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**HISTORY**

**9389/42**

Paper 4 Depth Study

**October/November 2018**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

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**Published**

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

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This document consists of **24** printed pages.

**Generic Marking Principles**

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

<p>GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:</p> <p>Marks must be awarded in line with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question</li><li>• the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question</li><li>• the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.</li></ul>
<p>GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:</p> <p>Marks awarded are always <b>whole marks</b> (not half marks, or other fractions).</p>
<p>GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:</p> <p>Marks must be awarded <b>positively</b>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate</li><li>• marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do</li><li>• marks are not deducted for errors</li><li>• marks are not deducted for omissions</li><li>• answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.</li></ul>
<p>GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:</p> <p>Rules must be applied consistently e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.</p>
<p>GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:</p> <p>Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).</p>
<p>GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:</p> <p>Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.</p>

**Generic Levels of Response**

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

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

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p><b>To what extent had the New Economic Policy solved Russia's economic problems by 1924?</b></p> <p>The response should contain a clear picture of why the NEP was set up, what it actually did and what its outcome was. There should also be an awareness of the nature and extent of what Russia's economic problems were after 1918.</p> <p>The economy had not been strong, although improving, in the years before the war, but the war had placed intolerable burdens on it and it had been a major reason for the collapse of both the Tsarist regime and the Provisional Government. War Communism had been a temporary measure to deal with survival in the Civil War, and had led to alienation of the peasantry. The problems ranged from famine, the loss of management skills, the inexperience of the Bolsheviks in managing the economy, the commitment to a command economy, inflation, and a country ravaged by war which had lost some of its most productive and fertile regions.</p> <p>The NEP, where the government retained ultimate control of major industries, permitted private enterprise at the lower levels and in the countryside and turned a blind eye to the employment of former managers. As a temporary measure, it worked. The famine ended and the Bolshevik regime survived. Historical opinion suggests that it was a solution, but only a short-term one which kept capitalism at a 'lower' level and tried to mix it with socialism at a 'higher' level; it was thus a failure. Arguably it did provide a feasible solution, as it was not dissimilar to the system which had existed in Russia before 1914, but given the ideology of the new regime, it was not going to last.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>How far do you agree that Mussolini achieved little of significance after 1924?</b></p> <p>While Mussolini was very capable of creating propaganda achievements, there was not a great deal of substance there.</p> <p>The Corfu and Trieste affairs could also feature here as well as the creation of the ‘new’ Roman Empire. Responses are likely to mention the various ‘battles’, but there will need to be valid comment on what they actually achieved. The ‘significant’ achievements aspect is straightforward to debate, ideally with reflection on what might constitute something of ‘significance’ in this context. On the one hand, there was a degree of political stability after turmoil. A deal was done with the Church, and its long-standing hostility to the Italian State declined. A degree of industrial peace returned to the North and Italy did not suffer the economic disasters which affected countries like Germany.</p> <p>It was, however, starting from a much lower base. Locarno raised Italy’s status abroad and there was a general degree of support for his regime. It could be argued that he did not have to use the methods of Stalin and Hitler to retain power. However, it could also be argued that there were no ‘real’ achievements. The ‘battles’ were counterproductive. Italy had to import food. The Pontine Marshes money could have been far more profitably invested elsewhere. Nothing was done to deal with the appalling poverty in the South. The Corporate State was a limited idea which was never seriously implemented and the Italian State remained corrupt and inefficient. Once war came, the serious underlying failings of his regime were sharply revealed.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p data-bbox="316 248 1034 282"><b>How far did Stalin’s social policies benefit women?</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 315 1278 383">As with so many aspects of Soviet life under Stalin, there was a great gap between theory and practice.