



HISTORY

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

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MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 90

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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>How far did effective leadership ensure that Abyssinia maintained its independence for longer than other parts of the Horn of Africa in the period c.1882–1936?</p> <p>AO1 – The first Italian incursion was in 1882. The accession of Menelik II in 1889 saw attempts by Italy to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia which ended ignominiously at Adowa in 1896. The expansion of the Abyssinian state and the granting of concessions for railway building to the French strengthened Ethiopia. Ethiopia expanded into Jima in 1932. Not until a fully-fledged Italian invasion in 1935 did Ethiopia finally succumb.</p> <p>AO2 – Analysis should look especially at the role played by the Emperors Menelik in the 1890s and Haile Selassie in the 1930s, and the role of the local Ras. The Empire modernised and expanded after 1896. Answers might consider other factors such as expected tribal divisions not occurring and the rallying of local rulers to the Emperor in 1894. The European powers including Italy had supplied modern weapons to Menelik II. At the Battle of Adowa, there were Russian military advisers, Italian forces were better equipped and it was difficult for the Emperor to maintain large forces. A cautious campaign might have worked at Adowa, but orders from Rome for decisive action led to defeat in March 1896. The acquisitions of 1919 gave the colonial powers enough to digest, and not until the Fascist state needed an outlet for its energies and some reward for its support of the French and British at Stresa, did the full might of a modern European military state turn against Ethiopia. Even then, Haile Selassie gained international sympathy and it took considerable Italian force to complete the conquest.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p>Why was Egypt so important in international relations in the period 1869–1956?</p> <p>AO1/2 – In return for debt agreements, Britain and France took control of the Suez Canal. There was tension between Britain’s interests in securing a route to India and French interests in North Africa, together with awareness that French engineering had made the Canal possible. Nationalist demonstrations in 1881 led to anti-European actions and in 1882 British and French military intervention. British forces in Egypt was resented by France. Lord Cromer brought about financial and economic reforms but anti-British feeling remained, stirred up by Germany in resentment at the Anglo-French agreement of 1904. There were nationalist demonstrations and uprisings in 1919. British occupation ended officially in 1922, but Britain maintained a military presence and control of the canal. In 1936, British troops were withdrawn but Egypt was a major base in World War II. Candidates could discuss the struggle for North Africa during the war between Germany and Britain in the context of their relative geopolitical ambitions. After the War, nationalism was again a strong influence, culminating in the changes made by Nasser and the nationalisation of the canal. The Suez crisis played a major role in international relations creating conflict between Britain and France on one hand, and the USSR and the USA on the other. In the Cold War era, there was Russian influence which was seen as a threat by the West.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p>What best explains instability in the Sudan after independence?</p> <p>AO1 – Sudan became independent in 1956. There was a protracted civil war between the Northern-dominated governments representing a largely Arab population and Southern rebels deriving their support from black Africans until 1972 with a series of unstable military governments. War began again in 1983 when President Nimeiry attempted to impose greater control on the South. Religious factors were important with an attempt to impose Sharia law in 1983 and the emergence of the National Islamic Front in 1989. The Christian and animist minority in the South were driven to resistance. There was also political discontent as the Southern SOLA began as a Marxist group. The conflicts were based on racial, religious and regional conflicts. The wars have had considerable economic consequences, but there have been economic causes, as the Northern-based governments have been accused of neglecting the economic needs of the region. Economic considerations may be behind the enslavement by Arab raiders from the North and the motivation of poor people to join both Islamic militias and opposition groups. The hostility of the USA to what it regarded as a terror state (in 1998, the USA bombed Khartoum) and the influence of Islamic radicalism on the regime adds an international dimension to explanations of instability.</p> <p>AO2 – A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. ‘What best explains’ invites a consideration of the relative importance of different sources of instability (e.g. racial, religious, political, economic conflicts) and how far foreign influence has played a part.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p>How well did the rulers of independent Tunisia deal with the problems facing the country before 2000?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Answers may focus on Habib Bourguiba who was President of Tunisia after independence in 1977 until his removal from power in 1987 in a bloodless coup led by his prime minister. He attempted modernisation, giving women the vote, ending polygamy and abolishing the veil. However, though he rejected Fundamental Islam he did not align himself entirely with the West by supporting the PLO and, until 1961, the struggle of the FLN in Algeria, seriously weakened economic and political links with France. The development of industry and tourism gave Tunisia a greater degree of prosperity than in colonial times, but the lack of any real discussion or democracy led to ill-judged economic policies such as agricultural collectives which failed. A one-party state with a considerable emphasis on the personal power and prestige of Bourguiba himself developed by 1980. Opposition was repressed as with pro-democracy demonstrations in 1977. However, until the 1980s Bourguiba was seen as a developer and moderniser and a father figure for modern Tunisia. He was admired for keeping a balance between the supports for Islamic freedom and avoiding too much confrontation with the West, on whom Tunisia depended for trade and tourism. The economic problems of the 1980s and disputes within the country, especially with organised labour, led to his overthrow. His successors faced ongoing problems with the economy and with radical groups. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p>Why were war and famine such persistent problems in the Horn of Africa, c.1941–2000?</p> <p>AO1 – Eritrea has been torn apart by war and in 2000 the UN agencies were appealing for help for 370 000 people hit by war and a further 211 000 affected by drought. In Somalia by 2000, central government was ineffective and violence and instability in the South had made the work of aid agencies nearly impossible. The 1997 floods followed by prolonged drought and a series of bad harvests left 1.5 million people without adequate food. The influx of refugees into Mogadishu has created huge problems. The continuing ethnic and religious conflict in the Sudan is an inhibiting factor. By 2000, the region experienced serious food supply problems with increased prices for maize brought about by lower rainfall. Wars include: the Eritrean War of Independence (1962–1991); Somali Border Wars with Ethiopia and Kenya (1964–1967); and, the Ogaden War (1977–1978) (Ethiopia's war against Somalia and Somali rebels in the Ogaden desert area, the Soviet Union and Cuba were also involved on Ethiopia's side); the Somali Civil War after 1990; the Yemen-Eritrea Border Conflict (1996); and, the second Eritrea-Ethiopia War (1998–2000).</p> <p>AO2 – Possible explanations include population rise. (The population had more than doubled in the last quarter of the twentieth century, together with an inheritance from the colonial era of production for market at the expense of food supplies for the local people.) Other explanations of famine are to do with drought. The most well-known crisis occurred in Ethiopia in 1984–85 when hundreds of thousands of lives were lost because of hunger. Some see the main problem in the governments' poor agricultural policies and civil war. Many thousands died in neighbouring Sudan, which was also under a dictatorship that refused to acknowledge the scale of the food crisis. The power of military groups within states and the legacy of artificial colonial boundaries may all explain conflicts which have grown worse with the disintegration of state authority, e.g. Somalia. Ideological positions may too have exacerbated conflicts.</p>	30

