
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/04

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

For Examination from 2016

SPECIMEN MARK SCHEME

2 hours 15 minutes

MAXIMUM MARK: 90

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document consists of **45** printed pages and **1** blank page.

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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**1 Why was European colonial rivalry in North Africa greater before than after the First World War?**

AO1 – There was colonial rivalry over Egypt between Britain and France, especially over Britain's response to unrest in 1882. Italy and France were rivals over the French annexation of Tunisia. Italy and Turkey fought over Tripolitania. The Germans provoked anger over the Kaiser's visit to Agadir and his support for Moroccan independence and there was more anger over the sending of the Panzer to Agadir in 1911. After the First World War, Germany offered no comparable colonial adventurism and even after 1933 Hitler showed little interest in colonies – the North Africa campaign was part of a wider power struggle and not really colonial rivalry. France and Italy did not resume their rivalry over North Africa. Mussolini was more concerned with the Balkans and with East Africa. The intense rivalry between France and Britain over affairs in Egypt and the Sudan did not seem relevant after the First World War because of the shared effort against Germany and France's diplomatic efforts to ensure security in Europe rather than North Africa. The acquisition of much more valuable lands in the Middle East and the obvious problems that Britain faced in her empire made claim and counter-claim in North Africa seem part of a now outdated African scramble.

AO2 – Answers may focus on the changing situation of empires after 1918 – with the view that they were less an opportunity than a responsibility, and with the reduced economic circumstances of Europe even more of a burden. The clashes before 1914 were part of a wider European context, with France resentful at her loss of status after 1871 and more willing to pursue colonial disputes than was the case in 1918 when she had emerged as a victor power. Similarly, the diplomatic position of Germany changed radically after 1918. The whole position of Suez changed with the development of air transport. Turkey turned inward and no longer had an interest in North Africa. Alternatively, answers may focus more on attitudes to the intrinsic value and importance of North Africa. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

2 Explain why the Horn of Africa experienced such frequent war and famine in the years from c. 1945 to c. 2000.

AO1 – Eritrea had been torn apart by war and in 2000 the UN agencies were appealing for help for 370,000 people affected 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. In 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 was an inhibiting factor. The region experienced serious food supply problems by 2000 with increased prices for maize brought about by lower rainfall. In Ethiopia the drought problems were affecting over 5 million out of 77 million by the early twenty-first century.

Answers might refer to: the sheer scale of the problem; the way that world developments impact on the Horn of Africa; the problems caused by the lack of international agreement to curb the war – for example China's relations with Sudan. The lack of intergovernmental support was a factor both internationally and in the region where effective government, for example in Somalia, is minimal. Wars that took place in the region 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. Candidates might also mention: the Somali Civil War after 1990; the Yemen-Eritrea Border Conflict (1996); and the second Eritrea-Ethiopia War (1998–2000).

AO2 – Possible explanations include population rise – population 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 best-known crisis occurred in Ethiopia in 1984–85, when hundreds of thousands of lives were lost because of hunger. Some regard the main problem as 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. Famine and war are obviously connected. Post-colonial conflicts have made the Horn of Africa one of the most destabilised regions in the world. Conflicts may be explained by: weak central governments; historical ethnic conflicts; the presence of disputed borders and regions; the existence of armed groups; the failure of international regulation and the willingness of some countries to support a particular side; the power of military groups within states and the legacy of artificial colonial boundaries. The conflicts have grown worse with the disintegration of state authority, e.g. in Somalia. Ideological positions may also have exacerbated conflicts. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required.

3 Assess the impact of Italian rule on Somalia.

AO1 – Italy had been interested in Somalia since the 1870s, had established control there in the 1880s, and began more formal and regulated colonisation after 1905, establishing six sub-divisions and a basic law in 1908 regulating the administration of the colony. The Governor had key rights but there was some input from an assembly and from the government of the homeland. The governor controlled customs duties, police and military affairs, with some co-operation from local chiefs. After the First World War there was a movement to develop Somalia by the SAIS (Societa Agricola Italo-Somalia) – mainly through sheep-farming. Fascism was introduced from December 1923. Forceful colonialism provoked rebellion in Northern Somalia, but the new regime co-operated with key tribal leaders to restore order and in 1925 added Jubaland from British Kenya. In 1936, after the defeat of Ethiopia, Somalia became part of Italian East Africa, which temporarily overran British Somalia in 1940. However, Britain conquered the Italian colonies by 1942 and administered Somalia up to 1949. Italy retained administration of Somalia under the United Nations until independence in 1960.

AO2 – The judgement is likely to be between the view that Italian rule, especially after the arrival of De Vecchi in 1923, brought prolonged warfare and destruction, for example of Baargaal in 1925. In 1927 Mussolini committed large-scale forces to the subjection of the Northern sultanates, which provoked violent resistance. Cholera and disease followed the prolonged fighting and rebellion up to the creation of a unified Italian East Africa in 1936. Italian immigration added a layer of white supremacy and the war brought the return of British colonial rule and political uncertainty until 1949. On the other hand, Italian investment into a poor region resulted in some economic and political development. There was the development of infrastructure, modern administration and a class of Italian administrators who were devoted to the region. In 1949 the UN granted Italy the right to administer the territory in recognition of some achievements and, in comparison with much of its post-1960 history, a relatively prosperous and harmonious period ensued in the 1950s, with local religion and laws being generally respected and some urban and economic development.

4 How successful were the internal policies of Nasser's successors in the period 1970–2000?

AO1 – During the period 1970–81, President Sadat broke the relationship with the USSR that Nasser had developed, and internal liberalisation policies modernised aspects of Egypt. Sadat pinned his hopes on peace and won the Nobel peace prize, but the costs of the Six Day War and the end of Russian aid put strains on living standards, while the peace policy alienated Islamic fundamentalists. Sadat tried to negotiate loans for the maintenance of living standards and he made concessions to the Islamic fundamentalists by accepting Sharia law. However, he was assassinated in 1981 and succeeded by President Mubarak. From 1981 there was a state of emergency in Egypt and, although three referenda elected Mubarak, this was largely as a result of a government-dominated assembly having the vote. The state controlled the Coptic Church, the Coptic Pope being exiled during the period 1981–5, and repressed the Muslim Brotherhood. Despite being awarded substantial debt reduction as a result of supporting the coalition in the 1991 Gulf War, the Egyptian economy was still facing problems in 2000. The privatisation continued but led, as when Sadat was president, to accusations of corruption with benefits going to the president's supporters.

AO2 – The debate here is about whether Nasser's successors moved away from state socialism and realigned Egypt's economy and society in a way comparable to, say, China, by having a closer relationship with the West. On the other hand there were ongoing economic problems and the process of liberalisation was marked by corruption. The reliance on repression to deal with Egyptian fundamentalist opposition to foreign policy led to a failure to develop the sort of Arab democracy envisaged by Nasser, but Egypt has achieved some development. Domestic policy was linked in some degree with movement away from unrelieved opposition to Israel and a stronger relationship with the USA.

5 How significant were the achievements of Bourguiba in Tunisia?

AO1 – Habib Bourguiba was President of Tunisia after independence in 1956 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, although he rejected Fundamental Islam, he did not align himself entirely with the West, and supported the PLO. Until 1961, the struggle of the FLN in Algeria seriously weakened the 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 seen with pro-democracy demonstrations in 1977. However, until the 1980s Bourguiba was regarded as a developer and moderniser and a father figure for modern Tunisia. He was admired for keeping a balance between the support for Islamic freedom and avoiding too much confrontation with the West, on which 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. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

AO2 – The judgement here may be between the view of Bourguiba as a flexible moderniser, able to maintain Western support in the Cold War and, after 1970, to pursue a more liberal and free-enterprise economic system which moved away from the Nasser model of socialism and opened up trade and tourism, and the view of a President who still remained rooted in anti-Western ideas and whose reforms did not go beyond a surface modernisation. For example, although he did improve the lot of women in 1956, there was no freedom for women to organise and the enforcement of social reforms was limited. However, there were reforms in public education and social welfare and also in traditional property laws which did effect important changes. He was voted President for life, and it could be argued that although he contemplated more democratic reforms he did not significantly move Tunisia away from a quasi-dictatorship and that his rule ended in forcible overthrow when economic pressures built up.

Section 2: West, Central and Southern Africa

6 Why did apartheid in South Africa last so long?

AO1 – Following the elections of 1948, a series of discriminatory laws was passed which amounted to an institutionalised racial segregation system; mixed marriages were banned in 1949 as were inter-race sexual relations. Municipal amenities were segregated in 1953 and there was official employment segregation in 1956. Education was segregated in 1953 and extended in 1959 to higher education. Language was used as a racial segregation tool when Afrikaans became the language in high schools. From 1951 the Bantustan black homelands had separate administrations, leading eventually to the 1970 Black Homeland Citizenship Act in which black people were citizens of the ten homelands rather than of South Africa itself. Economic discrimination was enforced by the pass laws. The ongoing development of apartheid made it harder to resist. Until the 1960s the discrimination in the Southern States of the USA made it difficult for the USA to offer any moral condemnation and much of the legislation had its origins in colonial British laws. However, from the 1960s there was more change as so many more African nations gained independence and the civil rights movement developed. However, there was a timelag between these developments and the eventual decline of apartheid begun in 1990 and ending in 1994. Boycotts, criticisms, sanctions and internal unrest had limited effects until the ending of the Cold War and the sense of political and economic isolation felt by the South African leadership became compelling reasons for change.

