

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2011 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9769 HISTORY**

**9769/04**

Paper 4 (African and Asian History Outlines, c. 1750–2000),  
maximum raw mark 90

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 must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- Cambridge will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2011 question papers for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.



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*These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question.*

## **Introduction**

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

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

- (b) Examiners should use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It should go without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners are also asked to bear in mind, when reading the following, that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may well yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 2 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

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### **Band 1: 25–30**

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. Use of English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary and virtually error-free.

### **Band 2: 19–24**

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and largely error-free.

### **Band 3: 13–18**

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

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#### **Band 4: 7–12**

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English will be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

#### **Band 5: 0–6**

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. The answer may well be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

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## Section 1: North and East Africa

### 1 How important were economic factors in explaining European colonisation in North Africa in the period 1830–1914?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The French had economic interests in Algeria because of olive oil and grain exports, but the invasion of 1830 and the subsequent attempts to maintain and extend military control which went on until 1879 had much to do with internal French politics. Starting with the attempt of the unpopular monarchy of Charles X to gain support, it was followed by Louis Philippe's attempts to use foreign policy to bolster his position at home by enjoying military victories against Algerian opposition and continued with both the regimes of Napoleon III and the Third Republic needing prestige. After the defeat of 1870 France needed to be able to assert its position. There were also issues of pressure from white settlers – 130,000 by 1870 and a million by 1914, whose economic interests were linked to extending control. The opening of the Suez Canal had strategic, economic and political implications for both France and Britain and in 1879 both countries acted to establish control over Egypt's finances. There were obviously economic concerns here but it was the nationalist reaction that led Britain into extending political control after the nationalist unrest 1881–2. Once responsibility had been established, further unrest resulted in British expansion into the Sudan and the destruction of the Mahdist state in 1898. Spanish expansion into Morocco and French expansion into Tunisia (1881) and Morocco together with Italian invasions of Tripoli had to do with national prestige and the need to be part of a general colonising mission. For four centuries the Moroccan government had been resisting the Spaniards who had established themselves at Ceuta and Melilla. Moroccans were forbidden to have anything to do with the Spaniards and it was to break this blockade that Spain launched the war of 1859–60 that was to be so disastrous for Morocco. By the end of the century, with the Bay of Rio de Oro, whose occupation was notified on 26 December 1884 to the signatories to the Act of Berlin on the division of Africa into zones of influence, Spain had three bridgeheads on the North African coast.

In 1880 and 1881, when the Madrid Conference on the granting of 'protection' to individuals in Morocco met in two sessions, the government of Morocco, (and in a more general sense the country's religious and political elite) made a last attempt to get its independence and sovereignty over a clearly defined territory accepted at the international level. Despite British support, the attempt failed in face of a self-seeking alliance of France, Spain and Italy.

There was also the development of superior military technology, political pressure at home, the influence of local factors (the incursions of Tripoli's troops into French Morocco, for instance) as well as perceived economic benefits to settlers and to trade. Economic interests were stronger, say, in Egypt, than they were in Tripoli, where Italy was more concerned to take advantage of Ottoman weaknesses and to offer a distraction from domestic political problems.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Here there should be a distinct evaluation of economic factors which might not be merely trade and raw materials but the economic interests of settlers, and economic pressures on domestic politics. These could be set against strategic considerations, for example French interests in the Mediterranean and British concerns for the link to India and the Middle East and issues of domestic politics. There might be comparison too with problems 'on the spot'.

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AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 2 Why was the struggle for Algerian independence so prolonged in the period 1954–62?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. November 1, 1954, guerrillas of the National Liberation Front launched attacks in various parts of Algeria against military installations, police posts, warehouses, communications facilities, and public utilities. From Cairo, the FLN broadcast a proclamation calling on Muslims in Algeria to join in a national struggle for the 'restoration of the Algerian state, sovereign, democratic, and social, within the framework of the principles of Islam.' Nov 12 Pierre Mendes-France rejected any suggestion of compromise and set the tone for the next decade. As the FLN campaign spread through the countryside, many European farmers in the interior sold their holdings and sought refuge in Algiers, where their cry for sterner countermeasures swelled. Colon vigilante units, whose unauthorised activities were conducted with the passive cooperation of police authorities, carried out reprisals. An important watershed in the War of Independence was the massacre of civilians by the FLN near the town of Philippeville in August 1955. 123 civilians were killed. The government claimed it killed 1,273 guerrillas in retaliation; according to the FLN, 12,000 Muslims perished in an orgy of bloodletting by the armed forces and police, as well as colon gangs. After Philippeville, all-out war began in Algeria.