</p> <p data-bbox="316 416 371 450"><b>Yes</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 454 1286 752">The revolution had brought about a radical change in social attitudes and women were great beneficiaries of this change. There was to be no automatic obedience to husbands, divorce was legalised and women had the same rights as men in this respect. Abortion was available on demand and contraception was not illegal (if usually unavailable). Women had the vote and the same rights to employment and education as men. Lenin had wanted to increase the number of women in the workforce, and between 1920 and 1930 the number had risen from c.500 000 to 1 million. Under Stalin, women became nearly 50% of the workforce.</p> <p data-bbox="316 786 1299 1084">Legal equality was retained under Stalin and this was made clear in the 1936 Constitution. Education, including Higher Education, was available to women and it was free. Healthcare improved for all, especially children. Large numbers of women were employed in areas such as education and healthcare (doctors as well as nurses), but also many became engineers and technicians as well. The later 1930s also brought in child maintenance, bonuses for women who had more than 6 children, and crèches became a requirement in most factories and collective farms. Maternity leave and pay became a right as well.</p> <p data-bbox="316 1122 357 1155"><b>No</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 1160 1262 1357">Stalin was much more conservative than Lenin in social matters, and the evidence suggests he was personally quite vicious in his treatment of women. His primary concern was to increase the workforce and its productivity. Abortion was made illegal in the 1930s and divorce became much more difficult. His concern was with control, and he also needed a stable society with lots of children for the army and workforce.</p> <p data-bbox="316 1391 1313 1688">Women invariably had lower pay and never attained the higher ranks of any profession. He was fully prepared to kill women during the purges and also to use them as a means of ensuring the reliability of their husbands. Beria was known to torture women in front of their husbands in order to secure the latter’s ‘confessions’. Over 100 000 women were ‘purged’ and unknown numbers died in the camps. The lack of investment in consumer products and housing inevitably hit women exceptionally hard. The artificially created famines in areas such as the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, for example, killed more women than men.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p data-bbox="316 248 1297 315"><b>‘Hitler’s control over Germany was based largely on popular support.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 349 1225 416">The focus of responses should be on what enabled Hitler to dominate Germany, make policy, and control so many aspects of German life.</p> <p data-bbox="316 450 1313 752">Certainly, there was an element of consent and active support in it. His party had become the biggest single party in the Reichstag. He had been offered the Chancellorship by Hindenburg in the correct way. The Enabling Act had passed the Reichstag. There was obvious consent there. In addition, there was a clear mandate from the majority of Germans that he had to solve the depression, get Germany back to work and restore its international standing. There clearly was ‘consent’ there. Elites, such as the army officers and the industrialists, agreed with many parts of what he said he would and did do, from rearmament to dealing with the unions and Communists.</p> <p data-bbox="316 786 1313 987">On the other hand, a variety of other factors could be considered. There was propaganda and indoctrination, both impressively managed for their time. There was the use of terror. He was a highly effective orator, although its importance declined in the 1930s. There was no great tradition of opposition in Germany. Support for an authoritarian regime ran deep in German history.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>Assess the impact of increasing economic prosperity on the USA in the 1950s.</b></p> <p>American Gross National Product grew by more than one third in the 1950s, based on a boom in consumer goods and US defence expenditure. Assessment of the impact of these economic changes falls into two broad schools: optimistic and pessimistic.</p> <p>Evidence that the increased prosperity of the 1950s benefited the USA includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More people enjoyed the benefits of mass consumer goods, e.g. refrigerators, televisions and automobiles, and mass entertainment via transistor radios and vinyl records.</li> <li>• More people were in work. In the 1950s, average unemployment was less than 5%, historically low. This benefited all social groups, including the traditionally disadvantaged, such as African Americans, especially those who moved north.</li> <li>• More people lived in more spacious housing as they moved to the suburbs and exurbs.</li> <li>• More people lived longer as life expectancy rose to almost 70.</li> </ul> <p>Evidence that the increased prosperity of the 1950s had some less welcome consequences includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The growth of suburbia, sometimes associated with white flight, was at the expense of downtown areas, which suffered neglect, as often revealed in the 1960s.</li> <li>• Some regions and groups did lose out, e.g. African Americans, especially if with limited education and/or living in the South – and 60% of African Americans still lived in the South.