AO2 – Apartheid endured despite international and internal opposition and a radically changing climate towards civil rights and institutional racism, for example in the USA. Possible explanations might focus on internal difficulties faced by opposition within South Africa. Apartheid was a strongly-rooted white ideology supported by an effective National Party with strong and determined leaderships bolstered by religious faith and increasing isolation. They used effective means to separate black communities, to keep educational standards low, to prevent political awareness and to restrict physical movement and the establishment of an effective black labour movement. The creation of the Bantustan black homelands added another level of division within the country. The control of police and army made opposition difficult and dangerous, and repression was often effective and ruthless. The Cold War meant that international divisions helped to sustain the regime – with opposition being too easily linked to communism. Though there was growing popular disapproval, there was little concerted effort between democratic governments in the West to pressurise the South African regime, while struggles against colonial rulers in Africa often left new regimes exhausted and unable or unwilling to organise a pan-African effort to bring about regime change in South Africa. The success of the civil rights movement in the USA was a result of an alliance between charismatic opposition leaders, white liberals and elements of the state itself including the presidency and the Supreme Court. This could not happen in South Africa where opposition was often divided and repressed and the state was solidly behind the apartheid philosophy.

7 What best explains the problems faced by Obote in Uganda after independence?

AO1 – In 1962 Uganda passed peacefully into independence, but all advantages that might have accrued from the relative prosperity and lack of sustained fighting for independence were undermined by the growing power of the army. The federal structure was ended by an armed coup by Obote in 1966. Obote, who became the president, had, as prime minister, been saved from an army coup in 1964 by British help. However, he was forced to make concessions to the military and especially to Idi Amin, a leading army officer. Inflation of food prices, the use of repression and secret police and the end of federalism generated opposition, and after an assassination attempt Obote banned all opposition in 1969. In 1971 Amin overthrew Obote but was himself overthrown as a result of a war against Tanzania, and Obote returned from exile in 1980. Obote was unable to sustain a democratic system and was faced with increasing opposition and disruption, involving a virtual civil war between his armed forces and opposition guerrillas, until he was again ousted from power by Museveni in 1985.

AO2 – Candidates might make some judgements about problems inherited from the British, such as: religious and tribal differences between the different parts of the country; the lack of any binding experience of struggling for independence; the rise of the military; the personalities of key figures like Amin and Obote; and the role of neighbouring countries. Obote was forced to rely on the army and then forced into exile. By the time of his return, there was little democratic foundation to build on and he was not popular enough to rely on support, so turned to repression, bringing about another removal from power. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

8 How far was Nkrumah responsible for his own downfall?

AO1 – From 1954 Nkrumah became less popular. Taxes on the cocoa farmers prevented them benefiting from the rapid rise in world cocoa prices and, even though the money was used for infrastructure investment, the levy was widely resented. His regime became more repressive: strikes were made illegal in 1958 after fears that miners' strikes would endanger economic prosperity, and opponents were made liable for imprisonment without trial following the Preventive Detention Act. The legislation was used against railway workers in 1961. There was widespread resentment about the use of the repressive legislation, with accusations that personal feuds were being waged or that successful businesses were being seized by government members ordering the arrest of businessmen. Nkrumah seemed to be increasingly remote from everyday problems and withdrew from public appearances. In 1964 his party was declared the only legal political party and he became president for life. Heavy debts incurred for projects for national development, such as the Akosombo Dam, needed heavy taxes to service. The increase in cocoa taxes hit the southern part of Ghana disproportionately. The rising cost of military expenditure put pressure on the state, while conscription was resented by some; and within the army and among the ruling elites there was some concern about diplomatic policy and support for the Communist world. Nkrumah was overthrown by the military while he was on a state visit to China in February 1966.

AO2 – The judgement might be about whether Nkrumah's goals in the long term were simply too idealistic and the benefits too far in the future to avoid problems brought about by short-term factors and regional/sectional discontents; or whether Nkrumah is more to blame for an increasingly remote, suspicious and dictatorial form of government, too orientated to socialism and major projects regardless of short-term costs, and whether he misjudged foreign policy and the support of the army.

9 'The coming of independence brought more problems than it solved for the people of Zimbabwe.' Discuss.

AO1 – Zimbabwe became independent in April 1980. Its capital became known as Harare in 1982. It had a constitution with a non-executive president until 1987 when an executive president was established – Mugabe held the office 1988–2000. Until 1986 20% of seats in the lower house were reserved for whites and other non-black minorities. The Senate was abolished in 1990 and the lower house dominated by the president's appointees. The post-independence hopes that white people would be integrated into the system were ended. The integration of the guerrilla armies with the Rhodesian army again suggested a transition but the commander was exiled and claims of corrupt elections ignored. Previous rival groups at first worked together but the ZAPU groups were accused of treason, and racial tensions between the Matabele-based Ndebles and the ZANU emerged. Discrimination against ZAPU led to renewed guerrilla activity and government repression by 1987. The new government maintained emergency powers and suppressed opposition in Matabeleland in 1983–4 and a low-level civil war was waged with some violence in the 1980s until a compromise was reached in 1987 between Mugabe and Nkomo.

Although Mugabe won the 1990 elections, there were accusations of corruption. In April 1991 capital and corporal punishment was introduced and there were no rights for those whose lands were taken over by the state. There were considerable problems brought about by AIDS. Demonstrations by trade unions were banned in 1992, but unrest continued and there was a general strike in 1997. The government resorted to greater repression and more concessions to the ZANLA veterans of the war against the white Rhodesian forces. In the late 1990s there was a policy of forcible land reclamation, mostly from whites, – who owned a disproportionately large amount of land. The mass migration of mainly white farmers was brought about when the army and police were forbidden to prevent land seizures. The disruption and severe droughts led to a food crisis. Initially the new state had relied on severe economic controls of prices, wages and economic life. There was a relaxation in the 1990s but the economy suffered from inflation and contraction of economic growth with resultant loss of basic social services. Government deficits were high and there many economic failures in farming and manufacturing. Poverty increased. An opposition movement in 1999–2000 failed to dislodge Mugabe, who relied on support by encouraging even more land seizures.

AO2 – Most answers will emphasise the problems: the failure to maintain the constitution; the suppression of opposition; the reliance of Mugabe on veterans, with the consequent land seizures leading to impoverishment of once-prosperous agricultural land; the inflation; the decline in public services and the damage done to Zimbabwe's reputation in Africa and the world. However, for all that, pre-independence Zimbabwe was a radically unjust semi-colony; white rule was bolstered by violence and repression; land ownership and the distribution of wealth was distorted; black political representation was limited, and the Smith regime was regarded with distaste internationally and in Africa, with sanctions impeding economic progress. So a degree of balance and discussion is called for.

10 Explain the failure of Liberia to fulfil the dreams of its founders.

AO1/AO2 – The founders of Liberia were the American Colonization Society, who established a home for freed slaves from the USA in 1821–2. Freed slaves from intercepted ships were also given the chance to settle in Liberia, which was established as a Republic in 1847. Liberia was seen as a better solution than having freed slaves in the USA. The democratic ideals of the USA were established in Liberia and it was hoped that democracy, prosperity, freedom and tolerance would obtain. The Liberian elite were often the product of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania.

However, there were problems from early days. One problem was 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 much of its previous trading income and there were problems of poverty and under-development. Although more US aid in the twentieth century helped, it led to the power of the Firestone Corporation, which established itself from 1926, and also to dependence during and after the Second World War on US investment and grants. A division 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 came to power in an army rebellion. Doe did allow elections in 1985 which were, however, 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. Some 200,000 Liberians died in civil wars – a far cry from the dreams of the founders.

In such a long period, candidates could adopt a thematic approach and discuss: long-term 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; the ambitions of unstable leaders.

Section 3: Themes: Africa c. 1750–2000

11 How, and how quickly, did economic development occur in African states between 1750 and 1850?

AO1 – 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 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 (although slaves were used in its production): gum arabic from Senegal; groundnuts from Guinea; 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 on a highly developed cash crop such as palm oil or on 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 in 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.

AO2 – The pace of change was different in some areas than in others and candidates should take an overview and look synoptically at developments. In Southern Africa invasions and conquests dominated the period and generally did little to effect economic progress, while in Central and West Africa the impetus of a major external change in the ending of the slave trade with Europe and America had an unexpected effect in stimulating alternative trades. The impact of industrialisation can be seen in the demand for key crops such as palm oil in West Africa and cotton from Egypt. The continuing supply of cheap slave labour was an element in economic growth with more being applied to purely internal economic activity than simply being exported in slave ships. Trade was a major stimulus but European trade often had a negative effect on native production while European colonisation efforts had a negative effect on general economic activity in Algeria, Ethiopia and South Africa. Where there was promotion of economic activity by local rulers as in parts of West Africa and in Egypt, this had major impact on developments.

12 How important was the Berlin Conference of 1884–5 for Africa?

AO1 – The period prior to the Conference had seen considerable activity by the great powers in Africa. The French had begun a railway from Senegal into the upper Niger Valley and proclaimed control of Porto Novo and the lower Congo in 1882. Britain was concerned that its monopoly of West African trade would be broken. The King of Belgium was interested in claiming land on the Congo River, in Portuguese Angola and at the mouth of the Congo. Britain had occupied Egypt in 1882 in response to local unrest but had not evacuated it. There was rivalry between Italy and France in North Africa and in 1884 Bismarck bowed to colonial pressures and declared protectorates over Togo, Cameroon and South-west Africa. In a short time, Africa had become a source of potential conflict between the European powers, and the Berlin Conference aimed to reduce that conflict and offer some agreement about colonisation. It was ostensibly about the Niger and Congo rivers, but it went further. It confirmed Leopold of Belgium's authority in the Congo basin – a personal possession. Then it set up a standard for any European claim to part of Africa – that it should be 'effectively occupied'. Germany interpreted this to mean that colonial representatives had signed treaties with local leaders and on this basis declared German East Africa an imperial possession. This led to other assertions of control over what had been previously less well-defined areas of European influence. French West Africa was extended, but French policy had been established well before the Berlin Conference. Dahomey and the Ivory Coast were established and Britain established Ghana (Gold Coast Colony) and Nigeria. The French claimed land in the Congo at Berlin and went on to establish French Equatorial Africa. Leopold established the Congo and Portugal finally managed to control Angola by 1912. Much of this colonisation met with sustained resistance. The Great Powers acquired territory in order to forestall expansion by possible European rivals: examples can be seen in British expansion in Uganda and Kenya. The Europeans often found that this policy entailed the application of considerable military force when faced with prolonged local resistance.

