

---

**HISTORY**

**9389/43**

Paper 4 Depth Study

**October/November 2018**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

---

**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.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge International will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

Cambridge International is publishing the mark schemes for the October/November 2018 series for most Cambridge IGCSE™, Cambridge International A and AS Level components and some Cambridge O Level components.

---

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.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:**

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:**

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:**

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:**

Rules must be applied consistently e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:**

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:**

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

**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>‘The Reds had the better military leadership.’ To what extent does this explain the outcome of the Civil War in Russia?</b></p> <p>The focus of the response should be on explaining the outcome of the Civil War: why the Bolsheviks won.</p> <p>The quality of the respective military leaders clearly played an important part. Trotsky’s leadership was vital in both creating and then leading the Red Army. He attracted some of the more able of the Tsarist commanders and utilised them rather than shooting them, such as Tukhachevsky. Geography played a key part, with the Bolsheviks operating from the ‘centre’ and the Whites having to try and co-ordinate from the outer reaches of the vastness of Russia. While the Whites had Allied support, it ultimately proved quite limited and made the Whites vulnerable to the charge of ‘treason’. This gave the Reds the chance to play the ‘nationalism’ card. Red propaganda was much more effective than White, and they also had clear objectives which, in theory at least, aimed to benefit the Russian people as a whole.</p> <p>There was never a clear and united White objective. Some of the White leadership were transparently ambitious. There was no leader to rally around once the Tsar and his family had been executed, and the Tsar had hardly been an inspiring leader during his reign. The Bolsheviks were ruthless when necessary and, while that did alienate some, Lenin ensured that some restraint was applied where needed. The NEP managed to assuage many fears and deal with the alienation that War Communism had engendered. The war had caused chaos and the ‘Whites’ could be blamed for it, and with disease and malnutrition killing c.10 million in the years after the war, the Reds seemed to have a better way of recovery than the Whites. The way in which Lenin dealt with the various nationalities in both the European and Asian parts of Russia could also be mentioned.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>‘Propaganda is more important than repression in explaining Mussolini’s long tenure of power in Italy.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>The focus of the response should be on identifying the reasons why Mussolini was able to stay so long in power in Italy, and then giving reasons which might be seen as the most important ones and why. Prioritisation is expected.</p> <p>Certainly propaganda played a part, although compared with the Germans it was crude and never as effective, and many Italians were far too intelligent to be much influenced by it. Repression played a part, but when compared with such fellow dictators as Hitler, Stalin and Franco, there was minimal use. Expect the murder of Matteotti to be quoted, but he was one of the few killed. Exile and castor oil was more likely, and while barbaric methods were used against locals in Libya, East Africa and Yugoslavia, they were never used in Italy. There was broad support by the elites, such as the Church hierarchy, Northern industrialists, the Army and southern landowners, as Mussolini largely supported them and never harmed their interests unwittingly.</p> <p>There was little opposition to, and broad support for, the regime. He was tolerated rather than admired and never engendered the enthusiasm that Hitler was able to. He did what he could to restore Italy’s prestige and there were notable ‘victories’, in Abyssinia, for example. There was no apparent alternative. He was able to use his considerable control over the media to place a focus on what he felt were his triumphs. His deal with the Papacy was important and played an important part in removing a possible opponent. Mussolini knew when to compromise, as he did over education and the Church’s influence in this area.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>‘The main reason for the purges was to remove Stalin’s rivals for power.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>The focus of the response should be on the principal reasons for the purges which Stalin led in Russia in the 1930s.