</li> <li>• Some groups, e.g. religious, were concerned that the focus on material consumption, with mass advertising, might undermine traditional US values.</li> </ul>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>How great was the impact of the feminist movement of the 1960s on US government policies?</b></p> <p>The feminist movement of the 1960s, often called ‘second wave feminism’, had a broad set of aims, from social and economic reforms to personal and family issues.</p> <p>Evidence that the feminist movement had a considerable impact on government policies includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President Kennedy quickly established a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women [1961], chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. The Commission helped:</li> <li>• Congress to pass the Equal Pay Act, 1963.</li> <li>• To ensure that the 1964 Civil Rights Act applied to women as well as a range of minorities.</li> <li>• The federal government to introduce affirmative action for women in 1967.</li> <li>• The Supreme Court to pass the Rose vs Wade judgement [1973], making abortion legal in certain instances.</li> </ul> <p>Evidence that feminists had a limited impact on government policies includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Failure to gain sufficient support from Congress and states to pass the Equal Rights Amendment [ERA].</li> <li>• President Nixon’s veto of a 1972 bill which would have provided comprehensive childcare.</li> <li>• The limited impact of innovative policies introduced by JFK and LBJ. Improving the status and rights of women required a change in social culture as much as in government policy.</li> </ul>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>Assess the domestic record of the Reagan presidency.</b></p> <p>President Reagan's record is much praised by conservative historians and criticised by liberals, if with some qualification – usually concerning foreign policy. His domestic record is more debateable. Some actions can be placed on both sides of the argument.</p> <p>Positive features of Reagan's presidency include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sustained economic growth: the longest peacetime boom, 1982–90, linked with tax cuts, 1981 and 1986.</li> <li>• After the gloomy 1970s, Reagan, the 'great communicator', led this prosperity and made the USA believe in itself again.</li> <li>• Appointment of the first female Supreme Court judge: Sandra Day O'Connor, 1981.</li> </ul> <p>Aspects of Reagan's domestic policy which are usually criticised include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Growth in the federal budget deficit and US debt as he borrowed to spend on defence and welfare payments.</li> <li>• His responses to two epidemics – crack cocaine and AIDS. On crack, the 'war on drugs' became seen as aimed at young African Americans. On AIDS, the response was too slow and ineffective.</li> <li>• His attempt to appoint Robert Bork as US Supreme Court judge, 1987.</li> </ul> <p>On both sides of the argument:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The dismissal of federal air traffic controllers, 1981, weakening labour union power but making for a more flexible labour force.</li> </ul>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b>How important was George Kennan to the development of the strategy of containment?</b></p> <p>George Kennan was the US diplomat who first argued that the USSR was essentially expansionist and needed to be contained. He wrote two influential articles: the <i>Long Telegram</i> [from Moscow], February 1946, and an anonymous article, <i>The Sources of Soviet Conduct</i>, published in June 1947.</p> <p>Arguments for the importance of Kennan to the policy of containment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His time in Moscow and his two articles gave an historical and intellectual justification for the developing US policy towards the USSR. He played an important role in the development of the Marshall Plan in 1947–48, the economic strategy to contain the USSR in Eastern Europe.</li> </ul> <p>However, in 1948–49 he fell out with the new Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, over the military aspect of US policy towards the USSR, especially the formation of NATO and the development of the hydrogen bomb.</p> <p>Arguments against the importance of George Kennan to the policy of containment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President Truman, helped by Dean Acheson, ultimately decided the strategy of containment in its several forms, as expressed in NSC–68.</li> <li>• Soviet actions of 1948–49 undermined Kennan’s analysis that the USSR was not a serious threat to US interests.</li> </ul>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b>Compare and contrast the strategies used by Presidents Johnson and Nixon in their handling of the Vietnam War.</b></p> <p>The strategies adopted by the two presidents were, in many ways, dictated by circumstances. Johnson is often blamed for committing the USA to the war in Vietnam, but he faced a difficult decision: either pull out of Vietnam entirely, which would have damaged the USA’s international prestige and would have been unpopular with American public opinion, or honour Kennedy’s commitment to South Vietnam by increasing American involvement.