greater impetus was given to African opposition. Nationalist movements were often hampered by internal disagreements and lack of means for armed resistance.</p> <p>AO2 – There could be a sustained discussion about the internal weaknesses of opposition movements, against the relative strength of the colonial powers and their resources. Where there was effective resistance, for instance in Ethiopia in 1896, in the Sudan in the 1880s, and in the defeat at Ishadlwana, the underestimation of resistance and the lack of preparation of European military forces combined with effective leadership and, in the case of Ethiopia, effective weapons. Where these factors were not evident then it was hard to overcome the technically well-equipped European forces.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p><b>‘Both before and after 1945, the impact of the Second World War was much greater on the north of Africa than on the south.’ How far do you agree with this view?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The direct effects of war affected: the colonial troops who fought; the actual fighting which extended through North Africa; and, the conquest of the Italian colonies in East Africa, liberating Ethiopia. In terms of consequences, the Second World War brought a greater awareness of political rights among educated African opinion; for example, the Atlantic Charter was widely discussed, and the democratic nature of allied war aims was influential. Africans were aware of the importance of Africa for the allied war effort; for some, wartime demand increased prosperity and confidence. The colonial powers made more effort to win over African opinion and there were influential African-run newspapers. African troops played a leading part in liberating Ethiopia and Pan-Africanism grew to some extent. By 1945, there were influential nationalist leaders like Nkrumah and Kenyatta. When it came to resistance, it was clear that nationalists could count on considerable support and sacrifice, for instance in Algeria. On the other hand, the war had much weakened Europe. By 1947, Britain was not in a position to combat Indian nationalism and the granting of Indian independence had a major effect on nationalism in Africa. The USA was not prepared to bolster the British Empire and Britain was overstretched as a world power. The prestige of the colonial powers had been reduced by the defeats by Japan and there was considerable damage brought about by the war in economic terms to some countries. The political support for colonisation had been eroded to some extent, too. Against this, in some areas the humiliations of war had made France more determined to reassert itself and, in Algeria, it was arguably the strength of resistance that was the key element in prolonging the conflict.</p> <p>AO2 – The case for North Africa rests on the influx of British troops into Egypt, the battle to defend Egypt, and the landing of German Afrika Korps forces. Then, the invasion of Tunisia and the ending of Vichy resistance. The fighting did not have extensive direct impact on the people but the Italian colonies were liberated. The war strengthened the British desire to hold on to the Suez Canal and may have influenced the 1956 Suez crisis. The French experience of defeat made France more determined to defend Algeria, which was seen as an extension of France itself more than Tunisia and Morocco. Against this, the actual fighting in East Africa together with the re-establishment of Ethiopia’s independence, could be argued to be important. Though sub-Saharan Africa did not see the direct fighting of the North, it could be argued that the impact of war on weakening European colonisation, had a more widespread effect in encouraging nationalism and gaining independence.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p><b>Why did decolonisation in Africa occur more rapidly in some countries than others?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Between 1945 and 1960, three dozen new states in Asia and Africa achieved autonomy or outright independence from their European colonial rulers. In some areas, the process was relatively swift, and the colonial powers worked with nationalist groups hoping for good relations. In others, the process was protracted and involved often brutal and prolonged military action. Much depended on the length of time that the colonies had been established and how integrated they were with the mother country. For example, Algeria was more established than Morocco or Tunisia and of greater significance to France than some of the colonies established in The Scramble for Africa. Some colonies were of greater economic value. In some colonies, there was a nationalist party with whom the colonisers could work and which seemed likely to produce leaders with whom they could cooperate later. In other colonies, for example Mozambique, the opposition was more ideologically led and difficult to negotiate with. Much depended, too, on the domestic situation of the colonial country and previous experience. The bitter Mau Mau war in Kenya discouraged future protracted armed struggles. The Italian colonies had been too associated with the Mussolini period for Italy to be much concerned with retaining them. In the case of Libya, the UN was helpful in negotiating independence. Decolonisation was often affected by superpower competition and had a definite impact on the evolution of that competition.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates may distinguish between African internal factors, the nature and extent of nationalism and the intrinsic importance of the colonies, and, the context of developments within the mother countries and the acceptance of a ‘wind of change’ approach.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p><b>What best explains the intervention of the superpowers in Africa during the Cold War?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – It has been suggested that Africa became a pawn in the struggle between communist and capitalist development models (both of which were Eurocentric), and the USA, the Soviet Union, and, in some cases, China, used a variety of techniques to gain influence in the Third World. They backed wars of revolution, liberation, or counter-revolution. The USA and Soviet intelligence agencies – the CIA and the KGB – engaged in various covert, or secret, activities. The USA also gave military aid, built schools, and set up programs to combat poverty, and sent volunteer workers to many developing nations. The Soviets offered military and technical assistance. The motivation of the powers was to an extent ideological. New nations were a testing ground for the underlying principles of laissez -faire capitalism and state planning. There were also traditional great power interests; for instance, the aid given by the USSR to Egypt was to gain influence in an important strategic area in the Eastern Mediterranean that had long been a Russian concern. The major military interventions were in the Congo (1960), Mozambique (1971) and Angola (1974), which were more ‘proxy wars’. The desire for advantage in the Third World by supporting liberation movements involved matters of prestige and demonstration of diplomatic and strategic success to counterbalance stalemate in Europe. The USA was committed to global policies and the USSR was driven by the enthusiasm of other Communist regimes, for example Cuba, to demonstrate its supremacy within the Communist world. Opposition to colonialism afforded the USSR the chance to take the moral high ground and presented difficulties for the USA, for example, over the Suez Crisis, but nevertheless the USA did put strategic interests first, though care had to be taken. New regimes in African countries offered opportunities for influence as there were often severe economic problems and the need for overseas aid.</p>	30