</p> <p>Certainly there was a preventive element to it all, but the extent to which it was the prime motive, or just one which emerged later, is much debated. A whole range of factors can be considered. There was a feeling that both the First Five-Year Plan and collectivisation had been partly failures, and there needed to be someone to blame. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the leadership at the lack of progress towards the model state which had been promised as the outcome of the Revolution. Stalin and other leaders had doubts about the loyalty of many and this was a way of stamping out disloyalty and ensuring support through fear.</p> <p>Terror was not new to Russia. Tsars had used it in the Russification process and in their anti-Jewish pogroms. Lenin and Dzerzhinsky had led the way and ‘wreckers’ and ‘saboteurs’ had been punished in the 1920s. It was the scale that was now different. The economy needed extensive slave labour supplies and Stalin felt that an efficient Soviet state needed total subservience and this was the way to get it. He wanted to dominate the Party, the Military and the State as a whole and this was the way in which he felt he could attain it.</p> <p>Some of it was personal; those like Kamenev and Zinoviev, who had disagreed with him in the past, had to be destroyed. There was a revenge element to it all. Those Old Bolsheviks who were aware that Stalin’s role in the Revolution and Civil War was neither heroic nor substantial also joined the ranks of those purged.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>How successful were the Nazis in imposing their ideas on the German people?</b></p> <p>Not all the policies which were developed in the 1930s were from Mein Kampf or were developed in the years of opposition. Some were more pragmatic responses to the circumstances of Germany in the 1930s. Many of the core ideas in Mein Kampf were imposed. Anti-Semitism became an integral, if terrifying, feature of the Nazi State. Foreign policy followed very much along the broad lines which Hitler had been discussing in the 1920s. Rearmament and the overthrow of Versailles happened and anti-communism also was a central feature of Germany in the 1930s. Aryanisation proceeded apace as far as it could. There was an authoritarian government which was aggressively nationalistic.</p> <p>There was less success in other areas. The army never became quite the subordinate instrument that had been hoped for. The Catholic Church proved an obstacle to the euthanasia programme and prejudices about the role of women had to be respected. Nazi control over education, at all levels, was total and also vital in their ability to impose their ideas. Their messages were hammered home in the classroom and the lecture theatre, and then re-enforced in the Hitler Youth. With total control of the media as well they probably achieved a greater degree of success in this respect than any of the other dictatorships.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>How important were the new mass media to the rise of protest movements after 1950?</b></p> <p>The two best-known protest movements after 1950 were the civil rights movement in the South in the 1950s and protests against the Vietnam war in the 1960s. The new mass medium of the era was television. There were two types of television delivery, broadcast and cable, each with its own technology and each regulated differently.</p> <p>These new mass media of television can be seen as contributing to the rise of both movements in that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They showed (a) the hostile response of most white people in the South against the civil rights movement of the 1950s, and (b) the aggressive actions of the US military against the people of South Vietnam.</li> <li>• They beamed those images into American homes, all of which had televisions from the mid-1950s onwards.</li> <li>• Those images affected young people, many of whom took political action in support of African Americans in the South and against the US forces in Vietnam.</li> </ul> <p>Television was not the only factor which contributed to the rise of these protest movements. Other factors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The policies of the groups against which movements were protesting, viz. the whites in the South, the US army in Vietnam – and college authorities, e.g. in California, which tried to stop the Free Speech movement in 1964–65.</li> <li>• The protest movements developed before television took an interest in them, helped by determined leadership in the South in the 1950s and a growing college population of baby boomers in the 1960s.</li> <li>• The role of leading artists, e.g. Bob Dylan with regard to civil rights, and intellectuals, e.g. Noam Chomsky with regard to the anti-war protests.</li> </ul>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>How far were the economic problems of the USA in the 1970s a consequence of mistakes of US government policies in the 1960s?</b></p> <p>The economic problems of the 1970s are usually labelled ‘stagflation’, a combination of slow economic growth and high inflation. ‘Mistakes of US government policies in the 1960s’ refers to the policies of LBJ: the costs of his war against North Vietnam and his ‘war on poverty’. He did not want to raise taxes to do so [though he did introduce a 10% surcharge on federal income tax for 1969].