Section 2: West, Central and Southern Africa

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p>Who should bear the greater responsibility for the outbreak of the Second Boer War: Joseph Chamberlain or Paul Kruger?</p> <p>AO1/2 – The case against the Boers might centre on their treatment of the Uitlanders and the heavy taxes that Kruger put on the mining industry to please his rural supporters. The control of essential dynamite, water supply and railways meant that the British were also charged highly, though the exploitation of the mines depended on British expertise. The denial of political rights to British settlers was a provocation. Given the insensitivity to British interests, the possibility of an anti-British alliance with Germany and the resources that Britain had put into defeating the Boers' African enemies, it could be argued that Kruger was acting in a narrow way that a great power like Britain could not accept over a protracted period. On the other side, there is the overwhelming political ambition of Rhodes and his willingness to countenance illegality in the Jameson Raid, and the degree of Chamberlain's knowledge and involvement. The treaties with the Boers came before the discovery of gold and it could be seen (as it indeed was seen in much of Europe) that British motives were not so much the protection of their nationals against unfair discrimination, but to acquire resources and pursue anti-German policies. It could be seen that: British actions between 1896 and 1899 were likely to bring about conflict; Chamberlain's imperial ideology were a vital factor; and, the reinforcement of British forces were a provocation.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p>How well governed was sub-Saharan Africa in the inter-war years?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Answers may draw distinctions between the different aims and ethical priorities of the colonial powers and the willingness to invest in infrastructure developments, welfare and social developments. 'Well governed' needs to be considered in terms of both the aims of the colonists in maintaining internal stability, developing economic growth through a difficult time of falling agricultural prices and exploiting natural resources. There were also the criteria of improving the lives of the people, developing links with the mother country and boosting education and living standards. In terms of the interests of the governed, the perspective may be that 'well governed' is inappropriate given: the repression of any national feeling; economic exploitation; continuing racism; the encouragement of internal divisions through a policy of 'divide and rule'; and, the prevention of social and economic development. Better answers will exemplify from a range of colonies, but a strongly supported answer which focuses largely on the role of Britain or on, say West Africa, could be well rewarded.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p>What best accounts for the political instability in Liberia after 1945?</p> <p>AO1 – US aid in the twentieth century 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 could use a thematic approach by discussing: deep-rooted ethnic conflicts; economic and financial instability; the increasing role of the army; the failure to establish and maintain a US style democracy; the influence of neighbouring countries; and, the ambitions of unstable leaders.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p>How is the genocide in Rwanda best explained?</p> <p>AO1 – Modern Rwanda was created by the republic of 1962. This followed a period of internal violence following the Hutu overthrow of the Tutsi monarchy in 1959. The sheltering of guerrilla groups in neighbouring countries continued to plague Rwanda and challenge stability. The Hutu leader Kayibonda had high ideals, but his party resorted to corruption and discrimination against the Tutsi minority in employment and education. The legacy of a sort of apartheid system between the two racial groups made integration more difficult. By 1964, Rwanda had banned opposition and relied on US and Belgian support. Instability, however, spread after the Hutu massacres in Burundi in 1972 caused large numbers of refugees to enter the country and, in 1973, a military coup brought General Habyarimana to power. Little changed in that there was still discrimination against the Tutsi and a drift to dictatorship, confirmed by an official one-party state in 1978. The regime was challenged by a Tutsi resistance movement. In 1993, a full scale invasion by Tutsi forces from Uganda forced a compromise power share, but civil war raging between Hutu and Tutsi spilled over from Burundi. There was a major crisis in 1994 when a plane carrying the presidents of both Rwanda and Burundi was shot down. Hutu militia carried out a genocide which may have claimed a million lives. A renewed civil war led to the fall of Kigali to rebel RPF Tutsi forces and a vast refugee outflow, which was reversed in 1997.</p> <p>AO2 – The obvious starting point for discussion could be the bitter struggle between Tutsi and Hutu, a struggle which has a long history. The colonial legacy may be discussed and other elements might include the resort to military rule and the ambitions of the generals. A complicating factor is the spreading of ethnic conflict to neighbouring states, which has compounded the instability. The failure of international organisations to control the communal violence (in contrast, say to NATO's actions in former Yugoslavia) might be considered. Better answers will attempt to separate long/short term explanations and offer some sort of priority. Though ethnic conflict is at the heart of any explanation, it may be considered in a wider context.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p>Which did the more to end apartheid in South Africa: internal or external opposition?</p> <p>AO1 – Internal unrest grew after 1976. The liberation movement among blacks spread to teachers, churchmen and the incident harmed South Africa's relations with its trading partners. A dangerous situation emerged by the late 1980s. The campaign to overthrow apartheid escalated, with African National Congress leaders in exile calling for consumer boycotts, rent strikes and a people's war to make townships ungovernable. Violence increased, and rage was vented on black policemen and black township officials were regarded as government stooges. Botha declared a state of emergency. The police were ordered to move against opposition. In 1989, 4 000 deaths were reported, mostly of blacks. There were indications of a willingness to concede as a result of more pressure from liberal opinion inside and outside the country. The repression could not cope with the increase in opposition, and again had a negative effect on foreign opinion which was bound to offer more hope of ending apartheid.</p> <p>Responses should consider foreign attitudes, for example: resistance to apartheid was encouraged by Portugal's withdrawal from Mozambique and Angola; and, anti-apartheid movements in the United States and Europe were gaining support for boycotts against South Africa, for the withdrawal of US firms from South Africa and for the release of Mandela. South Africa was becoming internationally isolated. Investment in South Africa by Americans and others was coming to an end. The personal willingness of Mandela and Botha to meet was also a factor. Botha's successor F W De Klerk ended Apartheid in 1991, gaining 70% approval in a referendum in 1992.</p> <p>AO2 – Responses need to give a balanced judgement between the pressures from external factors against those from internal factors. External factors include: the collapse of Portuguese power; the ending of the Smith regime; the change in the USA with the Civil Rights movement; the increasing criticism abroad which put pressure on investment and trade; and, the end of the Cold War in 1989 which reduced the need for a bastion against communism in South Africa for the West. Internal factors include: the growth of opposition; the change in attitude by Botha; the more liberal attitudes among many South African whites; the emergence of Mandela; and, the violence of opposition.</p>	30