## Section 4: China

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p><b>What best explains the end of Manchu rule in China?</b></p> <p>AO1 – By 1911, China had achieved neither strong reform nor appeased discontent and there was considerable discontent among provincial gentry, elements of the army and peasantry. Why this occurred may involve consideration of the relative technological and therefore military backwardness. By comparison with Meiji Japan, the unequal encounters with European and US power did not lead to a major modernisation in terms of government, education, industry, agricultural production or naval and military power. There were some reforms in the later Manchu period, but these were insufficient to meet the weaknesses that had been evident since the 1830s. The two Opium Wars with Britain revealed the technical weaknesses of the Chinese armed forces. Western influences and the influx of missionaries threatened Chinese culture. There were territorial losses in Indochina to France and Korea and defeat by another Asian Power, Japan, in 1894, The Boxer rebellion and the subsequent reaction of foreign powers revealed the impotence of the Empire. As well as foreign incursions, the internal divisions of China had caused serious damage – the extended and very costly Taiping Rebellion 1851–1864 was one of the most brutal events of the century. The actions of Chinese leaders were a contributing factor with the reactionary Dowager Empress CiXi suppressing the reform movement among the Confucian scholar gentry led by Kang You-Wei in the coup of 1898. Reforms of the army and the oppressive and rigid education system began after 1905, and there were promised constitutional reforms and provincial assemblies begun in 1909. However, the moves towards reforms provoked discontent and provincial separatism. By 1911, China had achieved neither strong reform nor appeased discontent, and there was considerable discontent among provincial gentry, elements of the army and peasantry. There was also violence between Han and Manchu forces. The provinces broke away from Qing control. Reforms proved to be far too little, too late. Sun Yat-sen and other (mostly southern) intellectuals, from bases of operation in Japan and in southern China, organised a group called the Tongmenhui (or Alliance Society), This organisation was defiantly anti-Manchu, and called for the creation of a republic. They gained increasing support among intellectuals in China and, most crucially, among young reform-minded officers in the Qing Imperial Army. It was these officers who really touched off the events of October 1911, but the abdication of the last emperor in 1912 was brought about by a deal between Yuan Shi-kai and the revolutionary forces.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates may distinguish between long-term weaknesses of the dynasty and the more immediate developments following the Boxer rebellion, and the build-up of opposition following the death of the dowager empress, balancing the growth of opposition, albeit diverse, and the failure of the dynasty to meet grievances and the domination of foreign powers.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p><b>'An underestimated political leader.'</b> Discuss this view of Chiang Kai-shek in the period 1928–1945.</p> <p>AO1/2 – Chiang has had a poor reputation: a dictatorial and paternalistic leader, dominated by financial cliques and his wife and her sisters; offering limited resistance to Japanese assaults in the 1930s; being preoccupied with the violent repression of communism; failing to offer China constitutional government or economic progress which extended beyond some of the cities; and, being over dependent on foreign capital and support. He has been blamed for: failing to offer a viable alternative to the Communists by 1949; mistreating the peasants in occupied areas; gross mistreatment of his conscripted soldiers; and, inept leadership during the post-1945 campaigns. Efforts to rehabilitate him have pointed to: his real attempts to modernise China after 1928; his skilful handling of dissident elements among provincial chieftains and in the GMD; his understanding of the threat of Communism; and, the heroic image he presented to the world, which gave rise to Western support. However, the negative reports of the US advisers remain damning. The counter view may be that there was some attempt to modernise agriculture and a successful pilot scheme for land redistribution was established in Sichuan. Increased domestic production reduced imported staples such as rice, cotton and wheat. There was greater foreign trade and industrialisation. There were modern banking methods, which invested in agrarian cooperatives and improvement. There was a railway building programme. There had been industrial development. Foreign capital financed health and education improvement; the Beijing Medical Union had a major teaching hospital and greater medical care for the peasants through a system of grass root 'barefoot' doctors.</p> <p>Also, for all his brutality. Chiang recognised the threat of Communism and drove the Communists hard with his campaigns, until the invasion by Japan in 1937 distracted his efforts. He showed some flexibility in working with them against Japan but was realistic in attempting to overcome them after 1945. The balance is the corruption of the regime and the dominance of military authoritarianism, and the Fascist Blue Shirt movement which undermined the ideals of the 'New Life Movement'. Candidates might establish a balance between the genuine achievements and the lack of political awareness and the reliance on repression, foreign backing and the failure after 1945 to deal effectively with inflation or win hearts and minds. They may write about the corruption and weaknesses of Chiang's regime by 1949 and make a comparison with the popular appeal of Communism.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p><b>How important was the Long March for the survival and ultimate victory of the Chinese Communists?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – The Long March took place from October 1934 to 1935 and covered between 3000 to 8000 miles; it is said to have secured the survival of the Communists, even if only one in ten survived. It became legendary and led to the emergence of Mao as leader. The CCP had set up a soviet in Jiangxi by 1931, but GMD forces were attacking so hard that a retreat was needed to survive. Three armies sought survival in the North but 30 000 were left behind. Zhu De commanded a long, hazardous but skilful retreat avoiding GMD territory and fighting off attacks, eventually reaching Shanxi in Ya’nan province, where he set up a soviet in the remote mountains. Despite heavy GMD attacks, the CCP survived and the base ensured that they could take advantage of Nationalist distraction and eventually establish enough support to win the Civil War in 1949. The experience of the March allowed Mao to take advantage of divisions among the other leaders to emerge as the key leader by 1935. Revisionists have questioned the distance of the March, with some asserting that Mao exaggerated. There is also a view that it suited Chiang to allow the Communists to reach their remote position, weakened but not destroyed, and that more casualties were sustained by incompetence and hardship than by heroic battles with the GMD. The importance of the March can be set against other factors which led to the ultimate victory: the Japanese invasion; the guerrilla strategy; the weaknesses of the GMD; the political appeal of the CCP and their peasant policies; and, the way that the Communists treated the people, being careful to pay their way and avoid confiscations. Though the March was effective in propaganda terms, there were other aspects to the propaganda campaign. Some may argue that without the retreat, however, the sheer survival of the CCP may have been threatened.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p><b>How far was Mao Zedong personally responsible for the effects of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution?</b></p> <p>AO1 – In terms of effects, though there are defences possible, the GLF, the consensus is that massive economic disruption brought more hardship than progress. Traditional agricultural practices were swept aside as the new communes were established from 1958. The attempt to create linked industrial centres produced only limited successes. The progress made in agricultural development was severely impeded and estimates of deaths run into millions. The half billion peasants forced into 70 000 communes were expected to go from subsistence to large-scale farming without training or support. They were disorientated and failures were severely punished, so the power of the state fell heavily on them and they were the victim of pseudo-scientific notions based on discredited theories. Massive famines may well have killed 30 to 50 million. The Cultural Revolution made a more fundamental attack on traditional life, though the death toll was lower. However, it was a more protracted period of agony as a sort of collective hysteria gripped the country between 1966 and 1976. The victims of the Red Guard were made up of every sphere of Chinese life and culture; and, the country was subjected to the cult of Mao. Some 12 million young people moved from town to country, often suffering considerable hardships. There was damage done to the arts, science, education and technological progress.</p> <p>AO2 – The Great Leap Forward has been seen as a personal policy, a result of Chairman Mao and his commissars implementing policies based on their ignorant notions of farm production. However, there were wider elements in the party which were unhappy at the rate of progress and wanted a more distinct Chinese socialist policy with greater social engineering. The Cultural Revolution can be seen both in terms of the personal responsibility of Mao and the results of internal power struggles, and a wider movement to restore the energy of the revolution, ideologically. One explanation is the political struggle by Mao to regain control. He resented and feared possible rivals, especially Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. There may have been fears that the army would remove Mao, especially after the fall of Khrushchev in 1964, and Mao was suspicious of Marshal Ho Lung. There was factionalism within the party with Lin Biao, the head of the PLA, an enthusiastic Mao supporter and Chen Boda, Kang Shen and Jung Quin eager to promote the cult of Mao against possible enemies</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