</p> <p>Arguments that policies of US governments in the 1960s helped cause the economic problems of the 1970s include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The excessive expenditure overseas on the Vietnam war added to government debt and to a worsening balance of payments, which in turn weakened the US dollar. This certainly contributed to increasing inflation.</li> <li>• The debt-based domestic expenditure created demand which US companies could not always meet, thus drawing in more imports.</li> <li>• The war on poverty, while it reduced poverty, also undermined economic growth by dis-incentivising employment and slowing economic growth – or so right-wing economists assert.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments that factors other than mistaken government policies of the 1960s caused the economic problems of the 1970s include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The oil crisis of 1973, when OPEC suddenly raised oil prices, just as US oil production was falling. This accelerated US inflation and slowed economic growth.</li> <li>• Mistaken government policies of the 1970s, especially the Nixon shock of 1971 which ended the system of fixed exchange rates and stoked US inflation.</li> <li>• The rise of competitor industrial nations, especially Japan and West Germany.</li> </ul>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>‘While the religious right attracted much support in the 1980s, it made little difference to the laws and policies of the USA.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>The religious right combined Evangelical Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians in public campaigning against many liberal social changes of the times: homosexuality, abortion, the ban on official prayers in public [=state] schools, pornography. Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority was established in 1979 to reverse some of these changes.</p> <p>Arguments about the support which the religious right attracted focus on the elections of the 1980s:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The religious right had a significant role in electing Ronald Reagan as President, especially in 1980, perhaps less so in 1984. Reagan, a close friend of Billy Graham, perhaps the best-known evangelist, was a strong social conservative.</li> <li>• On the other side, there were other factors which ensured Reagan’s victories, especially in 1984, for example, Reagan’s personality and optimistic election campaign.</li> <li>• In 1989, a new religious right group, the Christian Coalition, was formed, as religious right leaders divided over tactics and strategy. Many fundamentalist Christians turned away from party politics.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments about the extent to which the religious right changed policies and laws focus on both the reforms passed by the Reagan administration and relevant judgements made by the Supreme Court:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Few, if any, of the Christian right’s goals were achieved. President Reagan paid little attention to the religious right demands to reverse some social reforms, especially as he was faced with a Democratic Congress.</li> <li>• It can be argued that the religious right achieved a little more in the US Supreme Court, but even here the court modified the <i>Roe vs Wade</i> judgement rather than reversing it.</li> </ul>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b>‘Cold War warrior’; ‘Cold War peacemaker’. Which title does President Reagan better deserve?</b></p> <p>Arguments for Reagan being a Cold War warrior are based upon his first term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His ‘evil empire’ speech, 1983, which marked a major departure from the policy of détente of the 1970s.</li> <li>• His rapid expansion of the defence budget, developing new weapons and aircraft, e.g. ‘Star Wars’ and the B1 bomber.</li> <li>• The Reagan Doctrine, 1981, to support anti-Soviet guerrilla forces, e.g. the mujahedeen in Afghanistan, the Contras in Nicaragua.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments that Reagan was a Cold War peacemaker focus on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The INF Treaty, 1987, which scrapped a whole level of nuclear weapons, intermediate range, both US and Soviet. This was the implementation of the Zero Option proposal that Reagan had put forward in 1981.</li> <li>• His developing and close relationship with the new Soviet leader, Gorbachev, e.g. the Reykjavik summit, 1986, where the two leaders came close to agreeing to scrap all their nuclear weapons.</li> <li>• His statement in 1987 that his ‘evil empire’ label for the USSR was made in ‘another time, another era’.</li> </ul> <p>Candidates do not need to know why Reagan’s attitudes changed so dramatically.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b>‘An example of the containment policy in action.’ How valid is this assessment of American involvement in the Korean War?