By 1956 France had committed more than 400,000 troops to Algeria. France also sent air force and naval units. During 1956 and 1957, the National Liberation Army, successfully applied hit-and-run tactics – guerrilla warfare. Specialising in ambushes and night raids and avoiding direct contact with superior French firepower, the internal forces targeted army patrols, military encampments, police posts, and colon farms, mines, and factories, as well as transportation and communications facilities. Once an engagement was broken off, the guerrillas merged with the population in the countryside. Kidnapping was commonplace, as were the ritual murder and mutilation of captured French troops, settlers and collaborators. Gradually, the FLN/ALN gained control in certain sectors of the mountainous areas around Constantine and south of Algiers and Oran. In these places, the ALN set up an increasingly effective independent state. Late in 1957, General Raoul Salan, tied down a large number of troops in static defence. Salan also constructed a heavily patrolled system of barriers to limit infiltration from Tunisia and Morocco.

At the same time, the French military ruthlessly applied the principle of collective responsibility to villages suspected of cooperating with the guerrillas. Villages that could not be reached by mobile units were subject to aerial bombardment. The French also initiated a program of concentrating large segments of the rural population, including whole villages, in camps. Living conditions in the camps were poor.

In France, the feeling was widespread that another debacle like that of Indochina was in the offing and that the government would order another precipitate pullout and sacrifice French honour to political expediency. Many saw in Charles de Gaulle the only public figure capable of rallying the nation and giving direction to the French government. Europeans as well as many Muslims greeted de Gaulle's return to power, in June 1958, as the breakthrough needed to end the hostilities. De Gaulle's political initiatives threatened the FLN with the prospect of losing the support of the growing numbers of Muslims who were tired of the war and had never been more than lukewarm in their commitment to a totally independent Algeria.

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Meanwhile, the French army shifted its tactics at the end of 1958 from dependence on *defence* to the use of mobile forces deployed on massive search-and-destroy missions against ALN strongholds. Within the next year, Salan's successor, General Challe, appeared to have suppressed major rebel resistance. In 1958–59 the French army had won military control in Algeria and was the closest it would be to victory. But political developments had already overtaken the French army's successes.

During 1958–59, opposition to the conflict was growing among many segments of French society. International pressure was also building on France to grant Algeria independence. In September 1959, de Gaulle dramatically reversed his stand on Algeria and uttered the words 'self-determination' in a speech. Claiming that de Gaulle had betrayed them, the colons, with backing by elements of the French army, staged insurrections in January 1960 and April 1961. Peace talks began and The French electorate approved the Evian Accords by an overwhelming 91 percent vote in a referendum held in June 1962. Algeria became independent in July 1962.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Key elements are the unwillingness of France to compromise; the problems of Algeria's borders; the increasing organisation and determination of the FLN and the nature of guerilla war; the alienation of the Muslim population by reprisals and the influence of the Colons and their links with the French army. Better answers will attempt to consider the relative importance of different factors.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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### 3 How valid is the view that Nasser achieved little of lasting importance for Egypt?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Nasser had a very clear vision for modernising Egypt. He identified five targets that he wanted to address: poverty; ignorance; 'national oblivion', neglect of infrastructure and lack of national identity.

He was also keen to see Egypt free of any overtones of colonialism. To support his beliefs, Nasser did what he could to restore national pride to all Arab nations – not just Egypt.

The most obvious source of a foreign power being dominant in Egypt was the British/French control of the Suez Canal. Most of the physical labour required to build this engineering marvel had been done by Egyptian nationals. Britain had a 40% holding in the company that ran the canal. However, despite the fact that the canal was on Egyptian 'soil', the benefits it brought the people of Egypt were minimal. In 1956 Nasser nationalised the canal – provoking an attack on Egypt by the French and British. This attack was condemned at an international level and the British and French had to withdraw their forces when it became clear that America did not support what they had done. In fact, the American president, Eisenhower, was openly critical of Britain and France. This could be seen as a victory for a bold move against colonialism.

Nasser's stand against two major European powers brought him huge popularity, not just in Egypt but also in all Arab nations. After this success, Nasser set about the 'Egyptianisation' of his country.