21	<p><b>‘Communism in China changed fundamentally after the death of Mao.’ How valid is this judgement?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – A new generation who had not endured the hardships of the 1930s and 1940s had higher expectations and Deng Xiaoping was committed to economic modernisation and the transformation of economic life. The cult of personality and the political instability that had been evident under Mao needed to change to make vital economic improvements. China did indeed achieve economic transformation, though still suffers from considerable regional differences, and relies a lot on cheap labour and low-end technology. However, in comparison with the Maoist period, the degree of foreign trade and profits from investment and well-equipped manufacturing enterprises is considerable. The problem for Deng and his successors has been that Marxist theory indicates that with greater capitalism, there is a greater chance that the economy will drive politics and undermine communist power. Rather than backtrack on the greater prosperity that has kept the party in power, the CCP restricted political freedom. The death toll at Tiananmen Square, the control of internet access, the control of media, the widespread stifling of criticism at local levels and in regions like Tibet, the maintenance of one-party rule and the considerable power of police and courts to enforce obedience to the regime, have meant that political change has not been fundamental.</p> <p>Economic growth created a new middle class and there was a considerable rise in urbanisation bringing about disparities between regions, cities and countryside, and richer and poorer Chinese. The power of the state, however, remained considerable as evidenced in the One Child Policy and the regime rested on the CCP and the PLA. Though there was a more liberal attitude to freedom of expression and the media, there was still no expansion of political life.</p>	30

## Section 5: The Indian subcontinent and Ceylon/Sri Lanka

Question	Answer	Marks
22	<p><b>'Unrest in India in 1857 was a product more of political factors than of cultural differences.'</b> Consider this view.</p> <p>AO1/2 – The issue here is whether the inroads into cultural practices such as missionary activity and the banning of suttee, together with the causes of the unrest among the sepoys (the cartridge issue and the fear of loss of caste by overseas travel) were the root of the unrest, or whether it was a result of nationalist resentment at British political control and a desire for independence.</p> <p>Issues such as the Doctrine of Lapse and the annexation of Oudh need to be set against the cultural changes of the Dalhousie reforms. Arguments that there was a genuine First War of Independence point to the widespread popular revolts in different areas and the declarations of some rebels that they wished to restore the Moghuls and drive out British rule. There was reference to India and not just local areas, and there is evidence of wider political aims and national awareness. In the main area of 'mutiny', the Bengal army contained different elements from various parts of India and expressed support for common national aims. On the other hand, the forces that suppressed the unrest were drawn largely from Indian troops loyal to the East India Company, or at least with little sympathy for the rebellious troops. The local rulers, if they were not using the unrest for their own interests, showed relatively little national feeling and did not unite behind a concept of India. The rebellions were largely restricted to North and Central India, and the cause of national unity of the revival of the Delhi nation state did not transcend religious differences or regional/ethnic divisions. There were more than purely cultural causes, so in that respect it could be said to be driven by wider political concerns, but there is a debate about whether the national feeling was great enough for it to be seen as more than a general, multi-faceted expression of discontent against different elements of British rule which affected Indian culture and traditions in the widest sense.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
23	<p><b>What best explains the development of the Muslim League in the period 1906–1947?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Candidates might balance: the context of growing nationalism within India as a whole; the impact of key leaders like Iqbal and Jinnah; the concept of ‘Pakistan’; the attitude of Nehru and the Congress; the impact of greater self-government which was dominated by Hindu interests; and, the weakening of the Raj during the Second World War. The origins of the Muslim League were in concerns about developing education for Muslims. The formation in 1906 of the League was less a matter of a political party to promote an independent Muslim state as to represent Muslim interests, increase links and understanding with other groups and to protect rights. Its founder members were lawyers. It was dominated by the Muslim elite and its first president was Agha Khan III. Though he did inform the British that there should be a separate Muslim nation, the principal aims were greater education and more influence in the Raj. The division of Bengal had been a matter of concern and there was a fear that Hindu interests were predominant. The influential were young well-educated activists from Aligarh University like Jinnah and after 1939 there was growing support for independence. In the period after the Khilfat movement, there was greater distance between Muslim and Hindu nationalists after the unity shown in demanding greater self-government during the First World War. The development of a two-nation theory was rejected by Congress, who insisted on a united and self-governing India. The League developed a distinct policy of promoting a separate state. Iqbal’s policy of uniting the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Punjab, and Sindh into a new Muslim majority state became part of the League’s political platform. This dated from 1930 but the word ‘Pakistan’ was a subsequent development. The framing of the concept of ‘Pakistan’ in 1933 was a major development. Jinnah and other leaders had rejected the Nehru Report urging a unified nation. A turning point was Jinnah’s espousal of a separate Pakistan at Lahore in 1940. The results of the Government of India Act and the discontent with Hindu rule together with the hopes that war would bring change account for this. In the 1940s, Jinnah emerged as a leader of the Indian Muslims and was popularly known as <i>Quaid-e-Azam</i>). In the elections of 1946, the Muslim League won 425 out of 476 seats reserved for Muslims (and about 89.2% of Muslim votes) on a policy of creating an independent state of Pakistan, and with an implied threat of secession if this was not granted. Congress, led by Gandhi and Nehru, remained adamantly opposed to dividing India. The last talks in 1944 between Jinnah and Congress had been abortive. From 1945, the chances of an independent India increased and the whole issue of a possible partition became a reality.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