</b></p> <p><b>Valid</b> The containment policy was developed to prevent the global spread of communist ideology which, in the context of the Cold War, was seen as a major threat to the USA. The USA misinterpreted what was essentially a civil war in Korea as part of a communist plot, orchestrated by Stalin’s USSR. President Truman was under pressure from Republicans for his failure to take action against what they perceived as the dangerous spread of world communism. With UN backing, therefore, the USA entered the war, ostensibly to defend South Korea from communism.</p> <p>When agreement was finally reached in 1953, the border between North and South Korea remained on the 38th parallel, where it had been when the war started. Truman claimed that American involvement had been a success – communism had been effectively contained and communism had been dissuaded from further aggression.</p> <p><b>Invalid</b> American involvement in the Korean War was considerably more complex than simply the deployment of a containment policy. Firstly, it was based on the inaccurate assumption that there was indeed something to contain. Secondly, following the initial success of American and UN troops in repelling the North Korean attack on South Korea, the USA adopted a very different policy – roll back.</p> <p>Having achieved the original objective, Truman ordered an invasion of North Korea, aiming to unite the country and hold free elections. UN and American incursions close to the Chinese border alarmed China, which launched a massive counter-offensive. American troops were forced to retreat back into South Korea. McArthur suggested using nuclear weapons against China, but Truman was afraid that this would provoke a full-scale war. McArthur was sacked and the USA settled for its original objective of containing communism by preserving South Korea’s independence from North Korea.</p> <p>Many Republicans argued that the USA had missed a clear opportunity to destroy communism in China. American involvement in the Korean War, therefore, went far beyond the simple deployment of its containment policy.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p><b>To what extent was Gorbachev's decision to end the Brezhnev Doctrine responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union?</b></p> <p><b>Yes</b> The USSR had always been plagued by the existence of nationalism in Eastern Europe. Controlling it had imposed a great burden on the USSR's financial and military resources while, at the same time, causing enhanced friction with the West (e.g. Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1978).</p> <p>Gorbachev's decision to end the Brezhnev Doctrine enabled this latent nationalism to gain further strength in Eastern Europe. No longer able to count on military assistance from the USSR, communist governments in Eastern Europe were no longer able to maintain power. The success of peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe led to an increase in nationalism within the USSR itself, and Soviet forces were deployed in an attempt to maintain control, e.g. Nagorno-Karabakh, Lithuania, Armenia, Latvia, Estonia. The USSR effectively imploded from within as a result of Gorbachev's decision.</p> <p><b>No</b> Gorbachev's decision to end the Brezhnev Doctrine was a symptom rather than a cause of the USSR's collapse. Long-term economic problems, exacerbated by attempts to maintain the arms race and the political stagnation which followed the death of Khrushchev, were the main causes of the collapse of the USSR. Reagan's hardline policies against the USSR, including the escalation of the arms race, created a further burden.</p> <p>Gorbachev sought to address these problems by carrying out reforms (e.g. glasnost and perestroika) and seeking improved relations with the West (which required evidence that the USSR was adopting a more liberal approach). In allowing greater freedoms (both economic and political), Gorbachev inadvertently created the demand for still more reforms.</p> <p>Nationalism had always existed in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe; given the problematic state of the Soviet economy and the pressures imposed upon the USSR by Reagan's USA, Gorbachev appreciated that military support for communist regimes in Eastern Europe (which was of no economic benefit to the USSR anyway) was no longer possible. The decision to end the Brezhnev Doctrine was, therefore, effectively forced upon him by the other, more significant factors which led to the collapse of the USSR.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p><b>Analyse Mao Zedong’s motives for establishing the Hundred Flowers Campaign.</b></p> <p>Historians disagree over Mao’s motives for starting the Hundred Flowers Campaign. Some argue that the campaign stemmed from an error of judgement on Mao’s part, while others suggest that it was a deliberate plan to identify and deal with dissidents. It could be argued that, from its inception in 1956, the campaign was a plan to expose Rightists, counter-revolutionaries and those who posed a threat to the government.