One of the most pressing problems Egypt faced on an annual basis was the flooding of the River Nile which could decimate fertile farming land. Nasser's plan was to build a dam to hold back the mighty waters of the Nile which would also provide Egypt with hydro-electric power. Neither Britain nor France could have been asked to assist in the project. Asking America – who openly supported Israel – was politically impossible for Nasser. Hence he turned to Russia. The USSR provided the capital and the engineers for the huge project.

The Russians provided Egypt with what they needed after the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had withdrawn its financial support for the project after 1956. For Russia, there was the opportunity to gain a foothold in the Mediterranean Sea. Nasser also made gains in other areas of domestic policy.

Civilian titles as associated with the Royal Family were banned. Privileges associated with the 'old way' were also banned. Laws were brought in that limited the amount of land someone could own and they also widened the opportunities for land ownership. In 1961, Nasser nationalised a number of corporations so that the wealth that they generated could be used to improve the lifestyle of the Egyptian people. One year later, a decision was announced that Egypt would be run on Arab socialist lines. During Nasser's time in office, the Aswan High Dam was completed. This was a project that generated world-wide attention. However, iron and steel mills, aluminium plants, car and food factories were also built. In total, over 2000 new factories were built in Egypt in Nasser's time.

However, Nasser suffered a major blow when Egypt and other Arab nations were beaten by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967. By this year, Egypt was seen as the leading Arab nation and the Arab people looked to Egypt for leadership. For Nasser, the comprehensive defeat by Israel was a serious blow and he offered his resignation. This was rejected by the people who took to the streets in June 1967 to demonstrate their support for Nasser. After the war, Nasser went to great

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efforts to modernise the Egyptian military and this remained one of his primary aims until his death in September 1970.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The debate is between those who see modernisation, restoration of pride, standing up to colonial powers, increasing education and the arts, getting Russian help for the Dam and other infrastructure improvements and those who see excessive militarisation, repression, using outdated socialist planning, doing little for the peasants and indeed reducing the fertility of the Nile valley by the Dam and leading the Arab states to a disastrous war. Better answers will offer a balanced and supported judgement.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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#### **4 How is the persistent instability in Somalia after 1960 best explained?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Independent Somalia did not include all the Somali people, many of whom were still under foreign rule. Western support for Ethiopia and Kenya prevented progress on this issue which caused Somalia to look to the Soviet Union for military aid. Nevertheless the Somali government maintained a neutral stance in international affairs until 1969. The winning party in the first elections of the new republic was the SYL or Somali Youth League, formed originally to campaign for independence within British Somaliland. Elections in March 1969 brought the party a larger majority. It became increasingly authoritarian in its rule until – in October – the president, Muhammad Egal was assassinated and the commander of the army, Mohamed Siad Barre, seized power. President Siad aligned himself firmly with Russia and Communism and introduced a brutal Marxist dictatorship, insisting upon the supremacy of party and nation as opposed to the local clan loyalties which are a strong feature of Somali culture. But it is the clans of Somalia which finally ended his totalitarian state. The collapse resulted from Somalia's running sore, the question of the Ogaden.

In 1977, with Ethiopia in chaos after the fall the Emperor, Somalia attacked Ethiopian garrisons there, besieging the city of Harar. But President Siad was betrayed by Russia which saw a more important potential client in the new Ethiopia. Early in 1978 the Ethiopian army, using Soviet equipment and reinforced by troops from Cuba, recaptured the Ogaden. Hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees fled over the borders into Somalia. In the aftermath of this disaster, guerrilla groups, clan-based and regional, were formed in and around Somalia with the intention of toppling Siad. By 1988 the result was full-scale civil war, resulting in the overthrow of Siad in 1991. In 1991 the faction controlling the former British Somaliland confused matters by declaring its independence as the republic of Somaliland. The conflict destroyed Somalia's crops during 1992 and brought widespread famine. Food flown in by international agencies was looted by the warring militias. By December 1992 UN actively intervened sending a force of 35,000 troops in Operation Restore Hope.