AO2 – Discussion should focus on whether the Berlin Conference merely intensified existing trends for greater formal control by the powers or whether it was of major importance in the Scramble for Africa, by setting the example of the permission granted to Leopold and establishing, with the expansion of German influence, a sort of chain reaction and a formula whereby European powers could colonise with a degree of mutual acceptance. The colonisation that emerged from Berlin was accompanied by some horrific violence and exploitation, for example in the Congo, and led to extensive resistance and warfare; it also led to some unhappy accretions of territories of different ethnic composition which stored up future problems.

13 Did decolonisation after 1945 owe more to the strength of African nationalism or the weakness of the European powers?

AO1 – The Second World War helped to bring greater awareness of political rights among educated African opinion – 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 considerably 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 defeats by Japan, and in some countries considerable economic damage had been brought about by the war. 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. There is a wealth of material here and candidates may cite well-led protests which were widely supported, as in Tanganyika against the position of the colonising power – Britain – which by 1954 had still to maintain itself as a major player in European Cold War politics and did not have the same resources as before 1939 to put into suppressing nationalism, which it had acceded to in other parts of the Empire. After 1956 and the Suez debacle it also became clear that international support would not be forthcoming and that public opinion at home had changed.

AO2 – Candidates should show they recognise that different factors are interlinked in complex ways. The level of national awareness differed and often ethnic conflict impeded nationalism. In some areas, like Morocco, independence did not follow a drawn-out campaign; in other areas, partly as a response to local pressure and partly in response to the perceived value of the colony or reluctance to be seen to give in to violence, such as in Kenya and Algeria, there was a more sustained conflict. 'Weakness' may be challenged and it may be more realistic to see the position of the colonial powers having been changed by the war, by a new public opinion, by the changing trade patterns within Europe and by the new international situation. Good answers will achieve a genuine discussion of different factors – the situation of the colonisers and the nationalist developments in Africa.

14 How justified is the view that the Cold War had a far greater impact on Africa than did the Second World War?

AO1 – The Second World War was fought in Africa and thousands of Africans participated – 80,000 African troops went to France in 1939, for instance. African labour and resources were used to support the Allied war effort; tin, palm oil and rubber were vital aspects; and Africa was also an important food source. All this gave Africa a greater sense of its importance and more direct colonial administration brought the colonial states closer to many Africans. There was more investment in infrastructure in Africa, especially ports, and in some areas like South Africa the war had a significant impact on increasing manufacturing. The European powers sought to involve Africans in the war effort and there was more of a sense of partnership than before. The events of the war encouraged nationalism – especially as the colonisers' weaknesses were apparent with the victories of the Germans and Japanese early in the war. Pan-Africanism grew and so did the demands of nationalist groups. The effects of the war in Asia had an impact, especially the post-war decision of Britain to grant independence to India. More Africans travelled overseas as a result of the war; they came into contact with different ideas and environments.

The war also changed European attitudes – the Atlantic Charter, the Brazzaville Conference. Portugal kept her old attitudes, but there was a greater willingness by France and Britain to bring more Africans into administration. The emergence of communist superpowers and the antagonism to communism in Asia and Europe by the West had considerable impact on Africa, where anti-colonial movements were seen as communist and the South African government equated opposition with communism. Ostensibly anti-communist regimes could get support from the USA while the Soviet Union aided Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, the Congo, and Egypt under Nasser, Somalia, Ethiopia under Mengistu, Benin and briefly Uganda. The spread of Soviet influence was a matter of major concern to the West, and even corrupt anti-communist leaders such as Mobutu of Zaire got US support. The Cold War probably extended the existence of apartheid. The most evident manifestations of the Cold War were perhaps the links made by Nasser, with his vision of Arab socialism with the USSR, which helped to fuel the invasion of 1956. The links increased in the late 1960s, and in 1973 there was a danger of direct Soviet involvement in the Yom Kippur War, but Egypt under Sadat repudiated the USSR in the later 1970s. Egypt was part of an anti-Israeli policy pursued by the USSR and played a part in increasing tensions. The Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Angola were areas directly affected by Cold War politics, with the USA and USSR giving military aid to opposing sides, prolonging the conflict and leaving a dangerous legacy.

AO2 – Candidates arguing for the greater importance of the Second World War may link the war with the emergence of an independent Africa; but this may well be modified – nationalism was not as potent or well-organised as in India and there was less tradition of colonial powers working with indigenous elites. Few expected an independent Africa to emerge so quickly. Those who see the Cold War as more significant in extending major conflict to Africa, bringing new ideologies to nationalist resistance and intensifying internal conflicts may well have a case; but candidates should reach a judgement about relative importance however qualified.

15 How effective was international aid for Africa in the period 1945–2000?

AO1/AO2 – This is a contentious issue, and generally the case that foreign aid has been ineffective is based on a series of arguments, as follows: corruption and inefficiency prevent aid from reaching those who most need it and often it ends up in the European bank accounts of corrupt government leaders; aid is often put into pointless and loss-making projects that have little economic benefit; aid can induce dependency, reduce incentives for agricultural developments and may only reinforce changes which might have been made anyway; aid is much less effective than genuine and sustainable economic developments, which in practice it has not encouraged; some aid has been given with conditions that have benefited the donor countries and has been motivated, as in the case of China, by the wish to acquire cheap energy and raw materials, distorting the free market which might have benefited producers.

The general criticism is that the outcome from such a vast investment has been disappointing. Between 1960 and 1997 \$500 billion were given to sub-Saharan Africa, and today the national budgets of most sub-Saharan African countries are dependent on foreign aid for up to 80% of their annual budgets. The World Bank provided \$20 billion towards African development programmes, yet, it is argued, Africa still suffers from a poverty trap.

Examples are often given in this sort of analysis. For example, Somalia's share of food imported in total volume of food consumption rose from less than 33% in 1979 to over 63% in 1984. This change ironically coincided with the period of highest food aid distribution to that country. Because of the increased supply of food aid, Somalia's domestic food prices were dampened, and the prices of local food crops were prevented from rising, thus reducing the incentives for domestic food crop producers. This exacerbated Somalia's food deficit.

On the other hand, there is a distinction between long-term limitations and sheer short-term necessity in alleviating humanitarian crisis. Reports of individual projects to encourage education, better water supply, medical care and local initiatives show a far more encouraging picture than some of the macro-economic analyses.

There are arguments that aid has been ineffective and there are examples of waste, but candidates should attempt to offer a balanced view and see that this is a long period in which political problems, such as prolonged war in Eritrea, have made large-scale economic development difficult but have not obviated the need for immediate assistance.

16 How successful was the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)?

AO1 – The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, by representatives of 32 governments. A further 21 states joined gradually over the years. In 2000 it merged with the African Economic Community. It created a number of specialist agencies such as the African Civil Aviation Commission and the Pan-African Telecommunications Union. The OAU aims to: promote the unity and solidarity of African states; co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; promote international co-operation, giving due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and co-ordinate and harmonise members' political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defence policies.

Critics point to large-scale failure. They argue that little was done to prevent Somalia becoming a failed state; they point to the history of conflict in the Congo, the genocides in Rwanda and the ongoing civil wars in Rwanda and Burundi; there has been criticism of the failure to intervene in Zimbabwe to prevent the erosion of public services, the crippling inflation and the violence of the regime. The effectiveness of the OAU has been compared unfavourably with, say, NATO in Bosnia or the intervention internationally to defend Kuwait in the Gulf War. The humanitarian crisis in the Horn of Africa provoked a weak response. The poor quality of some of the leaders of African countries and the blatant dictatorship and corruption of some of the participating regimes has been seen as a reason for weakness.

Defenders point out that, as the majority of conflicts have been civil wars and the organisation is pledged to non-intervention, then criticism has been unfair and has ignored the solid work in many areas apart from conflict in which co-operation has increased. They point out that in its first few months, the OAU successfully mediated three weeks of border fighting between Morocco and Algeria. During the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–70, the OAU attempted to bring peace. Furthermore, conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire and Gabon, and the Eritrean War of Independence (or secession) from Ethiopia, which began about the same time, were condemned by the majority of African states. The OAU adopted a policy of supporting the predominant party in civil war situations to try and end the conflict and establish a government with which to deal. This happened in the Chad Civil War, and thus the OAU has the policy of recognising a government in power and can therefore press it to negotiate with its opponents. The Cairo summit of 1993 agreed to the creation of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The OAU has tried to intervene in several crises in recent years, as in Burundi, in the Comoros and most recently in Madagascar. It would not be realistic to think that the OAU could end all conflicts but it has helped to mediate and control them and established a framework for discussion.

AO2 – Much depends on the expectations of a body like the OAU. Not all of its aims focus on ending long-standing and bitter internal conflicts and, given the problems, this would probably not have been possible; but the fact that mediation is available and that a clear policy of recognising the predominant power has been accepted may well have prevented escalation, though not ended war or prevented horrific genocides. Candidates may well see the OAU as essentially ineffective, but that does not mean that it has had no success – the fact that it was created at all and lasted, adapting to calls for greater economic co-operation, may be discussed as well as its evident failures.