</p> <p>Assuming that the Vietcong were controlled by Ho Chi Minh, he ordered the bombing of North Vietnam in the hope that Ho would call off his campaign. He also increased American military support to South Vietnam, over half a million US troops being sent there. As public opinion in the USA turned against involvement in the war and it became clear that the USA could not win the war at any reasonable cost, he suspended the bombing of North Vietnam, froze troop levels and sought a negotiated peace.</p> <p>With negotiations achieving little, Nixon realised that a different approach was required. By now, public opinion would not have allowed him to send more troops to Vietnam. He adopted the strategy of ‘Vietnamisation’ – the USA would train and equip the South Vietnamese army to defend South Vietnam, thereby allowing the gradual withdrawal of US troops. At the same time, however, he repeated Johnson’s strategy of bombing North Vietnam. He also ordered the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail through Laos and Cambodia. This was intended to prevent troops and supplies coming from North Vietnam and to strengthen the USA’s negotiating position. Nixon was now under intense pressure, both domestically and internationally, to withdraw from Vietnam.</p> <p>Nixon eventually acknowledged that there was no monolithic plot, orchestrated by the USSR and China, to dominate the world – an acceptance that the USA’s interpretation of the Vietnam War had been wrong. All American troops were withdrawn from Vietnam. By 1975, Vietnam became united under a communist government. Communist governments were also formed in Laos and Cambodia.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p><b>To what extent was the rise of neo-conservatism in the USA responsible for the onset of the ‘Second Cold War’?</b></p> <p><b>Yes</b> As the USA regained its confidence following the humiliating defeat in Vietnam, many right-wingers became increasingly critical of détente. They argued that increasing Soviet influence in the Third World (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia) showed that the USSR still had ambitions to spread communism. Moreover, they were troubled by the USSR’s continued violation of human rights, in contravention of the Helsinki Accords. Neo-conservatives argued for a more forceful approach to the USSR, which would involve resuming the arms race in order to exploit the USA’s technological and economic superiority.</p> <p>When, in November 1979, Islamic militants occupied the US Embassy in Teheran, the USA’s apparent impotence in world affairs was exposed. This gained support for the right-wing view that the USA should adopt a firmer stance against aggressors, including the USSR. Even President Carter, normally perceived as preferring negotiation to confrontation with the USSR, increased arms supplies to non-communist groups in the developing world (e.g. El Salvador, Nicaragua) in order to prevent the spread of Soviet influence. Even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it was clear that the US Senate would refuse to ratify the SALT II Treaty.</p> <p><b>No</b> Opposition to détente was also growing within the USSR. There was increasing unease over the criticism directed at the USSR over the Helsinki Accords and the impact which this might have over Soviet control of Eastern Europe. The Soviet military was also encouraging an increase in arms in order to support Soviet policy in the developing world and to strengthen its position against the USA. The Soviet government lacked firm direction as a result of Brezhnev’s illness; this slowed down negotiations with the West (making it easier for American right-wingers to argue in favour of a firmer stance with the USSR) and made it easier for the Soviet military to argue its case.</p> <p>Despite this, both the USA and the USSR remained committed to détente, as evidenced by the fact that Carter and Brezhnev signed the SALT II Treaty in June 1979. It was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 which ended détente and began the ‘Second Cold War’. Carter immediately withdrew SALT II from the Senate, cut off trade contacts with the USSR and encouraged a boycott of the Moscow Olympics of 1980. He also ordered an immediate increase in the USA’s arms spending. The invasion of Afghanistan became a key issue in the US presidential election of 1980, which led to the inauguration of President Reagan, a staunch right-winger who hated communism.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p><b>'His achievements far outweighed his mistakes.'</b> How far do you agree with this assessment of Mao Zedong?</p> <p><b>Agree</b> China was in a far better position in 1970 than it had been when Mao became its leader in 1949. In 1949, China, a vast country with over 600 million people, was in a chaotic state following civil war and the long war with Japan. He created a constitution (formally adopted in 1954) which provided China with an efficient central government. His policy of land redistribution and cooperatives was carried out with less force than had occurred in Russia and improved China's agricultural output. As a result of the Five-Year Plan (1953), full communications were restored across China and inflation was under control.</p> <p>Realising that heavy industry was not the best way forward for China, he instituted the Great Leap Forward; despite early problems, labour-intensive industry was arguably the best way for China to develop its economy. As a result of the Great Leap Forward, education and social welfare were improved, as was the position of women.