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

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p>Which factors best explain social change in African states in the period c.1750–c.1850?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Much 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 changes. 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 and 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. Better answers will consider what factors were more important. There will be some estimation of the significance of different factors such as economic development, population growth, the ending of the slave trade, the incursion of Europeans and political developments.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p>Assess the impact on Africa of the abolition of the slave trade by Britain and the USA.</p> <p>AO1/2 – The drain of human resources and the association of West African kingdoms in the trade had profound effects. The trade drew the West African interior into closer links with Europe. The wealth generated was a major feature in development, for example in Benin. One Nigerian king was horrified at the British ending what was considered a God given trade. However, the trade may have had the effect of increasing warfare or a means of exporting 'out groups' like criminals, opponents, and heretics, the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped. There is a debate about the effects on West Africa of the trade in that a significant proportion was spent on (or given in the form of) firearms or alcohol. Guinea's income from trade (e.g. muskets, cloth, metals, salt) was very high and some might have fed militarism, but there might also have been a general rise in standards of living and expectations. The downside was to divide West African society and promote ethnic conflict, fuelled by new weapons and the prospects of selling captives. The effects of the ending of the slave trade by Britain and the USA were mitigated by the continuation by other markets, but the impact was to force economies dependent on slave trade to diversify. Within some kingdoms, the decision led to a scaling down of internal slavery and efforts to gain captives, but by no means all. Better answers will recognise elements of both continuity and change.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p>What best explains the development of African nationalism up to 1939?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Creation of African Nationalist groups goes back to such organisations as the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (1897) and the African National Congress of 1912. The influence of small numbers of western-educated Africans and the example of the nationalist movement in India may explain the genesis, but answers may also explain the limited extent of the development by 1939. The sheer size and the diversity of peoples offered huge challenges. The majority of Africans lived rurally and communications were often poor, which inhibited coordinated nationalist activity. Nationalist movements in some colonies were hampered by tribal and linguistic divisions and the power of the imperial European states. The example of Indian independence was an inspiration, but the contrast also highlights some of the barriers of developing a similar African nationalism. The impact of involvement in the First World War might be considered. However, this had less impact than in India, as literacy was not as widespread and the elite Indian-educated class often had no parallel in many parts of Africa. The type of limited self-government accepted by Britain in India, such as in the 1909 Morley-Minto reforms, found little parallel in Africa, so there was not a substantial group of Africans with experience of working in government service. Though the wars weakened the colonisers, they were still powerful and the nationalism of the 'white tribe' in South Africa by bringing in Apartheid showed the weakness of a divided black population. Some nature of African colonialism made it hard for nationalist movements to gain strength. Few Africans had been given few political rights and few had political experience. The military resources available to the colonisers were still formidable and repression of any likely agitation was effective.</p>	

Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p>How important was education in changing the role of women in Africa c.1900–2000?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Answers might balance on the one hand factors such as education which has improved literacy, awareness of change and a demand for greater opportunity and equality. While on the other hand, there have been other factors such as economic change which has led to urbanisation, the diversification of economic life in some areas and the development of modern communication such as the internet. There have also been changes in social factors such as greater contraceptive availability, greater awareness of world developments, and political/religious change. The spread of Islam in some African states has meant that change has not necessarily meant progress towards a western model of equality. In some states, political espousal of movements for greater legal rights has been a factor. The nationalist struggles may have helped women in the sense that they were active participants, but may have also put issues related to political independence to the forefront and side-lined issues relating to gender issues. Although some efforts have been made in most countries, integrating women in the development process will take a long time and involve major social and attitude changes.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p>How effective in meeting its aims was international aid to Africa c.1945–2000?</p> <p>AO1 – There has been a very large amount of international aid, perhaps \$600 billion dollars, from the West and this has led to criticisms. In 1992, aid is said to have amounted to over 70% of gross domestic savings and investments in Sub-Saharan Africa. Responses should distinguish between the aims of long-term aid and emergency relief, and aid which has political purposes.</p> <p>AO2 – The debate is about whether aid has encouraged over-dependence and restricted local initiative, undermining the aims for sustained economic development and independence. There are arguments that it has boosted corruption and distorted trade patterns by countries having to accept ‘fake and unwanted goods’ and led to cultural distortion and pursuit of modernity and neo-colonialism. Critics have seen international aid as a means of political or economic control, especially when there have been conditions attached. The alternative is to see the right kind of aid as being motivated by and essential for African development in line with World Bank principles of selectivity, assessment of results, cost effectiveness and partnership with recipient countries.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p>Assess the achievements of the Organisation of African Unity.</p> <p>AO1/2 – The original aims were to promote unity and to offer a collective approach from Africa in international affairs, and to end colonialism. It aimed to support independent countries and remain outside the Cold War blocs. A Liberation Committee was to assist independence movements. There was to be support of human rights and encouragement for better living standards. Disputes between members were to be settled by negotiation. A permanent headquarters was established in Addis Ababa and eventually 53/54 states became members. The OAU ended in 2002. The discussion will centre on whether the OAU failed to achieve these wide ranging goals or should be seen as successful in promoting some unity and some forum for discussion. Critics saw the policy of non-intervention resulting in the OAU watching powerlessly as human rights were infringed and becoming merely a ‘club for dictators’. Major civil wars such as that in Nigeria raged with little effective mediation. There were break away groups and the OAU in practice could not prevent influence by other powers, Russia, the USA, China, and France. The OAU did aid freedom movements in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. It put pressure on South Africa to end apartheid and set up the African Development Bank, though could not provide the levels of financial support to equal those of Europe and the USA. There was the creation of specialised media, sport, transport, trade union organisations (like the Pan-Africa Postal Union) and annual summits. Much depends on how many of the 1963 aims were even possible and judgement might be based on what was achieved rather than the obvious failures.</p>	30