</p> <p>The campaign encouraged constructive criticism of the government’s communist policies, and Mao gave assurances that contributors would not be punished. Yet, in the summer of 1957, Mao began an Anti-Rightist movement, effectively a purge of those who posed a threat to the government’s control. Between 300 000 and 550 000 people were identified as Rightists, most of them intellectuals, academics, writers and artists. They were publicly discredited, lost their jobs and some were sent to labour camps. As a result, it discouraged dissent and made intellectuals less willing to openly criticise Mao and his government in the future. Mao himself implied that the campaign had deliberately set out to identify and deal with dissidents, claiming that he had ‘enticed the snakes out of their caves’.</p> <p>Conversely, it could be argued that this claim was merely to save face after his plan to allow open and constructive criticism had backfired. Mao’s aim was to promote socialism and improve relations between the party cadres, intellectuals and the new group of technicians which had emerged from the industrial changes encouraged by the Five-Year Plan which began in 1953. He was convinced that open discussion would clearly confirm that the government was right to see socialism as the way forward for China.</p> <p>He was surprised, therefore, when both the Communist Party and he personally were so heavily criticised. The extent and nature of this criticism was all the more concerning because Mao had witnessed Khrushchev’s speech denouncing Stalin and the uprising in Hungary. It was only then that Mao reversed course and began taking action against dissidents.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p><b>'The Suez War was the result of Western fears that Egypt was coming under communist influence.' How far do you agree?</b></p> <p><b>Agree</b> In September 1955, Nasser signed an arms deal with Czechoslovakia, providing Egypt with Russian planes, tanks and military advisors. This outraged the USA, since it meant that the West no longer controlled arms supplies to Egypt. The USA saw this as an attempt by the USSR to gain an influence in the Middle East, thereby destabilising the Cold War. In response, the USA cancelled a grant of 46 million dollars which had been promised to Egypt to help finance the Aswan Dam. It was this which prompted Nasser to nationalise the Suez Canal.</p> <p>Eden, the British Prime Minister, believed that Nasser wanted to form a united Arabia under Egyptian control and with communist influence. This would seriously undermine British and French interests in the Middle East, including control over the Suez Canal and threatening oil supplies. In both countries, Nasser was depicted as a Hitler/Stalin-like dictator who should not be appeased. With US encouragement, Britain, France and Israel hatched a plan to invade Egypt, regain control of the Suez Canal and topple Nasser from power.</p> <p><b>Disagree</b> The main cause of the war was the threat which Nasser posed to Anglo-French imperialist interests in the Middle East and to Israel's security. Britain was incensed by Nasser's refusal in 1956 to renew the agreement (1936) allowing British troops in Suez and his encouragement of other Arab leaders to oppose the British sponsored Baghdad Pact. Nasser angered the French by sending support to Algerian Arabs in their struggle against France.</p> <p>Aggressively in favour of Arab unity and independence, including the liberation of Palestine from Jewish control, Nasser organised guerrilla fighters (Fedayeen) to carry out terrorist activities inside Israel. The nationalisation of the Suez Canal angered both Britain and France. Together with Israel, they hatched a plot designed to regain control of the canal and topple Nasser from power. The plan was initially successful, but an international outcry forced Britain, France and Israel to withdraw. The USA, concerned that the attack would encourage Arab states to forge closer links with the USSR, condemned the use of force.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p><b>How important were personal qualities of political leaders in the success of independence movements?</b></p> <p>Most African colonies included a variety of tribes, ethnicities, languages and sometimes religion. They were artificial constructs with borders along geographical features or straight lines, which sometimes divided tribes. They had little inherent unity.</p> <p>For the leaders discussed, responses should examine how far the leader created a new political unity. This varied greatly. It was much easier for Nyerere in Tanzania, where there were many small tribes and widespread use of Swahili, than for leaders in Nigeria, where there were several strong tribes with many languages and major regional differences. The ideas and skills of the leader need identifying, as well as the character of the party he created. How far did it overcome tribal/ethnic/religious divisions? The ability of the leader to negotiate with or pressure the colonial power is also important. Many leaders were willing to spend years in jail which earned them respect.