</p> <p>By 1970, China had developed into a nuclear power, with a healthy economy and improving relations with the West. Mao had made mistakes along the way. For example, the initial Five-Year Plan, with its emphasis on heavy industry, was inappropriate for China; Mao corrected this error with the Great Leap Forward. Similarly, the Hundred Flowers Campaign, designed to encourage positive criticism, backfired, forcing Mao to deal harshly with dissidents.</p> <p><b>Disagree</b> The quote in the question reflects the biased assessment of the CCP and, indeed, Deng Xiaoping's suggestion that Mao was '70% good; 30% bad'. Much of the criticism of Mao relates to his insistence on the maintenance of a one-party form of government. Since Deng also insisted on this, and since his own position as party leader was contested, it is inevitable that he should have some praise for Mao while at the same time criticising some of Mao's actions.</p> <p>It was Mao's insistence on the one-party system which caused so much criticism during the Hundred Flowers Campaign. It has been argued that this campaign was deliberately established by Mao to identify and deal with would-be dissidents. The creation of cooperatives was not as peaceful as some have suggested, there being the possibility that at least 2 million Chinese were killed as a result of it. Mao's initial Five-Year Plan was totally unsuited to the situation in China, while his attempt to adapt Soviet strategies to the situation in China during the Great Leap Forward proved a disaster, leading to famine.</p> <p>Forced to resign as Chairman of the People's Congress, Mao insisted that others were to blame. Mao's determination to maintain his view of communism and avoid the revisionism for which he criticised the USSR led to the Cultural Revolution. This caused enormous disruption, ruined millions of lives, held up China's economic development by at least ten years and brought the country to the verge of civil war.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p><b>Analyse the causes of the Gulf War (1990–91).</b></p> <p>The simplistic view is that the Gulf War was caused by Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait. His claim that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq was blatantly false, and it was clear that his real motive was to exploit the wealth derived from Kuwait’s oil wells in order to solve Iraq’s major financial problems following the Iran-Iraq War. The unprovoked and unjustifiable invasion caused an international outcry and, following Saddam’s refusal to back down despite frantic diplomatic efforts, over 30 nations mounted Operation Desert Storm under the auspices of the UN.</p> <p>Deeper analysis suggests that the causes of the war were rather more complex than simply a multi-national response to an invasion which transgressed international justice. The Arab states which supported the UN action (Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt) were more concerned about their own security from Saddam’s aggressive actions than they were about defending Kuwait. The Western great powers were more concerned about the threat which the invasion of Kuwait posed to their oil supplies and economic wellbeing than they were about the fate of Kuwait.</p> <p>For example, the USA viewed a united Iraq as vital to stability in the Middle East and, therefore, perceived Saddam Hussein as a stabilising influence. As a result, the USA had taken no action when Saddam brutally suppressed the Shias and the Kurds in Iraq. Moreover, the USA had actively supported Saddam throughout Iraq’s war with Iran, which had become a major threat to American interests following the declaration of its Islamic Republic under Ayatollah Khomeini in 1979. Therefore, the USA had no political reason to oppose Saddam and, indeed, every reason to want him to remain in power in a united Iraq.</p> <p>However, Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait meant that Saddam would control too much of the oil on which the industrial West depended. It was for this reason that President Bush, with strong support from Britain’s Prime Minister (Thatcher) and other Western leaders, decided that Iraqi troops should be removed from Kuwait. Once this had been achieved, Saddam was allowed to remain in power with much of his army intact. It remained in the USA’s best interests to ensure that Iraq remained strong enough to prevent an increase in the power of Iran. Moreover, the West believed that taking stronger action against Saddam would further lead to resentment amongst many Arab states and further destabilise the Middle East.</p> <p>That Operation Desert Storm was mounted under the auspices of the UN gave it an air of respectability, enabling it to be perceived as a way of protecting a small and defenceless country against a brutal invader in the interests of international justice. However, it is also necessary to analyse the underlying motives of those countries which contributed to the Operation in order to gain a full understanding of the causes of the war.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p><b>Why was the struggle for independence in Africa after 1945 more violent in some colonies than others?</b></p> <p>Focus: responses should identify which countries faced a violent struggle and assess how they were different from those where independence was peaceful. At least two examples are required.</p> <p>The best examples of a violent struggle are the Mau Mau in Kenya and the guerrilla wars in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe (British colonies), Angola and Mozambique (Portuguese colonies). After WWII, both Britain and France accepted the need for increased political representation in their colonies. Colonies in West Africa had had much longer contact with Europe and were more developed. Although the rise in African nationalism, with mass parties and charismatic leaders, brought independence much sooner than expected, it was generally peaceful. This shows that the attitude of the colonial power and pressure from African nationalists were both important.