The UN briefly, brought fifteen warring groups to a conference in Addis Ababa in January 1993 for peace and disarmament talks. This seems at first to make progress, but the situation on the ground continued to deteriorate. In March 1994 American and European units in the UN force withdrew, finding the level of casualties unacceptable. Troops from African countries and the Indian subcontinent remained. During the rest of the decade the situation deteriorated. From late 1994 the capital, Mogadishu, was divided between the two most powerful of the warring factions. Rival presidents fought it out and in 1995 the UN withdrew. At the end of the decade the only remotely stable region was the breakaway republic of Somaliland, in the northwest. An interim constitution was introduced here in 1997 and a president was elected. But the would-be republic was not internationally recognised and the region became increasingly ungovernable with clan warfare, famine, piracy and Muslim extremism

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Key elements to be assessed – ongoing irredentist problems and the failure of the initial post-colonial government to ensure stability; the divisions and failures of the Marxist state under Siad; the impact of war in Ethiopia; the re-emergence of tribal conflicts; the failure of foreign intervention with the UN and the breakaway of the Republic of Somalia; ongoing economic problems and the emergence of fundamentalism. The lack of a stable state in Ethiopia might be considered as a problem. Better answers will weight factors.

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AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 5 How is Gaddafi's hold on power in Libya between 1969 and 2000 best explained?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Gaddafi has been in power since 1969 when he led a coup which overthrew King Idris I. This puts him in the top 3 of national leaders who have held power for the longest time. There are a number of explanations: 1. His blend of Arab nationalism and what he called 'Islamic socialism' funded by oil revenues has made him a charismatic figure. Initially his stand against colonialism, his expropriation of foreign firms and the pressure on the Italians to leave tapped into popular national feeling. 2. Creating a state that openly stood against the West and subsidised terrorism gave him a heroic image at a time when, in the aftermath of the 1967 war, western-Israeli power and influence seemed dominant. 3. His theatrical image and the way that he created popular communes and a people's state from 1977 in which he seemed modestly to have no real official position distanced himself from any failings. In practice he maintained a high level of personal power. 4. As well as proclaiming himself an internationalist in both Arab terms and later as Africa's 'King of Kings' he nevertheless promoted national interests, for example in the prolonged war over boundaries in Chad and suppressed Berber language and culture to favour his Arab supporters. 5. Repression and control – opponents were killed, police and security forces strengthened – an army coup failed in 1994 and anti-Gaddafi riots in 1996 were severely repressed. 6. Prestige projects seemed to stress the wealth, power and beneficence of the regime – for example the very large scale Manmade River which was begun in 1984 to bring irrigation to the desert and the world famous Astronomical centre. 7. Many foreign policy aims failed and Gaddafi did bring about damaging sanctions and air attacks by the US as a result of support for terrorism in the 1980s. However, he was wise enough to temper his activities and in the late 1990s pre-empted the sort of action taken against Saddam Hussein by announcing his opposition to Al Qaida and his willingness to accept weapon inspection. After 2001 the West was eager for his support and sanctions were dropped and both Bush and Blair attempted to normalise relations. 8. Opposition has been divided between dissident army units and three main opposition organisations, the National Conference, the National Front and the Action Committee. Libya has worked to avoid foreign enemies using the opposition and has undermined opposition by populist policies and state power.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. There will be some distinction between the image, personality and style of Gaddafi; the failure of external enemies to dislodge him and his genuine popularity in the country. Better answers will see developments in the long period of rule and discuss how Gaddafi has adapted.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## Section 2: West, Central and Southern Africa

### 6 How important were external pressures in bringing about the end of apartheid in South Africa?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. In the 1960s South Africa had economic growth second only to that of Japan. Trade with Western countries grew; resistance among blacks had been crushed. Since 1964 Mandela, leader of the African Nation Congress, had been in prison. But in the seventies this situation changed.

Neighbouring countries changed. In 1974, resistance to apartheid was encouraged by Portugal's withdrawal from Mozambique and Angola. Portugal could not afford to continue combatting liberation movements in its colonies, which were being aided by the Soviet Union and China. South African troops withdrew from Angola in early 1976, failing to prevent the liberation forces from gaining power there. Internal unrest grew after Soweto in 1976. The liberation movement among blacks spread to teachers, churchmen and the incident harmed South Africa's relations with its trading partners. The economy had turned sluggish. The government became aware that it was spending too much money trying to maintain the segregated homelands that had been created for blacks and the homelands were proving to be uneconomic. Illegal black labour unions were flourishing. Botha was concerned that economic problems together with black labour organisation would create the conditions for the spread of communism. There were indications of a willingness to concede as a result of more pressure from liberal opinion inside and outside the country. The government moved Mandela from Robben Island to a more pleasant prison in a rural area. For the first time there were significant reforms: a new constitution was created. Black homelands were declared nation-states and pass laws were abolished. Also, black labour unions were legitimised; the government recognised the right of blacks to live in urban areas permanently and gave blacks property rights there. Interest was expressed in rescinding the law against interracial marriage and also rescinding the law against sex between the races, which was much criticised abroad. The government committed itself to 'separate but equal' education. In 1985 Mandela was released. This was bound to offer more hope of ending apartheid.