</p> <p>The attitude of the colonial power is an important factor. Where the colonial power was willing to grant independence, the role of the leader is less important. For example, Nkrumah in Ghana speeded up the granting of independence and created great support and enthusiasm for it, but Britain was expected eventually to agree. Where independence was resisted, armed struggle was sometimes necessary and here the leader had to raise and organise armies. This was most evident in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p><b>How united were the people behind the leader who had brought them independence? Answer with reference to any <u>one</u> country you have studied.</b></p> <p>The struggle for independence created a common purpose and the appearance of unity. Charismatic leaders of mass parties provided a focus and they used their skills to stir hope and enthusiasm. This vision of a better future and a common enemy (the colonial authority) diminished tribal and ethnic divisions. This was especially so where one leader embodied all aspiration (like Nkrumah in Ghana). It was more complex in a country like Nigeria where, from the start, there were several leaders and deep regional differences.</p> <p>Although the new leaders expected that national issues would now become the main concern, after independence old divisions and rivalries re-emerged strongly. There was no tradition of multi-party democracy, so within a short time most countries became one-party states. Opposition parties were banned or persuaded to unite with the ruling party. Trade unions, the courts and the press became subordinate to the party. In some countries, specific tribes now dominated the government and received the best positions. Rivals were frequently arrested or faced violence (as in Mugabe's use of the 5th Brigade in Matabeleland).</p> <p>The new leaders' use of patronage created a small elite of friends and relations which was increasingly corrupt. They also favoured prestige projects like palaces and conference centres, and living a lavish lifestyle. This undermined plans to expand the economy. Inefficiency and corruption meant many new schemes failed, forcing the government to raise money through increased taxation. In many countries wages and the standard of living fell significantly.</p> <p>Statistical evidence would be useful here. Evidence of discontent or resistance should be identified. Coups and civil wars are particularly strong evidence of disunity. Alternatively, in the case of Botswana or Senegal, the leaders were sufficiently respected to retain considerable popularity and unity. Senghor was the first African leader to retire voluntarily.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p><b>Assess the impact of independence on Christianity in Africa.</b></p> <p>The work of Christian missionaries in the colonial period made a great contribution to development. Its promotion of Western education created secondary and tertiary education, technical skills and teacher training. Many African nationalists were educated in mission schools. The study of African languages, for Bible translation, deepened knowledge of tribal culture, created a literary society and extended printing, publishing and libraries. Missions were the main provider of health care, providing hospitals and clinics.</p> <p>However, they were also associated with colonialism and had discredited many aspects of traditional African society. Newly independent states wanted to keep the good features, but wanted to break with colonialism as they forged a new identity. New leaders recognised the importance of religion in people's lives and realised there would be problems if they acted insensitively. Islam and Christianity together claimed about 80% of Africans as converts. Islam was predominant in North Africa, but Christianity was predominant in sub-Saharan Africa. However, traditional religion still played a part in many people's lives, and these aspects came to be valued more after independence as part of the African heritage.</p> <p>In 1900, there were approximately 9 million Christians in Africa. By 1991, there were approximately 350 million, almost half belonging to pentecostal and charismatic groups unknown in the West. This tremendous growth partly reflects population growth, but it is also the result of African evangelists winning converts from traditional religion. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic churches soon introduced black clergy, and became open to services in African languages, often with African music. An example of this is the Missa Luba in the Congo.</p> <p>Before independence, African independent churches were regarded as a protest against colonialism. Now they were seen as a more African form of expression, synthesising and adapting African spiritual values with the inspiration of the Christian Bible. By 1991, there were over 6000 independent churches (over 700 in Kenya alone). They include the Nazareth Baptist church in South Africa and the Aladura church in Nigeria. The Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses are widespread. The Kimbanguists (named for the prophet, Simon Kimbangu) were suppressed in the Belgian Congo. They have re-emerged since independence and 5 million of them live in the Congo and Angola. They have been admitted to the World Council of Churches. These churches often emphasize healing and exorcism. African sects offered members security against traditional forces of evil, sorcery and witchcraft.</p>	30