Section 4: China

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p>'The reform movement in China in the period 1895–1911 achieved little.' How accurate is this judgement?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Candidates may write about constitutional change, army reform and the growth of railways. In 1898, the so called Hundred Day edicts offered a wide range of education, economic, administrative and cultural reforms which might have begun a transformation had they not been suppressed by conservative forces backed by Ci Xi. The Empress did make some changes. Reforms similar to those instated in Japan after 1868 included a census, financial reforms, a legal code, a formal constitution and some administrative change. A constitutional draft in 1908 included freedom of press and assembly, and a National Consultative Council prior to a parliament. However, the demands of reformers, many of whom were from overseas, exceeded the plans of the court. An Imperial decree banned the reform movement. Arrests and investigations followed. However, in 1901, the dynasty introduced provincial assemblies. This encouraged calls for a national assembly. The regime allowed a National Political Consultative Council in 1910 and the elites supported change (high ranking governors and army leaders called for a parliament and cabinet). This was announced for 1913 but there was a ban on further petitioning. The cabinet formed in May 1911 showed little awareness of the demands for change (the Han Chinese majority was not represented and it was dominated by Manchus and royal princes).</p> <p>The New Armies were the modernised Qing armies trained and equipped according to western standards. On 8 December 1895, Empress Dowager Ci Xi appointed Yuan Shikai the commander of 4000 men that formed the basis of the New Army. This was effective against the Boxers in Shandong province. However, Yuan became increasingly disrespectful of the dynasty and only loyal to the party which he benefited from. By the end of the dynasty in 1911, most provinces had established sizeable new armies; however, the Yuan's army was still most powerful. The defeat also led to rapid railway development. The court officers finally understood the importance of the railway transportation and promoted the development of a new railway system. However, the Qing government was forced to give permissions to foreign powers to construct railways in China as well as many privileges, such as settlement or mining along the railway.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p>Which was the greater threat to Nationalist rule in the 1930s: the Communists or the Japanese?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Candidates may refer to Jiang’s judgement that the Japanese presented less of a problem than the Communists (a disease of the skin rather the body). After the repression by the GMD, the CCP had been forced into remote areas but the persistent offensives failed to destroy them and they were even able to force Jiang into concessions for a united front. The issue is how far they were a threat even when confined to their northern Soviets. On one hand, Jiang had much larger forces and was pursuing a modernisation policy. On the other hand, the policy of appealing to the peasantry by the CCP was potentially dangerous and the Long March not only saved the Communists but gave them huge prestige. They did however lack heavy weapons and suffered from internal divisions. The Japanese had shown their military power in the swift invasion of Manchuria. They had expanded in the North and launched a major campaign in 1937. Their air power could not be matched by the Nationalists and the Rape of Nanking showed their utter ruthlessness. However, they did face difficulties with the huge distances of China; they were short of some key raw materials and they made no attempt to engage with the populace. Immediately the Japanese might be seen as the greater threat, but some may agree with Jiang that in the longer term the weaknesses of the regime and the popular appeal of the CCP made the Communists more of a challenge.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p>‘Effective leadership best explains the Communist victory in China in 1949.’ Does it?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Many explanations stress Mao’s leadership though this is questionable, but there were some key policies such as the treatment of the peasants and the pursuit of guerrilla warfare that need to be considered. In addition, the quality of the leadership of the Red Army and the ability to deploy very effective propaganda and to adapt Marxist theory to Chinese realities may be considered as leadership strengths. The acquisition of large amounts of military equipment from the retreating Japanese in Manchuria with Soviet assistance is an alternative explanation that has been put forward and reference could be made to the details of CCP military strategy in the Civil War. The heroic image offered by the Long March and CCP propaganda that over stated its contribution to the defeat of Japan is a factor, as is the US preoccupation with Cold War events in Europe that precluded large scale intervention in China. However, whether that would have been possible given the diminished reputation of Jiang and his circle is open to question. Mao’s image and his successful concentration of power have to be set against the very real weaknesses of his internal opponents and, possibly, his potential overseas opponents with Japan defeated and occupied, Britain in no state to resist and the USA uncertain and distracted.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p>How far did the Cultural Revolution achieve its aims?</p> <p>AO1 – One aim 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. There was also the aim of those within the party to boost Mao's position and to promote the cult of Mao against possible enemies. However, the violent enthusiasms of the Revolution and the insistence on the renewal of Revolution against supposed counter-revolution made a strong case for ideological aims. Mao was reacting against what he saw as the betrayal of communist ideals in Russia and seeking to re-invigorate the idealism of the early Revolutionary years. There was a violent reaction against anything bourgeois, foreign or capitalist and an effort to end the distinction between town and country and the possibility of a new party elite.</p> <p>AO2 – Analysis will depend on the identification of aims. The Cultural Revolution made a fundamental attack on traditional life, 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. Twelve million young people moved from town to country, There was a big change to the arts, science, education and technological progress. China fell politically into the hands of a clique that used the iconic image of Mao for personal ends. However when the army restored order, many of the changes did not prove to be permanent, so a distinction might be made between long- and short-term 'achievements'.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
21	<p>How radical were the economic policies of Mao's successors from 1976 to 2000?</p> <p>AO1/2 – This has to do with the need for economic change after the effects of previous policies and the way that China had lagged behind in key aspects of economic development. Comparison with the capitalist West revealed limitations and the Soviet model, so admired after 1949, was clearly by 1976 not delivering in the same way that it had in the 1930s. 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. These policies built up their own momentum in the 25 years after Mao's death, especially as China's Asian rivals also developed a far freer and more global economic policy. Japan too was an obvious model of high-tech prosperity in a capitalist system. China did indeed achieve economic transformation, though still suffered from considerable regional differences and relied 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 were considerable. Much depends on the definition of radical. In terms of being willing to diverge from the statist models of the 1950s and 1960s and to permit a degree of liberalisation then the policies were radical; however, there remained a level of state control that maintained a link with the past, and economic change while leading to social change did not impact on political development.</p>	30