</p> <p>Britain expected East and Central Africa would only become independent in the next generation once they had become more developed. The situation in Kenya and Rhodesia was complicated by sizeable white settler populations. In Kenya, much of the land in the White Highlands was lost to the Kikuyu people. In Rhodesia, over half the good land was allocated to whites. Land shortage and issues like forced labour and taxation caused resentment. The Mau Mau revolt (1952–56) required British troops to crush it. The expense and brutality involved helped convince Britain to grant independence more quickly. Kenya became independent in 1963.</p> <p>By 1964, the remaining British colonies had achieved independence with the exception of Rhodesia. Here, the white government had been self-governing since 1923, so Britain had less control. When UDI was declared in 1965, violence became inevitable. It was only in 1980, after years of guerrilla warfare, that Zimbabwe was created.</p> <p>Portugal was controlled by the dictator Salazar until his overthrow in 1975. He regarded Portugal's colonies as an integral part of Portugal and any political activity was suppressed. Angola and Mozambique were drawn into the Cold War with their rival guerrilla armies being supported by Russia, China and the USA, which provided weapons and exacerbated the violence.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p><b>Assess the importance of the influence of the USSR on post-independence Africa.</b></p> <p>Focus: responses need to assess the philosophical influence, the contribution to development and the political impact of the USSR, especially during the Cold War. Examples should be given.</p> <p>The ideology of the USSR was hostile to colonialism. In <i>'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism'</i>, Lenin predicted the collapse of capitalism and the advent of socialism. Many independent African leaders were attracted by some form of socialism. Nkrumah favoured scientific socialism, but Nyerere favoured a more 'African' version in the Ujamaa movement. Africa was primarily agricultural, and many leaders were impressed by Stalin's rapid industrialisation of the 1930s. The USSR tried to encourage socialist revolution in Africa with little success. They did not fully understand that this was only one of several influences and did not appreciate the desire of new states to be 'non-aligned'.</p> <p>Under Khrushchev, the Lumumba University opened in Moscow and many scholarships were offered to gain degrees. Students were indoctrinated as well, but with varying degrees of success. Some students encountered racism and hostility in Russia. The USSR provided little aid in the form of money or equipment, but it did send technicians (Sekou Toure of Guinea welcomed them after de Gaulle withdrew all aid in 1958).</p> <p>Some leaders, such as Nkrumah and Sekou Toure, were friendly and visited Russia, but it was Lumumba in the Congo who, in 1960, threatened to invite Soviet troops to help him defeat Katanga. At a tense time in the Cold War, this alarmed the CIA and the UN which had already sent a peace-keeping force. Lumumba's erratic behaviour and his brutality led to his arrest and murder. When Mobutu seized power in 1965, the USA supported him despite his corruption.</p> <p>The USSR was most influential in Ethiopia under Mengistu, who came to power after the overthrow of Haile Selassie in 1974. He used the language of Marxist-Leninism and attempted to apply Soviet policies to agriculture and industry. He ruled brutally with the use of 'Red terror'. Initially he ignored the big famine of 1984, then with Soviet help launched a huge resettlement scheme with little preparation. Thousands died. Soviet weapons were used in his wars against Somalia and Eritrea. In 1991, when the USSR collapsed, he fled into exile in Zimbabwe.</p> <p>The USSR helped in the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, supporting the MPLA in Angola and Frelimo in Mozambique. In Rhodesia, it supported Mugabe and ZANU. Again, these new states used Marxist rhetoric, but they did not set up fully socialist states. This shows that the Soviet impact speeded liberation, but was limited in its influence on the policies of the new states.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p><b>How far did independence bring about social change in Africa? Answer with reference to any <u>one</u> country you have studied.</b></p> <p>Focus: responses should establish what is meant by ‘social change’ and then examine its developments and limitations in the country of their choice. Detailed knowledge of the chosen country is required.</p> <p>Social change can involve a range of factors: education, health, employment, the role of women, migration, religion, social structure, the urban/rural divide, living and working conditions and other similar factors. Responses should deal with some of these factors.</p> <p>At the time of independence, all leaders intended to develop the economy and improve the lives of ordinary people. However, this was more easily said than done. The colonial economies were based on the export of agricultural raw materials with little industry or manufacture. Infrastructure was undeveloped. Rates of literacy and numeracy were low and there was little skilled labour. New governments were inexperienced and were most concerned with remaining in power. In some states, tribal, ethnic and religious divisions created problems or some regions were more developed than others. Mineral resources were frequently controlled by foreign companies. Few new states were economically viable.