24	<p><b>‘She betrayed the vision of the makers of Indian independence’. How far do you agree with this view of the rule of Indira Gandhi?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Nehru’s daughter, the Oxford educated Indira became a leading member of the Congress Party and prime minister in 1966. She was an agricultural moderniser and responsible for the Green Revolution to increase self-sufficiency. She strongly supported East Pakistan and sent troops to bring about the independence of Bangladesh. In 1975, she refused to accept a conviction for electoral corruption and declared a state of emergency, suspending civil rights and imprisoning opponents. In the election of 1977, despite having eased restrictions and despite her previous popularity, she lost to the Janata Party. She was re-elected in 1980, heading a new party Congress I. To act against Sikh separatism, she sent Indian forces to the Golden Temple in 1984. She was assassinated by a Sikh man in the same year.</p> <p>AO2 – The vision of the makers of India does need to be defined. A secular and stable democracy was part of the vision; but also, a united and progressive state. Known as ‘the Iron Lady’ and ‘the Mother of India’ she attracted adulation and hatred. Gandhi attracted significant electoral popularity helped by her personality and populist economic measures. She introduced more left-wing economic policies and sought to promote agricultural productivity. In 1971, she led India to a decisive victory in war with Pakistan; and in 1974, India completed their own nuclear bomb. However, in the early 1970s, high inflation, falling living standards, and protests over corruption, caused instability that led her to impose a state of emergency in 1975. In the state of emergency, political opponents were imprisoned, constitutional rights removed, and the press placed under strict censorship. She seemed authoritarian, and to threaten key democratic principles. India emerged from her rule as a stronger regional power and the war of 1971 was successful in weakening Pakistan and promoting Bangladesh. Internal policies were less successful, but the main issue was the state of emergency and how far that undermined more successful policies which the founders of India might have approved of.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
25	<p><b>‘The seeds of the division of Pakistan in 1971 were planted at its creation in 1947.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – The issue here is whether the inherent differences between Bengal and Punjab were so great that some sort of division was inevitable, or whether successive governments failed to integrate the country and provoked separation. The unifying factor was religion, but the two regions were geographically divided. There was also the linguistic divide of Bengali and Urdu. (Urdu was made the official language.) However, this could have been overcome. There were economic differences with jute which was the mainstay of East Pakistan, going to India for processing. The inequality of opportunities between East and West in government positions and support for economic development could be analysed. However, other nations have overcome economic, linguistic and cultural diversity; for example, India itself which arguably had worse problems with religion. Initially, the Awami League was not proposing independence but equality of status for Bengali as a language and local autonomy within a federation. The West though, despite being less populous, dominated Pakistan, especially the army, civil service and industrial development. There had been no attempt to equalise revenue allocation. The importance of Kashmir was felt much more keenly in the West than the East. Much may have hinged on President Yahya Khan’s handling of the situation which emerged after the 1971 elections, and gave the Awami League all the East Pakistan seats in the National Assembly. Initially, there were negotiations, but it was the decision to postpone the assembly indefinitely that provoked the immediate crisis. The creation of Bangladesh in 1972 owed a lot to Indian intervention in the war and this could be discussed as a factor.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
26	<p><b>How effectively did the rulers of Ceylon/Sri Lanka deal with internal problems from independence up to c.2000?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Ceylon faced problems after independence in 1948. The British had created a landless rural class from the Kandyan peasants and imported Indian Tamil labourers; and, they relied on cooperation with the Europeanised Burghers, and Sinhalese and Tamil elites from the North. So, they left a divided country with regional and ethnic conflict likely. There were issues of language and social conflict (e.g. the general strike, 1953). Despite a reforming government led by Solomon Bandaranaike from 1956, who introduced land reform and ended both British bases and English as the official language, tensions between regions, races and classes ran high, and hostility from the Tamil minority led to violence in 1958. Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959. His widow was elected in 1960 and though she reduced conflict with the Tamils, her moderate socialism led to an end to US aid and a right-wing backlash. She overcame a right-wing coup and went on to nationalise oil. By the mid-1960s, there were severe economic problems with declining sales of Ceylon's exports (tea, coffee and rubber), and a big population growth which meant the need for more imports. In 1970, there was full independence with the republic of Sri Lanka being formed. The British companies were nationalised and a 5-year plan established. The social reforms were compromised by economic problems brought about by the drought and the oil crisis of 1974. Centralised industrial growth was sluggish. Rival Marxist radicals led a rising in 1971. Politics had become polarised with armed Maoist opposition, militant Tamil nationalism and the emergence of the Tamil Tigers. A conservative backlash in 1977 led to the electoral defeat of the socialist SLFP. The main opposition now became the Tamil separatists. Free market economic policies were introduced and anti-democratic tendencies developed. The country moved away from regular democratic rule under President Jayawardene from 1982. Large scale communal riots broke out in 1983 and the government was widely thought to have been involved. Jayawardene imposed presidential rule under emergency powers. An Indian intervention did not prevent Tamil violence. The president was assassinated by a Tamil Tiger in 1993. The Bandaranaike family emerged again in 1994 with Chandrika becoming president and her mother prime minister. They offered concessions and a ceasefire, but by 2000 some 65 000 people had died in a protracted civil war.</p>	30

## Section 6: Japan and Korea

Question	Answer	Marks
27	<p><b>Assess the strengths and weaknesses of late Tokugawa Japan up to 1852.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – There is a debate here between views. On the one hand, the view is that there was merely decay, as an outdated feudal system was in its death throes, challenged by the arrival of the West. On the other hand, there are those that see the late Edo period as one of transition, with some admirable cultural developments, and the beginnings of a reform movement that culminated in the Meiji restoration.</p> <p>The Tokugawa period, unlike the Shogunate before it, was based on the strict class hierarchy established by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The warrior-caste of samurai were at the top, followed by peasants, artisans, and traders. An additional class was filled by the burakumin (or eta), the lowest in status and socially despised for dealing in taboo trades connected with death. ‘Classless’ persons such as entertainers also existed, having neither the restrictions nor the protections granted by the acknowledged castes. Ironically, the very strictness of the caste system was to undermine these classes in the long run. Taxes on the peasantry were set to fixed amounts which did not account for inflation or other changes in monetary value. As a result, the tax revenues collected by the samurai landowners were worth less and less over time. This often led to confrontations between noble but impoverished samurai and well-to-do peasants. The Shogunate by the 1850s was anachronistic and over complex, offering a sort of shadow government. It was a product of isolation and inwardness, and groups of more progressive daimyo forged an alliance with the Meiji emperor, for what amounted to a revolution and the creation of a state that was prepared to learn from the West.</p> <p>The Tokugawa bakufu came to an official end in 1868, with the resignation of the 15th Tokugawa Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu and the ‘restoration’ (‘Taisei Houkan’) of imperial rule. The effects of isolation from the West came to have disastrous consequences after 1853 and the arrival of Perry, and the obvious limitations of Japanese military and naval forces revealed the weakness of an ossified feudal society. The divisions that it caused can either be seen as a confirmation of decay or a desire for renewal among a section of the ruling elite, which resulted in the Meiji restoration and an assault on the daimyo to create a unified state. To judge as decaying may be an unfair, but certainly by the late Edo period Japan had failed to move with the times and allowed tradition to impede development. Some may argue that culturally, Japan could not be judged as decaying.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