Section 5: The Indian subcontinent and Ceylon/Sri Lanka

Question	Answer	Marks
22	<p>What best explains the lack of large-scale violent opposition to British rule in India in the period from 1858 to 1914?</p> <p>AO1/2 – The aftermath of the ‘mutiny’ of 1857 saw firmer British rule with the abolition of Company rule and direct colonial administration. There was closer control of the Princes, more vigorous administration and some closer ties with Muslims in order to ‘divide and rule’. Closer links with the Crown were established by the Empress of India Act and state visits such as the Delhi Durbar. There were accommodations with the Indian elites and the beginnings of a reformed constitution with the Morley-Minto reforms. The horrific memories of 1857 deterred Indian princes and elites from associating with any form of popular radicalism; British rule was better supported by military power and by more modern administrative changes and reforms. The army was more under control after the abolition of ‘John Company’. Famine and grain riots lacked any political organisation. The moderate Nationalist movement did not try to emulate the success of the Irish nationalists. Congress was divided between Muslim and Hindu. Curzon attempted to defuse nationalism by offering highly effective good government after 1899. He worked hard at improving irrigation, famine prevention, and communications, and virtually reconstructed the Raj. There were impressive monuments and British rule was suffused with grandeur. Answers may weigh greater military and administrative control with a sense of progress and avoiding the sort of offence given by the policies of the 1840s. Indian culture was left alone far more and the elites were cultivated to avoid any collusion with violent uprisings.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
23	<p>Why, in 1947, was Indian independence accompanied by partition?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Independence and partition came in 1947 after pressure for change from both Hindus and Muslims. The issue is why the demands for a separate Muslim state made by the Muslim League were accepted and Indian independence took the form it did. A federal structure maintaining unity could have been adopted. There was no possibility of all Muslims being accommodated in a new state and Pakistan was an artificial creation. In the end, partition involved a massive transfer of population and considerable loss of life. Possible explanations could be the impact of Jinnah and the Muslim League and concern about the way that the Hindu majority had treated Muslims in the wake of the Government of India Act. Some explanations stress the speed at which the British decisions were made and the desire for a rapid withdrawal which acceded to both Congress and the Muslim League demands. There is a view that Britain already had an idea of using a new Muslim state as a buffer against the USSR fearing that an independent India would not play ‘the great game’ and that an Islamic Pakistan would be more hostile to Communist Russia. However the usual view is that an inexperienced civil servant and a British government eager to withdraw as soon as possible feared civil war after Jinnah’s call for action in 1946, and overestimated the call for two separate nations.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
24	<p>Did India benefit more from Nehru's foreign policies or from his domestic policies?</p> <p>AO1 – Nehru was committed to a modern, secular, industrial state with a strong socialist element. The Planning Commission of 1951 was based on a Soviet model and Nehru aimed at a mixed economy with government management of key infrastructure elements, especially power. Efforts were made to modernise the countryside by irrigation schemes, dams and the greater use of fertilisers. He improved the social condition of women and the poor, by raising the marriageable age to 15 and allowing women rights of divorce and property inheritance. There was some land reform and absentee landlords had property confiscated and redistributed. Five-Year plans developed industry, and education and scientific research was developed. In foreign policy, he wanted to support anti-colonialism and developed a policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality as a third way in the Cold War. There was a drive towards rural school enrolment and teacher recruitment. India became a major diplomatic power and Indian mediation helped end the Korean War. However, Nehru was seen to favour the Soviet Union. Nehru prided himself on good relations with China and the war of 1962 was a considerable personal blow.</p> <p>AO2 – Nehru maintained a secular and democratic India and prevented regional separatism. He opposed inequality and did his best to promote lower caste leaders and to use education, science, industry and rural modernisation as a way of developing India. A balanced answer would look at the problems: for example, there was a low rate of growth, around 2.5%; state planning produced a plethora of inhibiting controls which were dismantled after 1991; high levels of defence spending had to be maintained as the relations with Pakistan did not greatly improve; and, Nehru put too much faith in the Communist world to be disillusioned in 1962.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
25	<p>Did declaring independence create more problems for Bangladesh than it solved?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Rule from West Pakistan had created considerable problems of unfairness, lack of proper representation in government and lack of economic development. However, In 1971 problems included: the highest rural population density in the world; an annual population growth rate between 2.5 and 3 per cent; chronic malnutrition; and, the return of 8-10 million refugees from India. The new nation had few experienced entrepreneurs, managers, administrators, engineers or technicians. External markets for jute, the main export, had been lost and the banking and monetary system was unreliable. Millions of workers were largely illiterate, unskilled, and underemployed. Natural resources were in short supply and the country faced inflation. The war of independence had seriously damaged the infrastructure and roads were poor, and public transport and railways in disrepair. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was a popular leader and the constitution of 1972 established a strong central government based on the Awami League's principle of nationalism, secularism, socialism and democracy. The Awami League won an overwhelming victory in 1973, and had to address the damage done by the war and the severe economic problems facing Bangladesh. The problems of establishing a new country in the face of economic difficulties led to a state of emergency and a one-party system in 1974. Unrest in the army led to the assassination of the Sheikh in August 1975.</p> <p>Political life has been unstable since 1971 and there have been recurrent problems of corruption and economic underdevelopment. Bangladesh's large population and the concentration of people in Dhaka have not been effectively addressed by a political system dominated by corruption. However, the situation in 1972 was extremely desperate, so the limitations have to be set against the recovery and the establishment of a new nation in the face of considerable problems.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
26	<p>What best explains the intensity of internal conflict in Sri Lanka after independence?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Ceylon became independent in 1948 and the legacy of British Rule was poor. The British had: created a landless rural class from the Kandyan peasants; imported Indian Tamil labourers; and, relied on cooperation with the Europeanised Burghers, and Sinhalese and Tamil elites from the North. So the British left quite a divided country with regional and ethnic conflict likely. The pro-British elites had objected to an extension of the franchise in 1931. These divisions led to disenfranchisement by the ruling UNP party of the Indian Tamils in 1949. There were issues of language and social conflict (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, industrial growth was sluggish. Rival Marxist radicals led a rising in 1971. Politics had become polarised with armed Maoist opposition and militant Tamil nationalism, and the emergence of the Tamil Tigers. Anti-democratic tendencies developed. President 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. By 2000, some 65 000 people had died in a protracted civil war. Responses may weigh the different factors such as: inherited racial tensions; economic problems; the emergence of Marxist radicals; the polarisation of politics; and, the determination of the army to destroy Tamil opposition.</p>	30