</p> <p>In the 1960s, there was adequate rainfall and world prices for commodities were good. However, by the 1970s rainfall failed and the price of commodities on the world market fell. At the same time, oil prices rose. This put governments under severe economic pressure. That, combined with inefficiency and corruption, made development difficult.</p> <p>Coups and civil wars disrupted social development. All social change was limited by the rapid growth in population. The use of statistics can be helpful in this question. Changes within factors should be identified. For example, some new governments introduced free schooling, but later had to bring back fees.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p><b>Which of these leaders was more significant in developing greater African unity: Nkrumah <u>or</u> Haile Selassie?</b></p> <p>Focus: responses need to compare and contrast the roles of Nkrumah and Haile Selassie in the development of African unity. A clear judgement is required.</p> <p>Both Nkrumah and Haile Selassie were prominent African personalities. Nkrumah had developed the first mass nationalist party and, in 1957, led Ghana to independence. Haile Selassie, as Emperor of Ethiopia since 1930, had faced an Italian invasion, been deposed, and then restored to the throne of an independent Ethiopia in 1941. He became a spokesperson for resistance to European colonial rule. Both were much admired.</p> <p>Nkrumah lived in Britain at the end of WWII and attended the 5th Pan African Congress in Manchester in 1945. From this time, his aims were to promote the liberation of colonies, focus on resources needed for development, gain funding from overseas agencies and work towards a political union of Africa. He was a charismatic speaker and both during his rise to power and after independence, promoted the idea of a united states of Africa. He saw himself as leading Africa in political, economic and cultural integration. In 1958, the All Africa People's Conference was held in Accra and was attended by many current and future leaders.</p> <p>However, by 1960, other states were gaining independence and resented Nkrumah's arrogance. They were also reluctant to weaken their new sovereignty. Both Nkrumah and Haile Selassie were founder members of the Non-Aligned Movement, founded in Belgrade in 1961, and this idea was added to Pan-Africanism.</p> <p>In 1961, there was a split between the radical Casablanca Group (Ghana, Guinea, Egypt, Mali, Morocco, Libya and the Algerian government-in-exile), who tended to be militant and socialist, and the Monrovia Group (former French colonies, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia and Sierra Leone) who favoured a loose confederation with voluntary participation in economic and cultural exchanges. They opposed interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, but both groups agreed in promoting the liberation of remaining colonies and Non-Alignment.</p> <p>The OAU was finally set up in 1963 at Addis Ababa, hosted by Haile Selassie. Its constitution was a compromise which favoured the Monrovia position. By 1963, Nkrumah's influence was waning. As well as being critical of the ideas and policies of his neighbours, he had permitted subversive groups to establish bases in Ghana and was implicated in the assassination of Togo's President Olympio. After Nkrumah's fall from power in 1966, there was less emphasis on continental unity. Several later conferences were held in Addis Ababa.</p> <p>It could be argued Nkrumah achieved more in his promotion of African unity, while Haile Selassie was a conservative brake on its development. Much later criticism of the OAU focused on its inability to intervene in internal crises.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p><b>Assess the impact of Japanese political concessions in Southeast Asia after 1942.</b></p> <p>Though dependent on repression in some areas, the Japanese did try to effect some political cooperation, and the issue is whether this was limited and led nowhere or whether it did divide opinion in occupied countries and even promote post-war nationalism. Concessions might be seen in encouraging nationalist parties – the Indonesian Nationalist Party; the Philippines Nationalist Party; the Malayan Nationalist movement; the Cambodian Khmer Nationalist movement; and the ‘We Burmans Association’.</p> <p>Also there was cooperation with some anti-Western leaders, with the high point perhaps as the Tokyo Conference attended by Ba Mau of Burma, Prince Wan of Thailand and the puppet Philippines leader. The cooperation by some elite groups could be seen as the Japanese making effective concessions to local influential groups, and in 1945 there was a rush to establish legitimate local regimes in the Empire of Vietnam, Kampuchea and the Kingdom of Laos. Propaganda stressed shared opposition to the West and modernisation.</p> <p>The impact has been seen in the development of post-war nationalism. In the short term, the impact might be seen more in terms of divide and rule. There was little real social and economic development as a result of concessions and there was limited disappointment in seeing the end of Japanese rule. There is a debate about how far Japanese concessions made much difference in terms of continuity. Some may argue that it was less a case of political concession as simply humiliating the previous colonial masters that was the key impact and that concessions were superficial. Others see the concessions that gave nationalist groups greater prominence as making a major impact in preparation for independent nationhood.