28	<p><b>To what extent was Japanese territorial expansion motivated by economic factors in the years 1860 to 1914?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Though some may see the internal unification of Japan as part of territorial expansion, most answers may focus on the period after 1875. The Treaty with Russia of 1875 gave Japan the Kuril Islands in exchange for Sakhalin, following abortive attempts to end the unequal treaties with the great powers. This was an example of Japan negotiating as a relative equal. More economically motivated, many have seen the Japan-Korea treaty of 1876 which opened three ports to trade with Japan and granted Japanese traders extraterritorial status. The desire to contest Chinese influence and the reproduction of many features of the unequal treaties imposed on Japan, however, suggest a desire to be seen as a colonising power rather than a colonised power. This and the war with China in 1894–1895 must be seen in the context of industrial and military expansion during the Meiji era, and the desire of the reforming westernising elements to establish racial and political equality between Japan and the European powers, and the USA. However, fear of Chinese influence threatening trade was one motive and the acquisition of both Taiwan and Liaotung had economic significance. The humiliation of the loss of Liaotung and the Russian commercial expansion in Manchuria made for mixed motives for the war of 1904–1905. On one hand, it demonstrated the increased strength of Japan’s world status, seen in the treaty with Britain of 1902; but, on the other hand, there were obvious economic motives as shown by the granting of mineral rights by the Treaty of Portsmouth in Manchuria and the railway concessions. The gain of South Sakhalin was more politically than economically important, having been part of the homeland lost in 1875. The annexation of Korea in 1910 was a symbol of Japan’s imperial ambitions, and economic concessions had already been granted.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
29	<p><b>How important was the Manchurian Incident of 1931 to the growth of Japanese nationalism?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The staged explosion on the South Manchurian railway, followed by the incursions of the Kwandung army into Manchuria and the establishment of Manchukuo, could be seen as an expression of the growth of nationalism and its influence among the younger officers of the army, and the problems it presented to the Japanese government in denying. It was hard to resist the pressure from below for expansion, given the humiliations of the period from 1918 and the economic problems which acquisition of raw materials and markets in Manchuria would ease. Whether the importance is in a reflection of existing nationalism which has several causes (e.g. the humiliations of the Perry era; the disappointments about racial equality; the attempts to restrict Japanese naval power; the development of Shintoism and emperor worship; and, reaction against westernisation), or whether resulting from an encouragement to further nationalism after 1941, could be discussed. The raised prestige of military nationalism, the weak response of the great powers, the League and the internal divisions in China, all encouraged further expansion and nationalist fervour, reflected in further incursions into China and finally the full-scale war of 1937. In turn, these promoted a policy of drastic fulfilment of imperial hopes by the attacks of 1941–1942. Thus, the inherent attractions of Manchuria - its place in Japanese history since the terrible losses of 1905 and the humiliations of the Russian reversal of the gains from China in the 1890s - were one element; but the encouragement of further territorial successes, and the belief that foreign nations lacked the will power or means to prevent Japanese growth, were also important.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
30	<p><b>With what justification can the Battle of Midway be seen as the turning point of Japanese fortunes in the Second World War?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Midway 4–7 June was an unexpected victory for the USA against a much larger Japanese force. The Japanese navy had suffered a reverse at the battle of the Coral Sea, but it deployed a large task force to seize Midway, a key US base, and more importantly, to destroy the US fleet and establish control of the Pacific. If this had succeeded, then the future of the war would have been very different. As it was, some see the battle as losing the war for Japan. The USA knew the plan and had moved its forces to Midway, taking Japan by surprise. The Japanese strategy was overtly complex, and Yamamoto did not deploy his carriers as the key weapon sufficiently. He was taken by surprise by an air attack when his planes had returned to their carriers and despite earlier failed attacks, the US planes were able to sink four carriers, which the Japanese could not replace. The USA was not driven out of the Pacific; the Japanese had lost valuable carriers and more important trained engineers and crew. The USA lost one carrier. After Midway, Japan lost the naval initiative and the USA was able to establish the naval supremacy that was the key to the two other major elements of the war: the air war on Japan and the ‘island hopping’ recapture of territory. Discussion could focus on Midway’s importance or the defeat of Japan in the Solomons, 1943, and the long-term economic power of the USA. Midway was not enough to bring the war to an end by itself and there were still large scale Japanese naval and military forces in play for the next three years. The very decisive naval defeats of 1944 could be seen as a possible alternative, and even the taking of the island bases which allowed for the saturation bombing and eventual use of the atomic bombs. Some may even say the incomplete attacks on Pearl Harbor which left the US carriers available for action may have been the turning point; or even the Doolittle raids which triggered the desire for utter revenge by Japan by one great naval showdown; but many histories see Midway as the decisive action of the Pacific war.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
31	<p data-bbox="304 248 1273 282"><b>How effectively was South Korea governed in the period 1945–2000?</b></p> <p data-bbox="304 315 1326 551">AO1/2 – The pressure of an uncompromising North Korean regime had meant that big defence spending and a high level of military preparedness had been necessary, and that the army assumed an importance that restricted the growth of civilian democratic government. In these circumstances and given the general economic growth, candidates might look favourably on South Korea. The counter view is that there was over reliance by the leaders on military authority.</p> <p data-bbox="304 584 1326 1021">Under US control until 1948, South Korea became an independent republic in 1948 with Syngman Rhee its first president. Heavily dependent on US aid, Rhee pursued some land reform policies and was bitterly anti-Communist. He was determined to reunite Korea, but this policy was not endorsed in the 1950 elections. Then North Korea invaded and the South suffered considerable damage, deaths and economic dislocation. South Korea in 1953 was one of the poorest countries in the world. Rhee depended on US support and aid but moved to a more authoritarian form of government from 1954, relying on martial law. Student protests were violently suppressed in 1960, but the scale of opposition was too much, and he left power. A new constitution was declared, but in 1961 the civilian government was removed in a coup led by Major General Park Chung Hee, who ruled South Korea until his assassination in 1979.</p> <p data-bbox="304 1055 1326 1559">The Park era saw greater economic development, but little growth in democracy or parliamentary government. Government policies and the growth of trade, investment and technology led to rapid economic development, and South Korea became a ‘Tiger Economy’ with Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. However, the issue of political development lagged behind economic growth. The military again dominated after a short return to parliamentary rule; this time under Chun Doo Hwan. Again, protests grew, especially when South Korea achieved a higher profile internationally. The Seoul Olympics in 1988 showed a modern high-tech capital and drew visitors, and it became harder to avoid the pressure for political change. Chun’s fellow general, Roh Tae Woo, won a presidential election, but not until 1992 was there a civilian president again. Economic progress was slowed by the effects of the Asian financial crisis in 1997, partly a result of unsound government financial policies, but under president Kim a recovery was effected and some attempts were made to have a dialogue with North Korea.</p>	30

## Section 7: South-east Asia

Question	Answer	Marks