<b>Question</b>	<b>Answer</b>	<b>Marks</b>
15	<p>Most recently, there has been a big growth of 'prosperity' churches promising worldly success. These appeal to poor populations. Nkrumah saw religion as a resource to be used to strengthen new states rather than a problem to be contained. This was the case in the Ivory Coast, where Houphouet-Boigny used the Roman Catholic church to support his personal rule. He built (and paid for) the largest basilica in the western world at his birthplace, Yamoussoukro.</p> <p>At other times, churches could criticise leadership. In the 1980s, Daniel Moi was condemned by the Kenyan Council of Churches, and in the 1990s, Hastings Banda was overthrown after his authoritarianism was condemned from all Christian pulpits. Church leaders were reluctant to condemn tyrants, especially after Idi Amin murdered Archbishop Luwum in 1977. More recently, some states have faced problems between Christians and militant Islamists.</p>	

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p><b>Assess the reasons for attempts to create greater economic cooperation in Africa after 1945.</b></p> <p>The economies of newly independent states were unbalanced. Colonial powers had focused on the production and export of agricultural raw materials such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber and palm oil. There was little industry or manufacture. Such goods were imported from Europe. The infrastructure was unbalanced. Roads and railways linked the coast with agricultural areas so east/west communications were weak. Education was limited and there was a lack of skilled labour. New states realised they would never be properly independent unless they developed their economies. The development of industry became a major objective of new states and economic cooperation was expected to hasten this.</p> <p>In 1958, the United Nations Economic Community for Africa was set up. When the OAU was established in 1963, economic cooperation and integration was one of its objectives. By 1964, realising it was easier to work at regional rather than continental level, Africa was divided into four sub-regions. Although there were considerable differences in views and philosophy among new leaders, all wanted to develop their economies as rapidly as possible and to improve the lives of their people. Some favoured some form of socialism; others some form of capitalism. All agreed economic planning and cooperation would address some of their specific problems and make them more independent.</p> <p>Africa's specific problems included limited internal markets, some landlocked countries, expensive transport costs, limited energy and water resources and lack of foreign exchange. Regional development would increase the local market, reduce tariffs on crossing borders, integrate services like power, water and disease (such as fighting malaria) and attract investment. Raw materials from one area could be processed in another. Eventually over 130 inter-governmental organisations were set up.</p> <p>Some countries belonged to several organisations which weakened their commitment and financial contribution. Many early schemes failed, such as the British West Africa Currency Board and the East African Cooperation Treaty of 1967. The Lagos Plan of Action in 1980 increased motivation for regional cooperation. By 1991, ECOWAS (English-speaking Community of West African states), CEDEAO (French-speaking states), ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States) and SADDCC (for Southern African Development Community) were all based on regional solidarity.</p> <p>Some development took place, yet Africa's growth was half that of industrial states and a third that of East Asia. Africa's share of global exports had fallen to 2%. There had been limited development of internal trade. Over 80% of Africa's exports were for external markets and 90% of Africa's imports came from outside.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	Increased globalisation was another reason for cooperation. Large units like the EU were seen as effective in encouraging economic development and creating a big internal market. Yet African states were unwilling to limit their sovereignty or reduce tariffs. Most schemes had over-ambitious targets. They were implemented inefficiently by too many officials, with an inadequately educated work force, a poor work ethic, inadequate infrastructure and lack of capital. Corruption, coups and civil war undermined them internally. Problems like drought, AIDS, the falling price of commodities together with the rising price of oil were all beyond their control. However, economic cooperation is still considered the way forward for Africa's economic development.	