Section 4: China**17 What best explains the weakness of the Chinese empire by 1911?**

AO1 – The most obvious feature may be foreign domination and the unequal treaties imposed by overseas powers. An analysis of 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 within China had caused serious damage – the extended and very costly Taiping Rebellion of 1851–64 was one of the most brutal events of the century. The actions of Chinese leaders were a contributing factor, with the reactionary Dowager Empress Xi Xi suppressing the reform movement among the Confucian scholar gentry led by Kang Youwei in the coup of 1898. Reforms of the army and the oppressive and rigid education system were begun after 1905; constitutional reforms were promised and provincial assemblies began in 1909. However, the moves towards reforms provoked discontent and provincial separatism. By 1911 China had neither achieved strong reform nor appeased discontent; 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.

AO2 – There are judgements to be made about the long- and short-term factors, their links with each other and their relative importance. Candidates should weigh key elements such as: the military and administrative weaknesses of the Empire; the economic limitations; the internal divisions; the rigid social system which inhibited progress to the more modern state needed to resist foreign incursion and maintain unity and progress.

18 'The Chinese Communist Party survived between 1927 and 1937 because of its own strengths.' Discuss

AO1 – The Chinese communists faced an onslaught from Jiang and the GMD after the breakdown of the united front following the Northern Expedition. They were able to survive until the Japanese invasion of 1937 took pressure off them and forced the Nationalists into some sort of compromise again. The arguments for the main reason being the strengths of the communists themselves might centre round the nurturing of ideology and organisation. There was little effective help from Moscow and the CCP developed a strategy of holding pockets of occupied territory – soviets. The most remote proved to be a problem for the GMD and a dogged series of attacks against the Jiangxi Soviet achieved slow progress. However, sheer weight of numbers, equipment and the strategy of blockhouses did prove more effective in the long term. The most famous episode is the Long March, October 1934–October 1935, which took the communists to a stronger and more inaccessible position and made Mao's leadership reputation. There is some discussion possible about the effectiveness of this and the heroism of the March has elements of myth. However, the establishment of the Shaanxi Soviet did mean that communism had a base for future growth.

AO2 – The judgement is between the different strengths – the ideology and organisation and the policy adopted towards the peasants in occupied areas, which respected them and tried to gain support. There is the effective leadership, especially that of Mao but also that of Zhang Guotau and the dedication shown in the Long March. Candidates might discuss the whole strategy of holding and defending areas like Jiangxi and Shaanxi, using China's distances, avoiding pitched battles and exhausting the GMD by forcing long lines of communication and extended and costly siege-like campaigns. However, against this could be set: the distraction of the GMD by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and subsequent expansion into Jehol; the limited military abilities of Jiang and the low morale of his armies; the failure to combat the effective support gained by the CCP in the areas they controlled; and the failure to destroy a relatively small but important force that undertook the Long March. There is a well-developed counter-argument which casts doubts on Mao's leadership abilities, pointing to violent disputes within the party and some irrational decision-making during the Long March, so some candidates may question whether leadership was a great strength. Some candidates may argue that China's sheer size and underdeveloped communications and the distraction and miscalculation of his opponents were what made Mao's survival possible.

19 How far did Communist rule benefit the people of China in the years 1949–58?

AO1 – Given the situation in 1949, with high inflation, the depredations of civil war, foreign influence on the Jiang regime, economic hardship, the problems of landlordism in the countryside and limited industrial growth, there is a case for seeing the victory of communism in 1949 as benefiting more than it disadvantaged. China was not a flourishing democracy, and Mao promised social justice and had seemed to practise it in the areas that the communists had occupied. The swing of support, both internal and international, from the Jiang regime had made ending the civil war desirable, and the communists promised and delivered many important reforming measures. However, the new regime also brought high levels of violence in the redistribution of land and introduced an ideologically-driven dictatorship that meant China was isolated and increasingly susceptible to often erratic central decisions. In the short term there was an obvious sense of mission and renewal, and the land redistribution was one of the most important changes in Chinese history. Literacy, the position of women, the control of prices and a major hope for the future were obvious benefits even though there were losers. The campaigns for better standards of living, health and hygiene were progressive, although the Four-Year Plan produced variable success and there was no political freedom. The Korean War saw more military casualties. Despite the limitations of the soviet style Five-Year Plan, coal production doubled and electric power output tripled. The PLA grew to be the largest army in the world and the costs of maintaining such a large military establishment were a drain on the state. A large party bureaucracy dominated everyday life. From 1955 the party's control enabled Mao to accelerate change and push for collective farms – by 1956 88% of peasants had been collectivised. The trend of downplaying Mao's position by 1956 in favour of a more collective leadership did not survive the results of the Hundred Flowers Campaign of 1957, when 'rightists' who had taken advantage of a rare opportunity to question the party were purged. The movement towards more extreme dictatorship gathered pace with the mobilisation of 100 million peasants in great agricultural projects and the Great Leap Forward – a major form of social engineering which had huge consequences with perhaps 30 million victims of starvation by 1961. Food shortages were apparent by the end of 1958.

AO2 – Much depends here on whether the early years are seen as prelude to the increasingly capricious and irrational dictatorship, taking economic decisions on ideological grounds, or as a release of millions of people from a corrupt, unjust and reactionary system and an opening up of hope for the future. Even the Great Leap Forward had and still has its defenders, but candidates may take the view that, whatever benefits had arisen for China by 1956, the repression of 1957 and the decisions taken in relation to the GLF were not beneficial.

20 How important were ideological factors in bringing about the Cultural Revolution?

AO1/AO2 – 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. The creation of the Red Guards, the announcement of attacks on the Four Olds, Mao's re-emergence as a cult leader by his swim in the Yangtze and the humiliation of Lin and Deng may have the appearance of purely political struggles. However, the violent enthusiasms of the Revolution and the insistence on the renewal of Revolution against supposed counter-revolution make a strong case for ideological motivation. 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. The propaganda of the time was strongly ideological. The restoration of order by the army in 1968 suggests that ideological radicalism had its limits. The focus should be on the ideological justifications: the emergence of a new bourgeoisie; the ossification of bureaucracy; the failure of radical socialist plans in the GLF; and the dangers of a Russian-type undermining of real revolutionary principles.

21 How successful was Chinese foreign policy after 1976?

AO1 – Deng aimed to open China to the world, a vital concept in the light of economic liberalisation. In 1979 full diplomatic relations with the USA were restored and Deng's visit to the USA was of historic importance. The increasing diplomatic and economic links with the USA have been weakened by human rights issues and fears of China's military expansion and its expansion of its overseas links to areas where economic resources are important. However, relations did not return to the pre-1972 levels. This might be seen as a success for China – it has not had to bow to Western pressure over some key issues like Tibet or to give up claims to Taiwan while enjoying the economic benefits of financial and commercial links with the West. The heavy burden of an arms race with the West was one of the contributory factors in the fall of the USSR, and China has been successful in avoiding this. China benefited from the decline of both the Russian and US military presence in the Pacific. The power of China in the region was shown by its occupation of the Spratly Islands in the face of claims by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. In 1978 China was unsuccessful in backing a Cambodian invasion of Vietnam but Vietnam was unable to prevent China's expansion in this case.

China has not accepted international views on pollution or human rights and has pursued self-interest by maintaining relations with authoritarian regimes in various parts of Africa and in Burma. Trade with Africa increased considerably after 2000 but the seeds were sown before – Angolan oil, Burmese gas, Sudanese oil are fruits of an amoral foreign policy which puts China's interests first. Mugabe has been a beneficiary of Chinese aid and China supports the banned ivory trade. It has been argued that China is forcing areas of Africa into a semi-colonial state. The border disputes with India continue to cause tension, but China has made little compromise in any area involving territory or national interest. Its arms sales to Nepal, Burma, Sudan and Iran have created international problems. Its relations with North Korea brought problems and, in a sense, China is shackled to an uncompromising regime which it supports at the expense of better international relations. During this period China achieved the levels of economic growth that led it to superpower status and its enormous local military dominance in South-east Asia gives it considerable influence in the face of weak regional organisations such as ASEAN. Since 1989 it has been helped by the decline of Russia and the unwillingness of the West to compromise trade.

AO2 – Success is usually judged by China in terms of how its national interests have been served. It has not lost territory; it has ignored international pressures; it has developed considerable local regional power; it has extended its influence in Africa and to an extent South America; it can back diplomacy with formidable military power. However, whether it has developed successfully into a responsible great power and whether its relations with other large powers like India, the USA or Russia and international organisations like ASEAN are really stable is doubtful. In a broader sense it could be seen as unsuccessful to rely on temporary agreements with dictatorial or discredited regimes and to have encouraged uncertainty and instability in the world.

Section 5: The Indian sub-continent and Ceylon/Sri Lanka

22 How is the lack of effective resistance to British rule in India between 1858 and 1914 best explained?

AO1 – 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 Indian 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 Congress nationalism was restrained at first and did not develop into a mass movement; the leadership shared British belief in constitutional legalism. 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 powerful non-violent resistance that emerged later on had not yet become a challenge. The viceroy Lord Mayo devoted himself to all sorts of improvements after 1869 and there was a dedicated corps of Indian civil servants. Lord Lytton formed strong bonds with the princes whom he appeased. Famine and grain riots lacked any political organisation.

Lord Ripon after 1880 provided measures of limited self-governance although his liberal proposal to allow indigenous judges to try Europeans met resistance. From its failure came the rise of Congress – mainly lawyers and journalists and led by a Scotsman. Lord Dufferin offered more repression in the conquest of Burma but, as well as the threat of violence, there were concessions and the Nationalist movement did not try to emulate the success of the Irish nationalists. Congress was divided between Muslim and Hindu and by issues such as the abolition of child marriage proposed in 1891. 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. However, the partition of Bengal in 1905 caused discontent and saw the creation of the Muslim League. After 1905 there were demonstrations, boycotts and some acts of terrorism. The Liberal government under Hardinge’s viceroy ship responded by arrests. Talik the radical Congress leader (Congress split between him and the more moderate Gohkale) was arrested but concessions were made such as Indian representation on the vice-regal council and the reunification of Bengal. The Delhi Durbar was a high point of British power and an impressive series of monuments to the Raj.