32	<p><b>Account for the limited resistance to colonial rule in Indochina and the Dutch East Indies before 1940.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Indochina. Possible factors for the limited resistance to colonial rule could be the piecemeal establishment of French control after 1857, with territorial control of Annam and Cochinchina following in 1867, after merely gaining ports in 1864. The protectorate over Cambodia resulted from a request by the ruler. French control replaced domination by China and Siam rather than taking over independent countries, and the French left native rulers in place in their protectorates. Superior military force crushed rebellions, 1885–1895, which were not supported throughout the colonies. The most serious rebellion was a military revolt in 1930 but, though backed by nationalists, was not unified by clear ideological aims but rather just protests against French rule, therefore could not withstand French military force. On the positive side, the French brought economic expansion and employment, increasing rice exports and building railways and ports. The French also modernised Hanoi. They also attempted to impose French culture, French education and the use of the French language. The nationalists were divided and though Ho Chi Minh did try and unify opposition from 1930, the communist model was not universally accepted, and the level of urban development was not high enough to generate a middle class base for opposition to French rule.</p> <p>Dutch East Indies. The Dutch rule extended further back, but there was an influx of settlers in the early twentieth century. There was limited nationalist growth because of the relatively small numbers of educated middle class indigenous peoples. Though Dutch rule offered economic development, employment and some power sharing – the People’s Council – it could be violent and repressive, as in the protracted struggle over Aceh. The Royal Dutch forces recruited local troops which could maintain control. Possible resistance was made difficult because of ethnic and religious differences and some willingness of the elites to cooperate with the Dutch, who were careful not to over impose Dutch culture. (Dutch, for example, was not widely used as a language.) There was considerable local support against Japanese invasion in 1942.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
33	<p><b>What best accounts for the extent of China's influence in South-east Asia in the period 1975–c.2000?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – The immediate influence of China's revolution was to encourage revolutionary groups on one hand and resistance on the other. In Taiwan, the influence was for an anti-Communist state bolstered by US protection to provide a capitalist alternative. In Hong Kong, too, China was seen as a threat and Western support spurred considerable economic development, so China had a negative influence. In Vietnam, China's influence was apparent, but in the long run tempered by traditional fears of China's domination. Help given by China to revolutionary movements in Malaya fuelled civil war but confirmed anti-communist rule. Singapore became a key capitalist state. However, in the post-Cold War period, relations have become more complex. China offered to support South-east Asia solidarity in 1953; countries including China and Myanmar proposed the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence'. In 1955, China attended the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, when all parties united to fight against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony. In return, China's effort to resume the seat at the United Nations was also firmly supported by many South-east Asian countries. Thus, China was a threat to the stability of South-east Asia but also seen as an alternative to western influence. On August 8, 1967, the ASEAN was established. It was the first association in South-east Asia made of independent developing nations. South-east Asian countries came together for regional economic growth, social advancement and cultural development.</p> <p>Today, ASEAN has expanded from five member countries initially, to an international organisation that covers ten countries of South-east Asia with wide influence, and plays a more and more important role at the Asia Pacific and World stages. When ASEAN was firstly established, the world was in the Cold War, which caused distrust and confrontation between China and South-east Asia. This was just a short episode in history. In November 1978, the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping visited Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, and proposed to develop friendly relations with South-east Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Afterwards, the two sides made fruitful cooperation during the process of solving the Cambodia problem by political means. Moreover, the problems of communist parties and overseas Chinese in South-east Asia were solved as well. These laid a foundation for the establishment and development of friendly Sino-ASEAN relations. By 1991, China had established or resumed diplomatic relations with all South-east Asian countries. The two parties entered a new era of dialogue and cooperation. In the past 15 years, bilateral relations have gone through three stages, from establishing full dialogue framework, to friendly neighbourhood and mutual trust, and finally to the establishment of strategic partnership. In 1996, China became ASEAN's full dialogue partner. In December 1997, when the Asian Financial Crisis was sweeping through the region, ASEAN proposed to hold 10 + 3 meetings. Within that framework the China-ASEAN Annual Summit, or 10 + 1 mechanism, was established. During the financial crisis, China kept the <i>renminbi</i> from depreciation, and provided aid to crisis-hit South-east Asian countries. When Indonesia and Thailand were struck by the devastating tsunami, many ordinary Chinese people offered a helping hand voluntarily, and set the highest record of unofficial donation. However, the considerable military power of China remains a huge concern.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
34	<p><b>How much did Ho Chi Minh's leadership contribute to the defeat of the USA in Vietnam?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Ho pressured the North Vietnam politburo to send support to the Viet Cong in the South, and his invasion of Laos in 1959 with the Pathet Lao established the key supply route – the Ho Chi Minh trail which was to be a key contribution to victory. Though Ho was no longer the official party leader, he remained a key figure in government. The arrival of Chinese troops freed North Vietnamese forces for combat roles. As the war escalated in direct US assaults on North Vietnam, and it seemed that the North Vietnamese had been forced on the defensive to maintain the Ho Chi Minh trail, Ho and the Politburo authorised the Tet offensive in January 1968. Despite heavy losses, the offensive provided the shock needed to persuade opinion in the USA that the North was far from defeated and that the war was not being won. It meant that the key bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail was suspended and that negotiations began. The strategy of avoiding direct confrontation, wearing the enemy down and hoping that internal dissent in the USA would mean an end to the war, was psychologically and militarily sound. His high reputation as a national leader and the way that he became a symbol of opposition to the war were important. Also, he was determined to achieve unity. After his death in 1969, his successors inherited the strategy and aims. Against this are some key factors which allowed the strategy to work: the political weaknesses of the South; the flaws in US strategy, both political and military; among Americans, the growing dislike of the war and the way it was conducted; and, the role of the media. Some of these factors intermeshed with Ho's powerful international image and reputation as a wise and moderate leader (despite the harshness of the Communist regime in the 1950s). In a war which depended so much on the endurance of morale and willingness, Ho's calm presence was of considerable importance.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