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p data-bbox="316 248 1155 315"><b>How much did the legacy of colonial rule affect the political development of Myanmar/Burma after 1948?</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 349 1315 483">This may be seen in terms of racial divisions and suppression of any political activity making it harder for democratic politicians to avoid being seen as leading to disunity. Alternatively, political development may be seen to have been affected by elements not connected with the colonial past.</p> <p data-bbox="316 517 1305 786">In economic terms, the colonial legacy has been seen to affect Burma's development. The new rulers rejected the key elements of colonial economic policy and the dominance of Indian capital and entrepreneurs. Economic problems impacted on political development in terms of poverty, especially inequality of regional development. The division of Burma after 1885 into Ministerial areas and Scheduled frontier territories perpetuated divides. The exclusion of Burmans from major positions in the armed forces tended to increase resentment.</p> <p data-bbox="316 819 1286 954">British rule also created a Eurasian elite. Thus the elements of divide and rule and the disruption of traditional economic life with a trade-orientated capitalism dependent on Indian management and capital could be seen to have laid the basis for post-independent divisions and political problems.</p> <p data-bbox="316 987 1305 1223">However, the increasing role of the army and the ongoing divisions can be seen to be developments which ran counter to British traditions. Burma was administered as a province of India until 1937 and post-independence India maintained democratic traditions more consistently than Myanmar, which resorted to military rule increasingly since 1962. Myanmar's political handling of ethnic divisions may not be attributable to the colonial inheritance.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p><b>How effectively did Laos respond to changing political circumstances after 1991?</b></p> <p>The collapse of European Communism meant a readjustment by the leaders of Laos, but there had been economic liberalisation since 1979. However, the largest donor of aid had been the USSR, so there was a need to change to meet new circumstances. This meant negotiating financial assistance from France, Japan, the World Bank and the Asian development bank. This changed circumstances considerably as here were conditions of economic and political change.</p> <p>New leaders less linked to the old Communist world came to power, which helped the transition. There were greater links with Thailand – economically and physically with the construction of bridges. In order for these to be effective, restrictions on trade and investment were lifted. Thai investment was encouraged and exiles returned. The closed Communist world opened to encourage mass tourism.</p> <p>However, there have been problems in moving away from dependence on agriculture. The room for manoeuvre has been limited by increasing dependence on Thai economic expansion as Thailand is the major market for timber and hydroelectricity. Also, on the Chinese model the Communist party has retained political power and control while freeing the economy. Some may see this as successful management of change – prosperity and greater links with other countries have not involved the growth of opposition or substantial demand for any real choice in political terms. Others may see a political inflexibility that has not kept pace with economic change.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p data-bbox="316 248 1251 315"><b>Assess the reasons why some Southeast Asian countries became ‘Tiger economies’ while others did not.</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 349 1315 618">The Tiger economies have been seen as Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea. Their rise coincided with global economic growth in the 1960s. After the end of the Korean War, a period of peace coincided with some key technology developments such as developing air travel. Countries like Singapore, with developed ports and economies based on trade, were well placed to take advantage. Internal stability, government supported investment in infrastructure and strong education systems to provide management and technical support for growth helped.</p> <p data-bbox="316 651 1315 786">Singapore’s strategic position boosted its development of finance. The development of electronics was well suited to low cost, high expertise export-led economies. Careful financial policies have allowed the build-up of savings for capital and confidence internationally.</p> <p data-bbox="316 819 1305 1055">In contrast, countries with political instability, internal insurgencies (Philippines) or reliance on military rule (Burma) without the international confidence to develop financial growth or exports based on high quality manufacturing based on good technical education (Indonesia) have not had such high levels of growth. Some explanations might stress social stability and discipline; others, the ability to develop and profit from new technology. Better answers may attempt to prioritise and assess explanations.</p>	30