AO2 – The failure of effective resistance might be seen predominantly as a result of successful methods of ‘divide and rule’ applied by Britain. Other factors could include: the skill and energy of the British viceroys; the threat of repression; and the alliances between the British and the Princes. Some may place more emphasis on the weak and divided Congress opposition or on the divisions between Muslims and Hindus. There may be analysis of the limited links between political nationalists and the mass of the people and a lack of effective strategy and clear aims by those opposing British rule.

23 How well did Nehru rule India?

AO1/AO2 – Nehru became Prime Minister in 1947 and oversaw the transition to independence and to India becoming a Republic in 1950. He 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. In foreign policy he wanted to support anti-colonialism and developed a policy of non-alignment, positive neutrality as a third way in the Cold War. He thought that India's diversity must not stand in the way of social change and he improved the social condition of women and the poor, 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. The All-India Institute of Technology, a Science institute and Management Institute were established and there were policies for free and compulsory primary education. 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. In his era, the Congress Party dominated politics and won impressive victories in 1952 and 1957. By 1962 there was a reduced majority. There was the rise of socialist and regional parties and some resentment about the rise of Nehru's daughter Indira as Congress President. He died in 1964.

Nehru has a high reputation as the leader who maintained a secular and democratic India and prevented regional separatism and the sort of problems experienced by Pakistan. 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. The fusion of a strong belief in democracy with a belief in state economic management did reflect an attempt to use the best models in the contemporary world; non-alignment was ethically based and an attempt to keep alive the ideals of Gandhi. It would be legitimate to acknowledge these achievements, but a balanced answer would look at the problems. There was a low rate of growth, around 2.5%, despite the considerable efforts made to promote economic activity. State planning produced a plethora of inhibiting controls which were dismantled after 1991. The domination of Congress meant that key areas of Indian life were not well-represented in political life. Nehru's policies did not – perhaps could not – solve the deep-seated problems of poverty and caste. High levels of defence spending had to be maintained as relations with Pakistan did not greatly improve and Nehru put too much faith in the communist world only to be disillusioned in 1962. His own ideals were undermined by the ambitious rise of Indira Gandhi and by members of his own Party.

24 Assess the political importance of the army in Pakistan since independence.

AO1 – The position of Pakistan was difficult in 1947. There was considerable poverty; the masses lived near or below subsistence level and there was the problem of the influx of refugees from India. Jinnah died before there was an established constitution. There were considerable regional, linguistic and economic differences between the five different regions. Relations with India were bad and required a large armed force. The Muslim League was not representative of the people as a whole, being more representative of the elite professionals and landowners. Jinnah died early in Pakistan's history and Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951. Thus there was no Nehru figure to lead the transition to independence and democracy. Secularism was more difficult in Pakistan because of the demands for the country to be an Islamic state with Shariat law. There were disagreements about the 1950 constitutional proposals and there was possible danger from the Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act which allowed the ruling elite to remove officials. The army was seen as an important unifying factor and necessary for the defence of the country against India. Politicians did not necessarily enjoy approval; there was corruption, and resentment about Urdu being the official language. There was a planned military coup in 1951. Food shortages and falling demand for raw materials after the end of the Korean War in 1953 led to discontent and martial law. There were disputes between the Governor General and the cabinet and the assembly was dissolved in 1954.

In 1955 a General, Iskander Mirza, became Governor General. He resolved the political crisis and Pakistan finally got a constitution in 1956. However, martial law was declared in 1958 after renewed disagreements and General Ayub Khan forced Mirza out and took control. There had been disagreements with the provinces over the creation of a more unified West Pakistan and considerable instability. Ayub attempted a return to democracy with a new constitution in 1962, but the presidential elections of 1965 were disputed and there was unrest. In 1969 Ayub handed over power to the army and again there was martial law under General Yahya Khan – he allowed elections in 1970 but did not accept the result of the separatist Awami League winning a majority in East Pakistan. The use of force in the East resulted in rebellion and war with India and the creation of Bangladesh. The failure of the army allowed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to restore civilian and constitutional rule and a third constitution emerged in 1973. Disputes about election rigging in 1977 led Bhutto to resort to military rule to suppress discontent and opposition – but this led to General Zia ul-Haq taking power, Bhutto was tried and hanged and martial law lasted until 1985. From 1979 a number of Islamic laws were introduced. Zia was killed in a plane explosion in 1988 and Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister.

AO2 – The underlying problems of Pakistan made it difficult for 'normal' civilian government to cope – especially since there was a delay in forming a constitution and that constitution did not win national approval. The Muslim League did not provide the sort of stability that Congress provided in India and there were ongoing internal rifts between the regions and between those who favoured a more obviously Islamic state which in the event did not come about until after 1979. Despite efforts to reform, growth rates remained low; there was a lack of sustained industrial development and considerable regional variation in prosperity. The power of the landowners and elites remained strong, so the new state disappointed many – the poor, regional leaders, non-Urdu speakers and religious enthusiasts. The army was seen as above political corruption and a guardian against India. Military leaders in Pakistan had ambitions politically and saw themselves as saving the country. Once resort had been made to martial law, then it established a precedent for future military rule; once constitutions had been replaced, then this again set a precedent for more political change under the supervision of the military. So candidates could weigh the importance of underlying factors and particularly: the gap between East and West Pakistan that led to unrest and finally war and division of the state; the ambitions and personalities of the key military politicians like Ayub Khan and Zia; and the failure of the civilian politicians to offer a sustained credible alternative.

25 Why was there more internal conflict in independent Ceylon/Sri Lanka in the 1980s than before?

AO1 – The political stability achieved between 1948 and 1983 could be explained by having an accepted constitution with two parties and sound political leadership, together with socialist policies similar to those of Nehru in India, which offered some social reforms and, by the 1970s, nationalisation of plantations under Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Further changes brought economic development after 1977, but the rise of Tamil nationalism restricted progress. Conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils had been part of Ceylonese history and the origins of the 1983 civil war go back at least to the discriminatory measures introduced in 1956. From independence, the Tamil minority had been uneasy with Ceylon's unitary form of government and worried that the Sinhalese majority would be oppressive. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike triumphed in the 1956 elections after appealing to Sinhalese nationalism. He ruled that Sinhala would be the country's official language. Other discrimination followed. Educational policies were seen to favour Sinhalese, and agriculture schemes gave incentives to Sinhalese farmers from the south to move to newly irrigated lands in the east. Intermittent outbreaks of communal violence occurred in the 1960s and 70s and there was growing radicalisation among Tamil groups. By the mid-1970s Tamil politicians were moving from support for federalism to a demand for a separate Tamil state – 'Tamil Eelam' – in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, areas of traditional Tamil settlement. In the 1977 elections, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) won all the seats in Tamil areas on a platform of separatism. Other groups – particularly the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tamil Tigers) – sought an independent state by force. Divisions among the Tamils helped to restrict the revolutionary activity and Ceylon had a democratic tradition. However, the growing influence of more radical Tamils began a cycle of violence in 1983. In 1983, the death of 13 Sinhalese soldiers at the hands of the Tamil Tigers led to unprecedented communal violence and 100,000 Tamils fled to India. The Tamils developed their forces into a highly disciplined force and caused disruption by suicide attacks. Refugees brought Indian intervention which exacerbated the situation with 50,000 Indian peace-keeping forces. A prolonged conflict ended in a ceasefire in 2002. Unlike the Maoist insurrection of 1971, which was suppressed with international support, the Tamil war was more deep-rooted, sustained by a dedicated leadership and uncompromising commitment (170 suicide attacks) with some spectacular terrorist successes such as the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan prime minister. Repression and terrorism fed each other.

AO2 – The question invites comparison between the relatively stable period before 1983 and the period of violence, Indian intervention and sustained civil war afterwards. Stability can be explained by the continuation of the trade in Ceylonese staple exports, the successful adoption of democratic processes, parties, leadership and constitution more on the Indian than Pakistan model. The country contained ethnic conflict but the coming of a new generation of Tamils in a world that was increasingly aware of civil rights and action against oppression led to sustained unrest and violence. The Tamils were unwilling to accept a federal solution and in fact the ceasefire of 2002 broke down, leading to a renewal of war.

26 How important was the rise of Hindu nationalism in India after 1975?

AO1 – Organised Hinduism goes back to the creation of the RSS in 1925 and the VHP in 1967 – largely religious and cultural organisations with a broad interpretation of Hinduism and nationality. However, the significant development has been the emergence of Hindu nationalism on a political level with the formation of the BJP as a political party in 1980. Hindu nationalist politics have challenged the political dominance of the Congress Party and brought a different tone to both national and regional politics. From 1998 to 2004 it led the national government of India under Prime Minister Vajpayee and has controlled some regional governments. Less radical in power than in opposition, the Hindu nationalist politicians nevertheless have supported potentially disruptive policies and there has been violence associated with Hindu nationalism – the destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya led to religious and communal conflict and there were communal riots and massacres in Gujarat in 2002. The Hindu nationalists aimed to revitalise traditions submerged by the secular Nehru era. In 1978 the Ajanta Party was created out of various Hindu groups but the political emergence of the BJP was the key development. Its leaders, mainly from north and west India and mainly high-caste Hindus, argued that the Indian state should reflect Hindu ideas in the same way that Islamic states operated or that Western states had essentially Christian values and institutions. In 1990 BJ Advani of the BJP toured India provoking 300 riots. The destruction of the Babri Masjid in 1992 saw the worst communal violence since 1947. Both Muslims and Christians have been attacked as representing essentially alien civilisations. In Gujarat, where the BJP gained a majority, there were restraints on mixed marriages with Muslims; Christian missions and school textbooks were made to conform to Hindu ideology. There was an alliance with the more extreme Shiv Sheva party. The Kargil War and the actions of Islamic terrorists boosted support for Hindu Nationalism. The rhetoric of the nationalists – such as demands for more nuclear weapons, hostility to any compromise with Pakistan, harsh repression of terrorism and separatism and censorship – have been at variance with the relative moderation of the BJP in power, which is aware that it cannot alienate 130 million Indian Muslims, provoke foreign reactions that might lead to support for Pakistan, or appear to be reactionary in the eyes of vital foreign investors and consumers.