35	<p><b>Why, after 1975, did Cambodia experience a more violent communist regime than Vietnam?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Cambodia had been drawn into war in 1965 and the violence of war was linked to violent repression of opposition by Prince Sihanouk. So Saloth Sar (Pol Pot) emerged in a violent and unstable context and his Khymer Rouge waged a ruthless guerrilla war. He was influenced by Mao’s Cultural Revolution, itself a violently radical movement. The bombing raids by the USA between 1969 and 1973 contributed to the atmosphere of violence, claiming 600 000 lives and accompanying a US invasion in 1970. In 1974, the Khymer Rouge established a precedent by destroying the city of Odongk, executing its elites and dispersing its inhabitants. A similar pattern followed when Pnohm Penh fell in 1975. Various categories of people were identified and executed, and in the Killing Fields up to 1.5 million people died. The violence turned inward in 1977 when the Khymer Rouge was purged. Violence was externalised with conflict with neighbours in 1977, and in 1978 Vietnam invaded. Even when ousted, Pol Pot maintained an insurgency and to the end sustained violence as a means of control, killing his former ally and his family in 1997. During his trial in 1998, Pol Pot claimed that he was not a violent person, and that he had worked to fulfil an ideological mission and to keep his country independent from Vietnam. The contrast with Vietnam is that a more moderate leadership while pursuing radical changes, did not embark on mass executions (despite a high level of punishment of landlords) in order not to disrupt the economy and to remain within the orbit of established communist regimes. The damage caused ongoing wars pursued by North Vietnam and meant that there was a need for reconstruction rather than the millenarian extremism of Cambodia.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
36	<p><b>Assess the political and economic achievements of the rule of Tunku Abdul Rahman.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Tunku Abdul Rahman was chief minister of the Federation of Malaya (1955–1957), the first prime minister of an independent Malaya (1957–1963), and the prime minister of Malaysia (1963–1970).</p> <p>In terms of political achievements, the formation of Malaysia might be discussed: Malaysia formally came into being on 16 September 1963, consisting of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore. In 1963, the total population of Malaysia was about 10 million. Though it gave Malaya more regional weight and the inclusion of North Borneo and Sarawak balanced the influence of the Chinese in Singapore, there were tensions both internally and externally with opposition from the Philippines to the inclusion of Sabah which led to ongoing problems, and from Indonesia in the so-called Confrontasi. The Tunku managed this opposition with British support. However, the adherence of Singapore was not maintained, and a peaceful separation was achieved. He also maintained Islam as the official religion and developed Islamic organisations in the country.</p> <p>The inclusion of Singapore threatened the balance within the new country and Singapore withdrew in 1965. In 1970, he resigned after the disturbances and ethnic unrest of 1969. Rahman made good use of the resources of Malaya and Malaysia especially rubber, tin and palm oil and iron ore. The export income was used for state directed investment and infrastructure development with state plans (1956–1960 and 1961–1965) which continued through the political changes. Though there were attempts at diversification to offset the dependence on rubber, the state control meant that the government kept costs low. Wages needed to be restricted to ensure competitive prices in the face of growing competition, but this restricted demand and growth. His successors had to address rural poverty. The racial tensions between Malays and Chinese accelerated after the Federation. With 40% Chinese after the inclusion of Singapore, there was anger from Lee Kwan yew’s PAP which was met by forcing Singapore out of the Federation rather than developing greater unity. Discussion could centre on the way that Rahman managed tension between the Malay and Chinese. The broad aim was to equalise wealth between the Chinese and Malays, but this involved educational discrimination and favouring Malay interests in the economic planning.</p> <p>The Education Act of 1961 decided that Malay and English would be the only teaching languages in secondary schools, and state primary schools would teach in Malay only. The entry exam for higher education would be conducted in Malay, even though most teaching at the university was in English until the 1970s. This had the effect of excluding many Chinese students. At the same time, Malay schools were heavily subsidised.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
36	<p>Planning directed resources heavily into developments which would benefit the rural Malay community, such as village schools, rural roads, clinics, and irrigation projects. Several agencies were set up to enable Malay smallholders to upgrade their production and to increase their incomes. The state also provided a range of incentives and low-interest loans to help Malays set up businesses. Some may see this as successful promotion of Malay economic development; others may see a weakening of the overall economy and racial harmony by preferential treatment. The serious race riots of 1969, in which 6000 Chinese homes and businesses were burned and at least 184 people were killed, after opposition victories by parties representing Indian and Chinese interests, reduced the credibility of Rahman's rule.</p>	

## Section 8: Asia, c. 1750–2000

Question	Answer	Marks
37	<p><b>How important were the Opium Wars in the European penetration of China in the nineteenth century?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The demonstration of Chinese weakness when faced with superior British force was shown in the Opium Wars and their outcome, in the form of concessions which set the precedent for further European control and economic exploitation. There are factors which have to do with Chinese weakness and the misjudgements and failures of the Qing rulers, and factors which explain the ability of small European forces to have a disproportionate influence on China. The failure to see the impact of the reluctance to trade with Britain, and to insist on payments in silver led to conflicts, and the Chinese were defeated in the two opium wars by Britain, which opened the possibilities of France and Russia taking greater advantage of Chinese weaknesses. The absence of large-scale industrialisation in China, the conservatism of the mandarin system, the limitations of central rule, and naval and military weaknesses must be set against: the impact of western industrialisation on arms and naval development; the greater organisation and tactical strength of the western forces; and, the dynamism of the capitalist-industrial powers already building on their successes in India. With the further division of China in the Taiping rebellion, European powers were able to secure their foothold and extend their economic concessions, securing the dynasty only to dominate it. The defeat of China by Japan and the crushing of the Boxer rebellion confirmed China's weakness. Western powers were able to combine when needed to confirm their imperial domination and, with the enormous growth of naval technology and weaponry after 1860, confirmed their military advantage. To overcome foreign domination, China would have needed an economic and military revolution comparable to that of post-Meiji Japan or to the long period of growth since 1949. The Qing rulers and their ministers could or would not undertake this and the ruling elites were not committed to a modernisation programme in the same way as their Japanese counterparts. The profits of dominating China were too great for European powers to have any interest in making concessions to what they regarded as an inherently weak and divided state.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
38	<p><b>Assess the importance of indigenous Indians in the establishment of British control of India in the period c.1750–1857.