Section 6: Japan and Korea

Question	Answer	Marks
27	<p>Did Japan gain more than it lost by its changing relations with the wider world in the period 1852–1914?</p> <p>AO1 – Perry’s arrival had certainly demonstrated Japan’s military vulnerability and an important part of the reforms after 1868 were military and naval modernisation. The interest in expansion in the 50 years after 1868 included: the war against China; the successes of the Russo-Japanese War and the foothold in Manchuria; the annexation of Korea; and, the ambitions in Shandong. The changes were wider than purely military. By 1914, Japan had: a centralised bureaucracy; a constitution; an improved communication and transport system; an end to feudal Daimyo power; and, a rapidly growing economy and was much less dependent on European powers. This period could be seen as part of a national revival which combined modernisation with a desire to maintain traditional cultural values.</p> <p>AO2 – The gains were modernisation, economic growth, and changes in government and territorial expansion as result of military reform (mostly taken from European and US examples as a result of the USA forcing Japan to have more contact with the wider world). Losses were cultural and spiritual, and a sense of violation of the sacred land of the Sun Goddess and feudal traditions. Also a loss might be seen as a reason to increase militarisation.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
28	<p>What best explains the nature and extent of Japanese nationalism in the period 1914–1939?</p> <p>AO1 – Long term factors could include the residual resentment at the US arrival in 1853 and the strains of westernisation eroding long-held traditions. The failure of the West to allow gains from the defeat of China in 1898 was resented and the ability to defeat Russia in 1904–05 established confidence. The development of industry, naval and military strength quickly grafted modern progress onto Samurai tradition. The war in 1914 provided opportunity for expansion and the weak state of China after 1911 offered tempting options. The development of mass markets and greater literacy provided a new nationalist feeling, but there was already a strong basis in traditions. The key factor was the growth of a younger generation of army officers and, perhaps, the direct encouragement of nationalism by groups within the Japanese establishment. The resentment of the Versailles Peace Conference 1919 with the treatment of Japan fuelled national outrage and the economic problems that beset primary producers in the 1920s culminating in the effects of depression after 1929 revealed a humiliating dependence on western markets. The weak state of China with struggles between Jiang and the warlords, and the communists, tended to confirm the superiority of the more unfired and disciplined Japanese. The hardships in rural areas which provided many officers and the failure of the rulers to control nationalism in the army led to independent initiatives, such as the invasion of Manchuria condoned by the Japanese ruling class and applauded by a public influenced by modern communications.</p> <p>AO2 – Better candidates might offer a distinction between developments within Japan and external factors. Within Japan, there was the growth of Shintoism and Emperor worship, together with a pride in military achievements. External factors gave the opportunities for nationalism or provoked national resentment, such as the great depression and the attitude of the USA and the European powers to Japan, treating her as racially and militarily inferior.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
29	<p>‘A rational solution to Japan’s problems.’ Consider this view of Japan’s policies in the period 1937–1945.</p> <p>AO1 – The large-scale war against China was rational in the sense that China was evidently weak and Japan had already taken Manchuria. China would give her markets and raw materials. It was irrational in that it committed Japan to a huge task beyond her military resources and was influenced by ideas of racial superiority. Critics of the attack of December 1941 as irrational tended to emerge once it was clear that the gamble had not worked. Rationally, Japanese industry could not compete with the USA. The resources were unequal between the two nations in terms of raw materials and the capacity to produce war material, population and technology. Japan’s defences could not meet the huge bombing raids and her ships were defeated by the sheer air resources of the Americans at Midway and then Leyte Gulf. The situation in 1941 was less clear and there could be a rational case for action. America was not mobilised for war and divided internally about intervention. There were very long lines of communication between the USA and her Pacific possessions. The resources of the European colonies were easy pickings and with these the Japanese hoped to create such a strong defensive ring that the USA might well consider that the losses would be too great to persist, especially given the likelihood of a two-front war against a highly successful Germany which would split her resources. Japan was a highly motivated country which in the end persisted in fighting and inflicting very heavy losses right until the end. Russia was widely expected to fall to Germany, so a long drain on the resources of her potential German ally was not expected. Had the US carriers been sunk at Pearl Harbor then the US position would have been weaker. So some might conclude that there was some rational chance of success in 1941 though less so as the war went on. Candidates might argue that given the pressure that the USA was exerting and given the needs of the war in China and the distraction of the West in the war against Germany, the element of misjudgement might be exaggerated and that Japan had less choice than has sometimes been assumed. However, it was a huge risk.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
30	<p>With what justification can Japan be described as an ‘economic superpower’ in the period 1945–2000?</p> <p>AO1 – War-time growth provided the basis for post-war expansion. There was cooperation between the Japanese bureaucracy and political leaders and corporations to develop an export-led economy and ensure a high investment rate in technology. High domestic savings rates provided a basis for investment and government has played a large role in ensuring investment, from the popular postal savings and also directly from the Ministry of Finance. The state helped the transition from old fashioned coal and textiles to electronics, steel, petrochemicals, vehicles and later computers and biotechnology. The Japan Development Bank was a major turning point and there was control of the inflow and outflow of capital in an alliance between state control and private enterprise. There was restricted competition to avoid waste and post-war US anti-monopoly laws were amended after 1953. Large scale keiretsu dominated economic life (Mitsui, Mitsubishi, etc.) Higher profit margins meant greater investment and profitability and employment. The large scale industrial strife that affected some western economies was avoided by cooperation agreements between workers and larger companies after 1960, while smaller companies using low paid workers especially women kept costs low.</p> <p>AO2 – Responses require some consideration of the concept of ‘superpower’. Did the marked and rapid post-war growth have the sustainability that this implies? Critics have seen a rapid growth in the 1960s and 1970s not sustained, for example: products have been too dependent on government investment, not consumer demand; large groups of industrial companies have proved uncompetitive; electronics have been over priced; and, competitors have undercut Japan and matched the advantages of an educated and disciplined workforce. The strengths of the 1960s and 1970s were less important in the globalisation of the 1990s.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
31	<p>‘North Korea since 1949 has not been a genuine communist state, merely an authoritarian dictatorship.’ Discuss.</p> <p>AO1 – The debate here is whether North Korea was a communist dictatorship or dominated by the Kim dynasty relying on repression with Chinese backing. The Communists relied on the monopolisation of power but also offered land reform based on the ‘land to the tiller’ campaign of 1946, followed by the more communist collectivisation after 1954. As in Russia, low agricultural prices financed large scale industrial development massively increasing the industrial sector by 1959, which did in turn provide agricultural machinery. As in Russia, a large scale propaganda campaign stressing modernisation and greater economic opportunity accompanied these changes. Kim increased education, medical care, housing and food supply. Ideologically, a distinct concept of development (self-reliance) was stressed. Kim did not plunge into the dangerous experiments of Mao’s Cultural Revolution, but relied on suppression of any opposition and a police state. Kim had shown a great deal of repression towards South Korean refugees and when high oil prices hit from 1974 and there was falling demand for the products of North Korea’s mining industry, there was less economic success. The regime relied more on repression and personalised power. Kim died in 1994. Since then the stress on authoritarianism has grown.</p> <p>AO2 – Responses may see a Stalinist regime forged from two wars, becoming increasingly dictatorial and forcing its people into an outdated mould which fell foul of changing economic conditions and failing to adapt, relying on military and police repression. However, there have been ‘genuine communist states’ with a high level of repression.</p>	30