AO2 – Importance may be seen in social and cultural terms – the revival of Hindu culture (the massive interest in TV portrayals of the Ramayana, for instance), the erosion of separatism, the increase in tensions between Hindus and other religious groups. There was ongoing tension about the mosque at Ayodhya for example; at state level there have been disputes about education policy and attacks on writing which seems to be critical of Hindu nationalists. On a political level, the BJP has not established itself as the equivalent of Congress, and has lost support by over-extreme statements. At the same time it has co-operated with other groups in coalitions and in government has been moderate and supportive of continued economic modernisation and responsible world politics. However, after the emergence of the BJP religious nationalism has had a major effect on politics and has also provoked Islamic extremism and made the settlement of Jammu and Kashmir harder. The monopoly of Congress and the emergence of regional and religious groups has been a major element of change in India since 1975.

Section 6: Japan and Korea**27 How far was the late Tokugawa period in Japan an era of decay?**

AO1/AO2 – The Tokugawa Shogunate or Tokugawa bakufu (also known as the Edo bakufu) was a feudal military dictatorship established in 1603 by Tokugawa Ieyasu and ruled by the shoguns of the Tokugawa family until 1868. This period is known as the Edo period and gets its name from the capital city of Edo, now Tokyo.

Following the Sengoku period of 'warring states', central government had been largely re-established by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi during the Azuchi-Momoyama period. After the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, central authority fell to Tokugawa Ieyasu who completed this process and received the title of shogun in 1603. His descendants were to hold the position, and the central authority that came with it, until the 19th century. 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 at 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.

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 be seen either as a confirmation of decay or as 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 speak of 'decay' may be unfair to all the elements in Japan, 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 'decay' is unjustified.

The debate is between those who see merely the decay of an outdated feudal system that was in its death throes, challenged by the arrival of the West, and those who 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. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

28 'Modernised on the surface only.' Discuss this view of Japan between 1868 and 1912.

AO1 – When the Meiji period ended, with the death of the Emperor in 1912, Japan had adopted some key modern elements from the West. In place of the convoluted Shogunate there was a central bureaucracy; there was a constitution on the German model with an elected parliament (1889); transport and communications had been improved; education reforms had reduced illiteracy; and urban growth had eroded customs seen by foreigners as primitive. A navy had been built up with British advice and an army on German lines. The unequal treaties had been abolished and Japan had regained control of its legal system and trade. It had defeated China and Russia in major wars. It welcomed modern European science and technology instead of isolating itself from them as in the Shogunate period. The feudal domains were ended in 1871 and private Samurai-led armies replaced by conscription and a national force. The national financial system was modernised by money taxes, not payment in kind. The last conservative rebellion was defeated in 1877 and gradually Western dress and manners were introduced into Japan. By comparison with China, the transformation was rapid and successful. Visitors were amazed at railways, modern cities, telegraph and the success against the Russian armed forces in 1905. There was greater personal freedom for ordinary people released from feudal obligations and control. Employment opportunity in government industries of sugar, glass, textiles, cement and chemicals (privatised after 1880) and in growing towns amounted to a considerable social revolution. Universal popular education was a major cause of change – by 1912 all children attended school for at least six years. However, duty to the Emperor and to the nation was inculcated. Western-style individualism did not emerge – traditional loyalties to family and the sacred homeland remained. The constitution offered restricted political rights – only 1% could vote. However, 'modernisation' had not come about in a willing way. The restoration of the Emperor was actually a return to a much older system and with it came a revival of Shintoism, replacing Buddhism as the national religion. The Emperor was a mysterious God figure, remote from subjects and speaking a special language. He was a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess and every effort was made to inculcate Emperor-worship and respect for traditional values and the special status of Japan. Although Japan had changed from being a colonial power to being a power with which other great powers allied, its wars of conquest and its uncompromising suicidal fighting methods may be seen as belonging to a former age.

AO2 – The balance is towards 'modern' and what amounted to medieval or even older attitudes, beliefs and superstitions. If modern is equated with the industrial and mercantile Western powers, then Japan had important modern elements, though not the traditions of individual liberty or enterprise that had brought them about. In political terms power rested with key elite groups – the key clans around the Emperor and the royal family and the Zaibatsu. Economic growth did not emerge in a modern way as in Britain but as an imposition from above. Japan's armed forces may have had modern weapons and organisations but the expectations were those of Samurai, and Japanese society was held together by communal bonds, not the liberal individualism of modern Europe. However, it is the Shinto religion and the place of the Emperor within that which will probably occupy much of the 'counter view' to modernisation. In the end, being an industrial power with powerful forces, able to conquer territories and take on much larger neighbours and to form alliances with other powers, may be enough for Japan to be considered modern. However, under that surface there were powerful links to the past. Candidates should engage with what 'modern' meant in the post-1868 context.

29 Assess the view that Japan lost the Second World War because of its economic weakness.

AO1/AO2 – Japan was not a major industrial power by 1941, for all its progress. It was short of raw materials, especially coal and oil, and its technology was far behind that of Britain, Germany or the USA. However, that did not stop a run of victories against demoralised and frankly incompetent western powers in 1941. It was not economic advantage that led Japan to conquer Malaya and Singapore. Where economic factors came into play was in the long-drawn out struggle with the USA. Japan's naval defeats at Midway and the Coral Sea could not be overcome by building more ships, and aircraft losses were significant. The USA was able to recover from the losses of ships quickly and its economy meant that not only could vast amounts of material be directed against Japan, but also a very 'high-tech' bombing campaign culminating in the use of atomic weapons. However, it was not merely economic factors that played a part. Had negotiation been possible politically, then Japan might have stood a chance; had the assault been on European colonies rather than America, then Japan might have won. However, once she had engaged with an economic superpower, then Japan's industrial limitations were revealed. Nevertheless, Japan was not totally defeated by economic blockades and destruction of capacity. The campaign in Russia in 1939 showed flaws in her military strategy and an over-reliance on sheer self-sacrifice. These flaws were apparent in the Burma campaigns and in key battles such as Guadalcanal, so the purely military aspects were important too. The battles on Iwo Jima and Okinawa showed what a formidable enemy Japan was even by 1945, but it could be argued that overwhelming air superiority was the key and that was tied in with economic weakness.

Various explanations are possible – economical, political and military. Candidates should begin to offer some assessment which goes beyond explanation and see the links between economic and military weakness.

30 Why did the Korean War not have a more decisive outcome?

AO1 – Some 75,000 North Korean troops invaded South Korea on 25 June 1950 and made rapid progress. The UN approved sanctions already taken by the USA in providing military support and the war was fought by the UN rather than the USA alone. US troops were ordered in on 30 June amid reports that the North Koreans had pushed the South Korean army down to the far south. Landings at Inchon and a push out of the Pusan bridgehead opened the possibility of crossing the 38th Parallel and actually uniting Korea. The advance to the Yalu river was made in the expectation that the Chinese would not offer effective resistance. On 26 October China responded with a large-scale intervention. In theory the UN was being opposed by Chinese ‘volunteers’. In November MacArthur’s advancing troops were met by 200,000 Chinese forces. Military demands for a massive air strike, however, were not met and talk of nuclear war was met by British opposition as Attlee flew to Washington to dissuade Truman. By March 1951 the fighting stabilised around the 38th Parallel. MacArthur was denied the use of nuclear weapons and the use of nationalist Chinese forces and his criticisms led to his dismissal on 11 April 1951. Acheson and Truman responded to criticisms from the anti-communist right by talking of the dangers of a world war – with uncertain allies. The main focus of anti-communism was Europe rather than Asia. Peace talks began in June 1951. Fighting continued into 1952. Eisenhower promised negotiations and compromise was reached about the issue of POWs – Russia urged flexibility and an armistice was signed July 1953. By then Stalin was dead and Truman out of office.

Before the war the USA had not thought Korea very important strategically and had not given much attention to its defence. After 1950 much more economic and military aid went into South Korea. The war persuaded Congress to authorise a great deal more military spending. It would be hard to consider any form of united Korea after this, yet, given the huge problems of the war, even harder to contemplate an invasion to topple Kim Il-sung. The war had made the communists more secure in the North and shown the power of China’s support. The prestige of the communist world had been bolstered by the defence of North Korea and Chinese troops had appeared heroic. However, further actions would have been expensive at a time when Mao was trying to advance his Five-Year Plans and, after Stalin’s death, Russian support was even more uncertain. US policy was constrained by her allies and also by the fear of nuclear war – something that her supporters feared. Rapid US responses had led to the initial attacks failing; rapid Chinese responses had led to the failure of any US hopes for advance into North Korea. Negotiations at Panmunjom stalled because neither side could accept a status quo, but neither side was in a position to change it. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

AO2 – Key explanations may focus on different phases of the conflict – why the initial communist drive was not allowed to succeed despite the analysis by the US that South Korea was not important strategically and militarily indefensible. Similarly there could be analysis of why the US-UN counter attacks did not develop more decisively and why MacArthur’s vision was not acceptable. The war might be seen as a gamble by Stalin which in the end did not pay off as the focus of US policy was still on Europe, but Truman’s personality and the distrust of communism would not let the US accept the fall of the South. Having fought their way back to the starting point of the conflict, there was little, given the context of the time, that either side could do to offer a more lasting solution without losing face and appearing weak. Given the feeling that appeasement had been the mistake of the 1930s and given public opinion in the USA and Mao’s influence on Kim Il-sung, there could be no loss of face by compromise so negotiations stalled.