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p><b>Which was more effective in opposing Japanese rule in the period from 1942 to 1945: resistance in Indo-China or resistance in the Philippines?</b></p> <p>Indo-China was ruled by Vichy France under Japanese control until 1945. The Nationalist opposition was based in China and found it difficult to operate in the face of two repressive forces. Ho Chi Minh supplied intelligence to the US. By 1945, the Nationalists had established a firm base within Indo-China in the north, where they were not attacked directly by the Japanese; but not until the Japanese removal of French officials and the imposition of rule through a puppet emperor did the Nationalists expand into the south and begin to attack and take Japanese-controlled areas. The problem of dealing with both French-colonial and Japanese forces and having to rely on bases in China where Ho was distrusted and, for a while, imprisoned by the Nationalist regime impeded the resistance effort until late in the war.</p> <p>Opposition in the Philippines was more diverse and continued throughout the war. The fighting forces may have been 260 000 strong in 277 units. Some were pro-American; some were Islamic Moro fighters already at war with the US who turned brutally against Japan, providing reprisals which encouraged more resistance. Others were the Communist Huks. The resistance aided MacArthur's invasion and prevented the Japanese from establishing the full control that they exerted with fewer troops in Indo-China. The guerrillas provided some important intelligence to the US which influenced the naval battle of the Philippine Sea in 1944.</p> <p>Most will argue that resistance was more effective in the Philippines, but the pressure exerted on a relatively small Japanese force at a crucial time in 1945 should not be underestimated and the Viet Minh were more united.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p><b>Assess the reasons why the army was so important in post-independence Indonesia.</b></p> <p>Responses may stress the weaknesses and problems of democratic government by the mid-1950s with the unifying nationalism giving way to sectional or separatist movements. Thus the army came to see itself as the guardian of the unity established by independence. Many officers had become politicised by being trained by the Japanese, whose army saw itself as part of the mission of the Japanese state rather than just the obedient servant of the civilian state. Also the guerrilla struggle against rule by the Netherlands had politicised many officers.</p> <p>The role of the army in Sukarno's Pancasila and also in the New Order of Suharto enhanced its importance. It also grew considerably from 220 000 in 1960 to 980 000 by 1998. Its special role in the state and its immunity from control gave it power. Discussion could centre on the inherent ambitions of a politicised officer corps or the difficult circumstances of internal unrest which encouraged leaders to rely heavily on military support.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p><b>How successful was Marcos in dealing with the problems of the Philippines?</b></p> <p>There could be a discussion of how far Marcos, who was elected in 1965, was just a corrupt dictator or whether he engaged with social and economic problems and with issues in foreign relations. Problems might be seen as developing the economy, managing relations with the USA and other countries in the region, and dealing with separatism and unrest.</p> <p>On the other hand, he initiated public works and land reforms, but the effects were seen as limited and often fuelled corruption. He managed to maintain good relations with the US and received aid without committing the Philippines to the Vietnam War. His membership of ASEAN gave him links with the region without having to commit to a regional policy or make reforms. Unusually, he was re-elected in 1969 but problems increased: the world economic downturn brought problems and the effects of high investment in the first term slowed. Also the long term problems of political and religious divisions manifested themselves with increasing threats from the Communist Huq guerrillas and the Moro Liberation Front.</p> <p>Marcos was forced to resort to martial law in 1972. The movement was towards government based on the support of the army and also towards corruption and elitism, symbolised by Imelda Marcos's personal following and extravagance. However, Marcos was re-elected in 1981 when martial law was lifted. By 1986, unrest among elements of the military and the Church together with dwindling support from the US and the scandal of the assassination of Aquino, the main opposition leader, brought Marcos down in a bloodless revolution.</p> <p>Success might be conceded in manipulating support to remain in power for a substantial period; success in terms of actual domestic achievement might be more questioned.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p><b>Assess the impact of changes in communications on social development in post-colonial Southeast Asia before 1991.</b></p> <p>The colonial developments in road and rail transport fell into disrepair, so independent Southeast Asia focused first on road improvements, which had an effect on economic development, and on greater national unity. However, the geography dictated a considerable reliance on maritime communication persisting. Thus, apart from port developments, the impact was less important than on air travel. This was important in linking the region to international business and also in developing tourism.</p> <p>Responses, however, may look at communication more in the field of media and information technology. The development of radio in the 1950s broke down much rural isolation and offered more regional and international awareness. Television was more widespread and was introduced to some areas as late as the 1980s. Satellite TV in the 1990s linked many in the region with the wider world.</p> <p>The development of IT encouraged the greater use of predominant languages – for example, English, and in Cambodia, Thai. Town and country were liked more and traditional cultures became more rare. Foreign ideas spread more rapidly even than in colonial times and had an effect on many areas of life, relationships in families and views on women. Communications encouraged an economic and cultural globalisation.</p> <p>Much may depend on what particular areas of communication are chosen, and social effects may be seen in terms of the breakdown of urban-rural divides or in terms of culture, language and family relations. Better answers may make a distinction between different periods, regions or types of communication and/or balance advantages and disadvantages.</p>	30