Section 7: South-east Asia

Question	Answer	Marks
32	<p>‘Indochina derived no benefit from the long period of French rule.’ Discuss.</p> <p>AO1 – Following interventions to assist missionaries, France was drawn to establishing control over Northern Vietnam after a war with China 1884–5. In 1887 Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia and Cochin China were amalgamated to form French Indo China and Laos was added. The French established formal protectorates, leaving local rulers as figureheads. Rebellions were vigorously suppressed in Vietnam and there was expansion into Laos after a war with Siam in 1893. The French expanded further at Siam’s expense in 1907. A major mutiny by Vietnamese soldiers was suppressed in 1930. Japan dominated Vietnam from 1941. France was determined to restore control but was defeated in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu.</p> <p>AO2 – There were relatively few settlers and economic exploitation did not develop rapidly until the 1930s, when the European economies were eager to exploit their empires at a time of protective systems. Vietnamese rubber was highly prized and Michelin developed high quality tyres for the car industry. Though employment increased, wages were kept low and the colony was seen as beneficial for the homeland. Tea, rice, coffee, pepper, coal, zinc and tin were developed. There was a high degree of repression and control, but the French offered some infrastructure development in the inter-war period and some educational opportunities. After the Japanese occupation, there was little response to nationalist aspirations or demands for social justice and land reform.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
33	<p>Why did the Vietnam War last so long?</p> <p>AO1/2 – Candidates may consider: the nature of the terrain; the motivation of the Communists and their willingness to accept heavy losses; and, the strategy of the French is certainly a factor as well as individual military decisions. Better answers will deal with the whole period and offer some distinction between the French and US experience, as well as offer a balance between the strength and determination of the Communists and the limitations of the French and Americans. The ideological conviction of the Viet Cong, the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and Giap and the inherent problem of dealing with guerrilla infiltration rather than massed conventional forces could be explored. The problems of ending the war without losing political credibility led to its prolongation beyond the point when there was a realistic chance of victory without a much greater commitment of land forces than would have been acceptable in the USA.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
34	<p>Why was there so much military rule in Thailand in the period 1945–2000?</p> <p>AO1 – In 1945, the country (then Siam) attempted a parliamentary democracy and was given US aid. However, there was instability as the king was murdered in 1946 and the army took power in November 1947 bringing back the wartime dictator General Phibun. The Cold War allowed him to get US support as a counter to communist North Vietnam. As during his previous rule, opponents were successfully repressed. With an improving economy, rice exports, US aid and severe repression of opposition, the country (renamed Thailand in 1949) developed. In 1957, a military coup ousted Phibun. Military chiefs backed by the USA ruled. There was formal alliance with the USA and membership of SEATO. Closer links with the USA brought modernisation, western ideas, bigger cities and different culture. Mass media, western style education and a big population increase transformed the country. In 1968, a constitution was restored though the military still kept control, but a clash between the Assembly and the government led to another coup by the ruler General Thanom. Student-led demonstrations in 1973 grew into such size in October 1973 that repression would have involved mass slaughter. After fighting in the capital, the King dismissed the Junta. The rise in oil prices, the dismissal of US forces and the victory of Communism in neighbouring states led to a right-wing backlash and the army backed right-wing paramilitary groups which attacked radical students. The army installed a conservative prime minister in 1976. Economic problems and the danger of Vietnamese incursion led to a new regime under General Prem in 1980. There was a return to a form of constitutional rule in 1981, but power rested on alliance between Prem and the King and sections of the army. Greater economic development aided stability until 1986. Factional struggles resulted in another coup in 1991, but its leader was ousted by mass demonstrations in 1992 and parliamentary politics survived the financial crisis of 1997.</p> <p>AO2 – Discussion could be about: previous military rule; the military as a unifying element in regional disparity; the importance of the US backing military rulers; the ability of military rule to generate prosperity and modernisation; and, the limited resistance of democratic groups.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
35	<p>What were the main problems facing supporters of democratic rule in Burma (Myanmar) after independence?</p> <p>AO1 – The new state came into being as a parliamentary democracy and, although beset by ethnic strife as minority peoples demanded autonomy from the Union of Burma became independent in 1948, only after extensive negotiations led by General Aung San, who convinced most ethnic minority groups to join the new union. Almost immediately upon independence, Burma was thrown into a series of brutal ethnic wars that have continued. Another major factor has been the special position and influence of the army within the state that did not develop, for example, in India. The repression of the democracy campaign of 1988 was only possible with the power of the Burman-dominated army. Economic development has not been as great as that of other Asian countries and so economic diversification and sophistication has not brought about political change. Reliance on forced labour has strengthened the Junta and the influence of foreign investors and traders as a means to bring about change has not been as important as in other countries. Also Burma's source of raw materials, particularly gas, has led to neighbours being muted in their criticisms (especially China, and to some extent India) and has led to opposition movements lacking vital support. The relative insignificance of an educated middle class has also been a factor and the cumulative effect of military power feeding on its own success in Burma's isolation has led to the growth rather than modification of violence and repression.</p> <p>AO2 – Problems can be seen in the difficulty of getting agreement among diverse racial groups and the association of a powerful army with the rule of the dominant Burman people. Pro-democracy campaigners have been seen as likely to cause regional conflict and separatism. The ideas of parliamentary rule were not widespread because of the limited middle class, and the power and prestige of the armed forces were a barrier to democratic rule.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
36	<p data-bbox="308 248 1321 315">Why did Indonesia embark on the ‘Konfrontasi’ conflict with Malaysia in 1963?</p> <p data-bbox="308 349 1302 483">AO1 – The ‘Konfontasi’ lasted from 1963–66 and was an intermittent war of armed excursions by Indonesia in North Borneo in opposition to the Federation of Malaysia. There was hostile criticism and bombings which attempted to destabilise Sabah and Sarawak.</p> <p data-bbox="308 517 1321 853">AO2 – The reasons derive from the Brunei Revolt of 1962 when a radical Islamic movement was suppressed by British troops. Sukano of Indonesia saw this as neo-colonial interference in the region. Though he had not opposed the Malaysian federation, he came to see it as Western-backed interference. Possible explanations include his desire to see an expanded Indonesia which included either possession of or domination of North Borneo. There may be links with his desire to bolster his internal position or his ideological stance against colonialism. Answers may balance this against genuine historical claims, but this argument may be less convincing as before 1962 these had not been asserted.</p>	30