31 How is the post-war economic progress in Japan best explained?

AO1/AO2 – Japanese economic take-off after 1945 might be explained by a number of factors. There was the pre-war and wartime economic development of large concerns like Toyota and Nissan and Hitachi – ten of the post-war car makers came out of expansion during the war with assured raw materials. There had been rapid development of electronics manufacturers in large-scale units. Despite the bombing destruction, the technological knowledge, personnel and corporate organisations could transfer to peacetime the availability of capital and the existence of entrepreneurs like Honda Soichiro. Sony developed from the persistence of two businessmen in developing the key element of transistors. Banks offered loans. The desire to compete with the West went from military to economic areas and focused on key consumer goods like sewing machines, radios, cameras and binoculars, using wartime machinery. The devastation of war gave companies the chance to begin again and to have the US market open to them as a result of the Cold War and US reliance on Japan as an ally and base against Red China.

US policy after 1947 allowed Japan trading opportunities and protection of its domestic market. Low tariffs and cheap oil plus US protection were beneficial to export-led recovery. The nature of a welfare-conscious industry with low unemployment increased consumer purchasing power, and effective management boosted loyalty and productivity. Business leaders worked closely with the state to achieve high growth rates – GNP expanded by 10%. There was high investment in new technology. Participation in GATT helped exports and cheap oil from the Middle East fuel industrial expansion. High savings rates meant that private capital was available for investment and government policy helped by setting up saving banks which channelled investment into industry. Good rates of return fuelled consumption and the home market. Government policy encouraged rationalisation of firms and helped channel resources out of declining industries like coal into electronics, steel, biochemicals. The state established the Japan Development Bank in 1951 and there was a large pool of state-organised savings capital. There were also direct and indirect subsidies to key industries. Large-scale corporations have restricted competition and kept down costs, undercutting international rivals and providing capital for research and employee welfare. Low military spending made money available for economic development and welfare capitalism meant less need for welfare spending.

Some distinction might be made between internal factors and the external circumstances that Japan found herself in as a result of US policy and the development of the Cold War in Asia. Candidates should try and weigh the relative importance of the sorts of factors above.

Section 7: South-east Asia**32 Assess the view that there was little chance after 1954 of the USA preventing the emergence of a united, communist Vietnam.**

AO1/AO2 – The case for this proposition might point to the failure of South Vietnam to provide a leadership acceptable to its people – for instance Diem and the lack of reforms and social justice merely encouraging the South Vietnam opposition. The failure of the USA to see the distinction between unrest in South Vietnam and communist incursions might point to a lack of understanding which undermined their policy. There might be discussion of: the problems faced after large-scale military intervention was decided; the geographical difficulties; the knowledge of the terrain by their enemies, for instance in the underground tunnels; the high costs and poor publicity brought about by successive bombing campaigns; the high morale and willingness for sacrifice of the Viet Minh and the North Vietnamese and the help received from Russia and China; the uncertainty of possible success by Johnson and Nixon; the tide of public opinion which prevented chances of victory; and the unwillingness of the USA for the large-scale commitment needed for outright victory – perhaps the problem of what victory would actually look like if achieved in a war against an elusive enemy. On the other hand, the fact that the USA did not win might not mean that it was predestined to lose. The North Vietnamese regime did not support the campaign in the South against Diem until 1960; the resources of the USA were great; the Tet offensive of 1968 was costly for the North; US forces held their ground at Khe Sanh; and in Hue and Ben Tre the South Vietnamese and Americans responded to the communist attacks with a huge degree of fire power and destruction and 40,000 Viet Cong were killed. However, there was a gap between perception and reality – the perception was that the USA was not winning the war, had been forced on the defensive and had had to wreak such destruction that any victory was devalued. However, on the other hand, the casualty rates for the communists were very high. There was a precedent for continued division of the country in Korea; communist insurgents had been defeated in Malaya. There are arguments that the scale and influence of public opinion at home have been exaggerated. Candidates could discuss whether it might have been possible for the ARVN to sustain the war and for South Vietnam to survive.

There is no set answer expected. Candidates will have to use what they know flexibly to consider the arguments that the overwhelming problems faced by the USA in defending the South might have made victory unlikely, and the counter view that failures can be exaggerated and that, in military terms, the task was not unachievable.

33 To what extent was Siam (Thailand) able to maintain independence before 1942 because of the abilities of its rulers?

AO1/AO2 – Siamese rulers were able to play off French and British rivalry in the region. Key concessions made by the Siamese government and agreements between France and Britain played their part. Other areas had been colonised earlier, like Java/Sumatra and the Philippines, or were closer, like Burma, to existing large British possessions. Candidates could refer to European internal issues or focus largely on Siam. King Mongkut and his successor, King Chulalongkura (Rama V; reigned 1868–1910), employed Western advisers to assist in the modernisation of the country's administration and commerce, and managed to maintain Siam's independence by playing off the British interests to the West and South against those of the French to the East. Anglo-French diplomatic agreements of 1896 and 1904 established Siam as a neutral buffer kingdom between the British territories of Burma and Malaya and French Indochina. Some territorial concessions were made by Siam in order to maintain its independence: the Laotian territories east of the River Mekong went to France along with the Cambodian provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap, while in 1909 rights to four Malay states of southern Siam were transferred to British Malaya. Though defeated by the Japanese, the ruler nevertheless made an alliance with them, offering support in return for help regaining lost territories. The changing situation after the First World War and the new world, in which colonial powers acquired lands on a mandate and faced nationalist unrest in existing colonies made them less interested in territorial acquisitions than had been the case before 1914. However, the Japanese needed control in Siam (Thailand) for the passage of troops and once again careful negotiation prevented total loss of independence – this time by the military dictator of Siam (Thailand) from 1938, Phibun Songkhram.

Here discussion will be about the diplomacy and concessions offered by the rulers, and about the circumstances in which great powers were anxious to maintain a balance of power in the region and use the threat of occupation to gain concessions. By 1940 the Japanese were willing to deal with the Siamese leaders to encourage a sense of South-east Asian solidarity against the colonial powers. The relative authority of the rulers allowed them to use circumstances to maintain a greater degree of independence than their neighbours.

34 Discuss the view that the federation of Malaysia was doomed to fail.

AO1/AO2 – The idea of a federation of Malaya, Brunei, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore was raised by the Malayan leader Abdul Rahman as an anti-communist measure in 1961. The danger of an independent Singapore which was dominated by Chinese as a base for Chinese domination of Malaya may have been behind the proposal. The federation would have economic and defence advantages but was resisted by the socialists in Singapore. There was opposition from Muslims in Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah, who feared Malay domination. Brunei withdrew after internal unrest and fears for the Sultan's oil revenues. Britain supported the merger, the Cobbold Commission recommended the merger of Sarawak and Sabah, and the Lansdowne Committee drew up a draft constitution. Fears of communist influence lay behind this, but British involvement raised suspicions of colonial domination. There was opposition from the Philippines and Indonesia to the merger, which was due to come into operation on 31 August 1963 – in the event fears that Sarawak was being compelled delayed the merger of Sarawak, Sabah, Malaya and Singapore. Indonesia supported a communist insurgency in Sarawak, fearing that Malaysia would be Western-dominated, and this lasted until 1966, putting a strain on the federation and increasing the rifts between the Chinese and Malays. Issues of education and unequal economic prosperity dogged the federation. The inclusion of Singapore swung the proportion of Chinese to Malay from 35%–40% Chinese to 55% Malays. There was some fear among conservative Malay politicians of the radical nature of Lee Kwan Yew's People's Action Party in Singapore. Demands for equality between the races, and threats to run PAP candidates in Malaya to get the support of the Chinese there, caused a rift between Abdul Rahman and Singapore. The policy of shifting economic power away from the Chinese also set up tensions and Singapore left the Federation in 1965.

The judgement is whether, given the disputes about the setting up of the federation, it had any chance of success or whether long-term racial differences, the diverse nature of the areas joined and the opposition of other powers in the region made its failure inevitable. Both Lee and Rahman saw advantages, both political and economic, and the scheme was strongly urged by Britain, so there is some basis for discussion. However, like other federations supported by Britain, this one failed.

35 What best explains the emergence of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines?

AO1/AO2 – From a privileged background, Marcos tried to enter politics in 1935 but was defeated for the Senate and was convicted of murdering his rival. Marcos was a victim of the death march from Bataan in 1941, escaped the prison camp and joined the resistance. He later claimed to have been a guerrilla leader, but that claim has been disputed. After a career as a member of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and after switching from the Liberal to the Nationalist party, he was elected President in 1965. The significance of his rise might be seen in the ability of a man with a possibly criminal past, who had been accused of lying about his war record and making fraudulent claims for compensation for war damage, and who had been openly opportunistic about his ambitions for power, to be elected on a programme of economic development, improved infrastructure and good government. One significant element in his policy was his clear support for the USA and their policies in South Vietnam. The key explanation will consist of why such a man could rise to power and establish a dictatorship. Until the declaration of martial law in 1972 there had been reforming measures and a degree of economic progress, Marcos was careful to appease the Catholic Church and had US support. There was fear of communist insurgency, and Marcos, for all his corruption, offered a bulwark against revolution. He was also careful to offer the prospect of a return to constitutional normality. The divisions of his opponents and the reliance on repression could be seen as explanations, together with the dominance of politics by essentially anti-communist conservative elements eager to maintain links with the USA.

Possible discussion could centre round Marcos's persuasive policy and popular appeal and the circumstances of the Philippines by the time of martial law in 1972.