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – The establishment of Company power was a mixture of enterprise and the failure of native rulers to see the implications of allowing Britain to establish itself. Numerous trading posts were set up along the east and west coasts of India, and considerable English communities developed around the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. In 1717, the Company achieved its hitherto most notable success when it received permission from the Mughal Emperor exempting the Company from the payment of custom duties in Bengal. The very large fortunes allowed the Company to accumulate military strength, but also to form alliances with dissident princes. The great success of Plassey in 1757 was a result of a mixture of these elements. Clive was an able and enterprising leader, but he had modern artillery and the support of Indian allies in the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal. The continuing support of the Delhi emperor was important. A few years later, the Company acquired the right to collect revenues on behalf of the Mughal Emperor, but the initial years of its administration were calamitous for the people of Bengal. The famine of 1769–1770, which the Company’s policies did nothing to alleviate, may have taken the lives of as many as a third of the population. Another factor was the willingness of the British government to support the Company which, despite its massive wealth, faced heavy expenditure and the results of a major famine in Bengal. State intervention put the ailing Company back on its feet, and Lord North’s India Bill, also known as the Regulating Act of 1773, provided for greater parliamentary control over the affairs of the Company, besides placing India under the rule of a Governor-General. The first Governor-General of India was Warren Hastings. Had there been concerted Indian resistance, it is difficult to see the Company maintaining its hold, but adept diplomacy and strong leadership from Warren Hastings led to the expansion of Company rule by 1784. The linking of British rule with vested interests was expanded by Cornwallis, who initiated the Permanent Settlement whereby an agreement in perpetuity was reached with <i>zamindars</i> or landlords for the collection of revenue. With Britain’s military expansion came a greater reliance on the use of force against Indian rulers who failed to gather allies to defeat the British. Wellesley defeated Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the Marathas, and finally the subjugation and conquest of the Sikhs in a series of Anglo-Sikh Wars led to British occupation over the entirety of India. Let in by divisions, the Company with the backing of the British state took a more dynamic policy of control and made increasing inroads on Indian independence and culture. However, they still depended on using Indian allies and subordinates in the 1840s. In some places, the British practised indirect rule, placing a Resident at the court of the native ruler who was allowed sovereignty in domestic matters. Lord Dalhousie’s notorious doctrine of lapse, whereby a native state became part of British India if there was no male heir at the death of the ruler, was one of the principal means by which native states were annexed. Not until 1857 was there a major attempt at resistance, but this too was undermined by Indian divisions.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
39	<p><b>Who had the greater interest in controlling Afghanistan: Britain or Russia?</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – The Great Game involved Russian expansion in central Asia and British fears for their ever-growing Indian empire of a Russian-based incursion from the North-West Frontier. The first Afghan War, 1839–42, ended in disaster and reduced British enthusiasm for influencing Afghanistan. The Indian disturbances of 1857–1858 raised the dangers of Russia encouraging discontent. Russian advances in central Asia under Chernyayev leading to the annexation of Tashkent were a cause for alarm, undermining the success of keeping Russia out of the Mediterranean achieved by the Crimean War. In 1878, Russia sent a mission to Kabul. When the Afghans refused a British mission, a second war broke out and Britain installed a client ruler. However, Britain did not make the Russian seizure of Penjdeh from Afghanistan a cause of war and agreed a settlement in 1885. There was an incident in 1891 when, after a clash between Afghanistan and Russia in the Wakhan area, Russia ordered out a British officer. Britain consolidated her control over Hunza and Nagar and negotiated a border agreement with Russia to prevent possible Russian incursion. In 1907, Russia accepted the British influence in Afghanistan and agreed to go through Britain when dealing with the rulers there. Russian involvement after the Bolshevik Revolution was suspected in the rebellion of the Afghan leader Amanullah Khan against British influence leading to the third Afghan War of 1919. Britain resented the treaty he made with the USSR in 1921. After 1941, Britain and Russia cooperated in pressuring Afghanistan to expel pro-German elements. With the end of the Indian empire in 1947, Britain and Russia were not specifically at odds over India and central Asia. No specific answer is expected.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
40	<p><b>'The economic impact of the Cold War on Asia was much greater than the political impact.' Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/2 – Candidates may focus on Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos where the 'proxy war' had considerable economic impact in terms of damage and disruption. However, the whole region was affected, for example the determination of the British to defend Malaya and the short-term disruptions of the emergency set against the longer-term effects of independence and federation. Similarly, concerns about the Cold War affected the decisions to bring about self-government for Singapore, and there were relations with the Philippines, and the conflicts in Indonesia and their economic aspects. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Though war did bring about economic dislocation and disruption, nevertheless it might be possible to see it affecting economic development and change in the longer term, for example, in the establishment of a united Vietnam and a federated Malaya. No set answer is expected, and exemplification may be drawn from a range of countries.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
41	<p><b>What best explains the prosperity of the Pacific rim states after independence?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Pacific Rim countries gaining independence were North and South Korea, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia. The elements of economic growth were: large degrees of foreign investment; harmonious industrial relations on the post-war Japanese model; emphasis on financial services in the city states; and, on exporting goods and services to industrialised countries. Where there was prosperity, these economies emphasised: high technology and low costs; complete stability for investors backed by firm alliances with western powers; and, in the case of Singapore, attempts to harmonise relations with potentially hostile neighbours. Partly, economic growth was a matter of utilising factors in a global context which encouraged growth: the availability of raw materials for export in the case of Malaysia; the lack of conflict in the region; the availability of cheap labour; and, modern communications. Partly, it was government policies which: encouraged foreign investment; ensured internal stability; offered grants and subsidies to attract investment; and, adopted a clear capitalist ethos. It was easier to create an effective infrastructure in a city state like Singapore, and to ensure that policies of social control were matched by effective social security to promote harmony, and to offer investors a model capitalist state, than in larger areas like South Korea. However, in all these countries, the need to respond to global opportunities was recognised at government level and the state played a major part in permitting private enterprise to take advantage of opportunities, at least until the Asian financial crisis of 1997.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should attempt some distinction between states with high rates of growth such as Singapore and countries which were affected by war or political factors.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
42	<p><b>To what extent has international cooperation among post-independent South Asian countries changed the nature of regional conflicts?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may focus on ASEAN, which was created in 1967 following the Association of South East Asia of 1961 by the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia. The Bangkok Declaration was intended to promote regional economic and political cooperation. Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Burma and Cambodia joined between 1984 and 1999. The principles of ASEAN were non-interference in the affairs of members, settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and effective communication. There was no armed struggle between members and there were talks on many aspects of economic cooperation. There has been greater free trade and links with strong regional powers like China and India.</p> <p>AO2 – Supporters of ASEAN suggest that having a body representing quite diverse interests and establishing structures, opening dialogues and holding meetings, has helped to maintain peace and offered an alternative to excessive influence by superpowers such as China or the USA, so that proxy wars have not emerged. Regional conflicts have not developed into armed struggles. There has been a flourishing of economic activity in the region and the technological contacts, trade agreements and stability has promoted economic growth. Others point out that it has been more a discussion-based organisation than one which has been able to wield much political influence.</p>	30