Section 8: Themes: Asia, c.1750-2000

Question	Answer	Marks
37	<p>How significant a problem for Manchu China was European penetration in the nineteenth century?</p> <p>AO1 – 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 were problems which allowed European penetration. 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. Thus continued European penetration revealed the weaknesses of the dynasty.</p> <p>AO2 – There were problems of physical destruction through war undermining the authority of the Emperor and dominating trade. It could be argued that European penetration prevented modernisation and growth. However, another view is that the European penetration came about as a result of existing problems and was a symptom rather than a cause of on-going weakness.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
38	<p>Assess the impact of the East India Company on the Indian sub-continent in the period c.1750–1857.</p> <p>AO1/2 – After the defeat of the Mughals at Baksar in 1764, the Company ruled behind a facade of princes and Nawabs, keeping the power to trade freely and collect enormous revenues. Clive himself reported on the anarchy and corruption this brought. The famine after the failure of the rains in 1769 took millions of lives in Bengal, with merchants exploiting the shortages and the Company doing little. Warren Hastings brought about financial reform, reducing the powers of the Nawab of Bengal. A regulating act brought Bombay and Madras under the Company. The power of the Marathas was contained, but the cost of wars was considerable and Hastings was driven to extort large sums from Oudh and Banaras. In 1784, the India Act gave the British government more control, though the Company continued to officially run India until 1858.</p> <p>Cornwallis reduced corruption but made a permanent engagement with the zamindars in 1793, transforming Indian concepts of landowning. The new permanent class of landowners had a devastating effect on traditional practice. Increasingly, in years of poor harvest, the new class of absentee landowners emerged who sold up or mortgaged their property. New Hindu owners replaced the traditional Mughal gentry. The land was exploited more productively as the taxes were a fixed amount, not a percentage, and this gave an incentive to cultivate marginal lands. The population grew.</p> <p>Wellesley has been seen as a ‘new Mughal’, bringing military power to bear on Indian opposition. Subsequent British rule was successful in eliminating princely warfare and a culture of theft and peasants faced not a lower but a fairer and more regulated tax system, in areas taken from the Maharajas after their defeat in 1818. British military success brought missionary activity into India and also Western education, after an Act of 1813 insisted that the Company set aside money for this. Bentinck (1828–35) brought utilitarian reform, opposing suttee and thugi, but challenging cultural practices. The Charter Act of 1833 brought reforms and slavery was ended in 1843. However Indian cloth manufacture was restricted for the benefit of British exports. Between 1813 and 1833, millions of Indians were thrown out of work by the demise of the vast home-spun native cotton industry. Continued expansion was costly to the Company, as in the Sikh Wars, but a major period of reform came with Lord Dalhousie (1848–56). In order to bring about modernisation, the Indian princes lost their security and the doctrine of lapse threatened complete direct British rule. Dalhousie thought railways, postage and the telegraph would be the key to what he perceived as civilisation. However there was limited understanding of sensibilities, such as the opinions of sepoys, the impact of laws allowing Hindu widows to remarry and of native converts to Christianity to acquire property. The impact of these policies can be seen in the events of 1857, known as the First War of Independence. Answers may balance negative/positive impacts or attempt to prioritise the different impacts to address ‘assess’.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
39	<p>Were international tensions over Afghanistan greater in the nineteenth century or in the twentieth century?</p> <p>AO1 – The creation of the Durrani empire in the eighteenth century, was a problem for the British who were aware of security implications for India, especially with the spread of Russian internal colonisation. The Afghan wars 1839–42 and 1878–80 were part of the ‘Great Game’ and Afghanistan fell under British influence until gaining independence again in 1919. Borders were hard to establish and to police, and the North-West Frontier was a crucial if problematic area for British forces. Border problems remained after the withdrawal of Britain from India in 1947, but the area was also of strategic importance to the USSR. The pro-Russian PDPA government in 1978 was an obvious advantage to Russia, but Afghanistan was affected by Islamic revivalism and Carter from 1979 decided to support the Mujahedeen. The country then became a focus of late-Cold War rivalry. A large scale Russian invasion of 1979 changed the whole interests of different powers in the region. There was consistent support for the Mujahedeen by the USA, who were concerned about their strategic interests in the region and saw the need to protect oil supplies in Asia. For a declining Communism, Afghanistan came to be a symbol of Russia’s great power status threatened by internal divisions and poor economic progress. For the USA, Russia’s standing could be eroded by manipulating religious feeling and using local military opposition. The destabilisation of the region caused problems for neighbouring states, especially Pakistan and ultimately for the USA.</p> <p>AO2 – The nineteenth century conflicts brought about disastrous results for British forces and nearly caused a war with Russia. The concerns about Russian expansion were a major factor in British foreign policy. The conflict was, however, about territories and control of British India, not ideology. The twentieth century conflicts did not result in armed intervention on the same scale and Afghanistan in itself was not the cause of war, but a part of a wider Cold War context.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
40	<p>Why, since 1945, has there been more change in the role of women in society in some areas of Asia than in others?</p> <p>AO1/2 – The variables might be in the extent of political change; for example, in communist Asia in China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cambodia. Women had been seen as theoretically equal under communism/Maosim (Mao said ‘Women hold up half the sky’) and had played a vital role in the liberation movements.</p> <p>The extent of economic change and modernisation can be viewed through the emergence of Tiger economies which relied less on exports of raw materials and more on tertiary sector activity, in which women could easily play a part and their soft skills could be developed. China allowed successful women entrepreneurs to emerge, but this was not always the case. Also economic change did not always translate into political change. In Singapore, under 5% of public offices were held by women, despite massive urban and economic development.</p> <p>To consider education and awareness, it can be argued that where there has been relatively limited change, for example in Afghanistan or Burma, there has been less opportunity for women. Sometimes education can open limited doors. In India, for example, most teachers are women but this has not resulted in complete economic/political equality.</p> <p>The impact of role models, for example in India and Sri Lanka, where women have ruled has been significant to some extent, though political change has not impacted on many traditional areas of discrimination.</p> <p>Another factor has been decisive events which have shaken society and therefore shaken entrenched Asian views about women. One example is the defeat of Japan in 1945 or perhaps decolonisation in South-East Asia.</p> <p>Religious factors might account for change; for example, the rise of militant Islamic regimes in Iran or Afghanistan which affected the progress made.</p> <p>The greater communication with the West (cinema, internet and actual experience of life in other cultures, for example with more Indians living overseas or Filipinos travelling, and the impact of foreigners in Asia as tourists or soldiers) has led to an awareness of different models. Sometimes, this has provoked a reaction against change as well as pressure for change.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
41	<p>Did religion give rise to division more than to unity in Asian states in the twentieth century?</p> <p>AO1/2 – The discussion would be supported by reference to religious conflicts (e.g. the clashes between Muslims and Hindus in post-independence India, and the ongoing poor relations between Pakistan and India together with the disruption caused by the rise of militant Hinduism and Muslim terrorism). The fears of non-Muslim minorities in Malaysia has been a problem. In Afghanistan, the rise of the Taliban could be considered. No set content is required, but candidates should look at alternatives. There are examples where religion has not been a source of instability and where different communities have co-existed peacefully. Religious unanimity has sometimes been the basis of state building or toleration has successfully been maintained, as in Singapore and to some extent in China. However, the rise of militant fundamentalism has been a problem. More limited answers will describe or explain religious conflicts in Asia. Better answers will offer an assessment of their relative importance using a range of examples.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
42	<p>How widespread were the benefits to Asia of its economic growth in the late twentieth century?</p> <p>AO1/2 – There might be a distinction between the rapidly growing Tiger Economies, between areas where the relaxation of ideological constraints have promoted growth like Vietnam and China, and areas where globalisation and economic liberalisation have led to growth such as India. The expansion of some sectors more than others, such as electronics and the financial sector created some imbalance. Some economic growth was dependent on low costs and fell heavily on the labour force. In some areas, growth necessitated the importation of cheap labour which in some ways offered opportunities to poorer countries like Bangladesh or the Philippines but, in other ways, resulted in exploitation and inequality and often dubious working conditions. There was in some countries a growing gap between urban areas which benefited and rural areas which did not. The rapid urban growth might be considered as beneficial in many ways in terms of greater opportunities, but even countries with quite high levels of overall growth did not avoid areas of slums and urban poverty.</p>	30