36 How far does ideology explain the violence of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea?

AO1 – Candidates could explore Pol Pot's actions and how he framed them ideologically, for example: we are building socialism without a model; we do not wish to copy anyone; we shall use the experience gained in the course of the liberation struggle. There are no schools, faculties or universities in the traditional sense, although they did exist in our country prior to liberation, because we wish to do away with all vestiges of the past. There is no money, no commerce, as the state takes care of provisioning all its citizens. The cities have been resettled as this is the way things had to be. Some three million town dwellers and peasants were trying to find refuge in the cities from the depredations of war. We evacuated the cities; we resettled the inhabitants in the rural areas where the living conditions could be provided for this segment of the population of new Cambodia. The countryside should be the focus of attention of our revolution, and the people will decide the fate of the cities.

AO2 – The discussion is likely to be about whether the violence which claimed anywhere between one and two million lives was a form of Maoism, trying to create an ideal peasant society by eliminating those who were not necessary for this and waging a sort of Cultural Revolution class war on the bourgeoisie (extended to anyone who could read in some areas), and trying to create a 'year zero' by leaving major cities as ghost towns to rely on the peasants. However, Pol Pot's treatment of the peasants as virtual slave labour both before and after taking power casts some doubt on this. The ideology did not justify the extreme violence of the killing fields and the unremitting sadism and barbarity of the detention centres. The lack of an attempt to be reconciled with the communist regime in Vietnam and the subsequent war is difficult to reconcile with a desire for a new society, as is the paranoia about suspected opposition and the later acceptance by the Khymer Rouge of US aid. The takeover after five years of bitter guerrilla warfare and the brutalisation of the regime by heavy US bombing and years of conflict may explain the fanaticism and lack of humanity; or it may be a case of ideology being a mask for sheer evil.

Section 8: Themes: Asia c. 1750–2000**37 Assess the view that Indian weaknesses were not the main cause of the growth of British power in the subcontinent before 1857.**

AO1/AO2 – The East India Company was able to take advantage of the decline of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. His successors were inadequate and the Empire suffered foreign incursions from Persia in 1739 and Afghanistan in 1756. Both Britain and France allied with local rulers and the aims of the Company changed from purely economic to political power. Its wealth enabled the hire of indigenous troops. Dynamic British leadership in the form of Clive was a major factor. Skilful diplomacy won key support, for example from the Nawab of Bengal in 1757. The French were less dynamically led and less skilful in exploiting relations with Indian rulers. The attempts of Britain to regain Madras, taken by the French in 1746, led to an alliance with the Nawab of Arcot (or the Carnatic). His army of 10,000 horsemen was twice defeated by a much smaller force of French employing synchronised musketry and cannon, which revealed the military limitations of an Indian military system based on heavy cavalry. Both Britain and France, however, waged indirect warfare by supporting rival local rulers. British sea power was effective but the key campaign was in Bengal. The battle of Plassey (1757) was won by a mixture of intrigue and firepower and for nine years the company was able to dominate Bengal by proxy until directly installed – but even then with the support of factions within Bengal rather than direct conquest. However, there is discussion about whether the supposed disunity and chaos offered opportunities for Britain or whether it was deliberately provoked. The successes in Bengal were not a matter of concern in Delhi, which was under assault from Ahmad Shah Abdali and his Afghan forces, who returned in 1761 to defeat the maharats at Panipat. This violent foreign invasion may be more of a key to understanding conquest than internal disunity. However, key military events like the second Maharata War (1802–3) were undertaken in support of rival Indian claimants.

Elements which might be discussed include: the obvious disunity among the Indian rulers; the weaknesses of the Delhi empire after 1707; the military strength of the Europeans; the leadership of key figures like Clive, Hastings and Wellesley; the foreign invasions; and the acceptance of foreign conquest by Indians.

38 How far can the success of nationalism in Asia after 1945 be attributed to strong leaders?

AO1/AO2– Candidates could set personalities against wider influences. Sukarno was offered opportunities by the Japanese and virtually forced to declare independence by pressure from below, but he did bring experience of government and established principles of an independent Indonesia. Roxas of the Philippines also depended on collaboration with Japan, but had used the circumstances of occupation and then liberation. Here the whole context of an elite being influenced by the USA needs to be taken into account. Ho Chi Minh offered a different model of resistance to Japanese rule with his European education and Marxist philosophy. The factors of political commitment to a Marxist ideal and military development, which led to the defeat of the French, need to be balanced with Ho's inspirational leadership. In Burma, Aung San became President of the Anti-fascist People's Freedom League in August 1945 and was re-elected in that office at the first congress of the AFPFL held in January 1946, attended by more than 1,300 delegates from all over Burma and by nearly 100,000 people on its opening day. In October 1946, his outstanding efforts for Burma's independence made him a highly popular figure and accepted by the British. However, his efforts have to be seen in the context of a much wider move for independence in India, the effects of war and the rush by Mountbatten to pull out of the subcontinent as quickly as possible by 1947. It could be argued that in most cases the pre-war development of nationalism and then the impact of occupation and war were more significant or that, when linked to a strong ideology, leadership was more significant.

Candidates may consider the following: the context of the post-war period, with the over commitment of Britain and the USA; the weaknesses revealed by the Japanese victories of 1941–2; the changing economic situation in which colonial trade was less important; the burden of colonial defences; the greater political awareness of the peoples of Asia; and changes in public opinion in the west. Against this the leadership of nationalist figures was obviously very important and should be the main focus of the answer, even if it is argued that their importance was less than was claimed because of changing circumstances.

39 'Foreign intervention in Afghanistan has been unwise and unjustified.' Assess this view with reference to the period 1750–2000.

AO1 – The creation of the Durrani empire in the eighteenth century, encompassing a large area, including Pakistan, in an area where trade routes met different civilisations 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 in 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 from 1979 President Carter 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 interests of different powers in the region. Consistent support for the Mujahedeen was given by a USA concerned about its strategic interests in the region and seeing 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.

AO2 – There should be criteria established for justification: the defence of vital interests or maintenance of imperial defence; for prestige or to avenge misdeeds; to show other nations that imperial power was still strong. The lack of wisdom may be seen in the lack of a decisive outcome, in the cost and in the political unpopularity that followed. A thematic approach would be useful here but answers which address the issues in chronological sequence should not be penalised.

40 To what extent can foreign dominance in Manchu China be explained by Western military superiority?

AO1 – The isolation of the Qing dynasty from industrial and technical developments in the West meant that Chinese forces were not a match for the naval and military power of, first of all, Britain, and then of other states, which forced unequal treaties on the Empire. The Opium Wars (1839–42; 1856–60) between Britain and China showed China's weakness against European naval power and led to foreign powers, eager to trade with China, establishing so called concessions and treaty ports. Fifty of these ports had passed into foreign control, with foreigners being outside Chinese jurisdiction. The very protracted Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) led to the Manchus being dependent on foreign military support. The British 'unequal treaty' of Nanking in 1842 (with an additional treaty in 1843) was followed by similar treaties enforced by France, the USA and Russia. The treaty following the second Opium War (Tientsin) in 1860 confirmed China as a semi-colony. Claims by European powers increased in the later nineteenth century as Germany sought her 'place in the sun', and the rise of Japan saw another power eager to dominate China.

AO2 – 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 by Britain in the two Opium Wars, 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 have to 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 necessary 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 not 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 gained from 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.

41 'Religion created more instability than social cohesion in post-colonial Asia.' Discuss.

AO1/AO2 – Candidates may argue on the basis of religious conflicts, and some examples could include the clashes between Hindus and Muslims in India, not only immediately after independence, but with the development of both Islamic fundamentalism and Hindu nationalism, despite the ideals of a secular state with mutual toleration. The disputes between India and Pakistan have been a cause of instability for both countries. Other religious divides, for example in Myanmar, and divisions within the Islamic world could be explored. There are examples where religious divides have been contained or have not created instability, for example in Singapore, but the counter view would focus on areas where religion has been a unifying factor and has led to cohesion and shared purpose. This might be true, for example, of Brunei. It might be argued that in larger states with economic and social problems or a weaker central authority religious divides have been more of a symptom than a source of instability. The quality of exemplification will be an important element in assessing the discussion.

42 Assess the impact of Western aid to Asia during the period of the Cold War.

AO1/AO2 – From the end of the war to the end of 1953, the USA provided grants and credits amounting to \$5.9 billion to Asian countries, especially China/Taiwan (\$1.051 billion), India (\$255 million), Indonesia (\$215 million), Japan (\$2.44 billion), South Korea (\$894 million), Pakistan (\$98 million) and the Philippines (\$803 million). This was separate from the Marshall Plan but shared similar objectives. After 1950 aid to South Korea was increased and considerable sums went into Vietnam and South-east Asia. The impact that such large injections of aid had may be analysed in economic terms, in the promotion of social change, in the political support of anti-communist regimes and in the resentment at US dollar imperialism. It sometimes provoked the communist world to increase aid and support for opponents of the USA and had the effect of intensifying rivalry and the Cold War in Asia. Aid alone did not always achieve its political objectives, for example in Indonesia and South Vietnam there were significant indigenous communist movements. Aid opened the way to abuse and corruption in some areas like the Philippines. Where there was little real danger of a communist state as in Japan, aid cemented peace and encouraged stability and prosperity – but here it was favourable trading policies rather than direct aid that counted. Nevertheless, Japan benefited from US post-war assistance in rebuilding cities and infrastructure. Aid was used as a political weapon in Pakistan but at the cost of poor relations with India. It did not achieve political stability and in the end US policy could not support Pakistan in its repression of Bangladesh – so in terms of development and political influence, aid was something of a blunt instrument. In the end military power had to be used to support US interests in Asia and aid was of variable effectiveness. For individual countries its benefits and the way that it percolated through to the ordinary people were variable.

A thematic approach may be useful here in terms of what the various effects of western aid might have been. Attempts to consider the impact country by country may well lead to excessive description. The nature and extent of aid varied within the period and from country to country. If candidates restrict themselves to US aid, this would be acceptable, although France, Britain and the Netherlands did offer some aid to their former colonial possessions.