Foreign attitudes – anti-apartheid movements in the United States and Europe were gaining support for boycotts against South Africa, for the withdrawal of US firms from South Africa and for the release of Mandela. South Africa was becoming internationally isolated. Investment in South Africa by Americans and others was coming to an end. A dangerous situation emerged by the late 1980s. The campaign to overthrow apartheid escalated, with African National Congress leaders in exile calling for consumer boycotts, rent strikes and people's war to make townships ungovernable. Violence increased, and rage was vented on black policemen and township officials regarded as government stooges. Botha declared a state of emergency. The police were ordered to move against opposition. In 1989, 4,000 deaths were reported, mostly blacks. The repression could not cope with the increase in opposition and again had a negative effect on foreign opinion. By 1987 South Africa faced economic problems and growing difficulties in external economic and cultural relations. There was also the possibility of the end of white rule not leading to chaos as Kenya and Zimbabwe's white minorities had accepted black rule. The personal willingness of Mandela and Botha to meet was a factor and Botha's successor F.W. De Klerk ended Apartheid in 1991, gaining 70% approval in a referendum in 1992.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

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Candidates need to balance the pressure from external factors – the collapse of Portuguese power, the ending of the Smith regime, the change in the USA with the Civil Rights movement, the increasing criticism abroad which put pressure on investment and trade and the end of the Cold War in 1989 which reduced the need for a bastion against communism in S Africa for the west – against internal factors – the growth of opposition, the change in attitude by Botha, the more liberal attitudes among many South African whites, the emergence of Mandela, the violence of opposition. A balanced judgement is called for.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 7 How are civil wars in the Democratic Republic of the Congo after 1997 best explained?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC – formerly called Zaire under President Mobutu Sese Seko) is the widest interstate war in modern African history. The DRC has become an environment in which numerous foreign players have become involved, some within the immediate sub-region and some from much further afield. The war, centered mainly in eastern Congo, has involved nine African nations and directly affected the lives of 50 million Congolese. The Congo has over 200 ethnic groups and since independence little democratic development following the imposition of a dictatorship by Mobutu.

The origin of the war lay in neighbouring Rwanda. By 1996, the war and genocide there had spilled over to the DRC (then Zaire). Rwandan Hutu militia forces were using Hutu refugee camps in eastern DRC as bases for incursions against Rwanda and its Tutsi leadership. Opposition to Mobutu led by Laurent-Desire Kabila was able to use this situation. In October 1996, Rwandan troops entered the DRC with an armed coalition led by Laurent-Desire Kabila known as the *Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire* (AFDL), with the goal of forcibly ousting Mobutu. Mobutu was overthrown in 1997. There was support for the coup from other countries. Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda, as well as Congolese Tutsis all relied on the Rwandan military presence in DRC for protection against hostile armed groups operating from the eastern part of the country. These groups included: Hutu refugee militia, Mai Mai – Congolese forces hostile to the Tutsi; Sudanese-backed rebels and Burundi Hutus.

During 1997, relations between Kabila and his foreign backers deteriorated. In July 1998, Kabila ordered all foreign troops to leave the DRC. Most refused to leave. On August 2, fighting erupted throughout the DRC as Rwandan troops 'mutinied,' and fresh Rwandan and Ugandan troops entered the DRC. Two days later, Rwandan troops flew to Bas-Congo, with the intention of marching on Kinshasa, ousting Laurent Kabila, and replacing him with the newly formed Rwandan-backed rebel group called the *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie* (RCD). The Rwandan campaign was thwarted at the last minute when Angolan, Zimbabwean, and Namibian troops intervened on behalf of the DRC government. The Rwandans and the RCD withdrew to eastern DRC, where they established de facto control over portions of eastern DRC and continued to fight the Congolese Army and its foreign allies. In February 1999, Uganda backed the formation of a rebel group called the *Mouvement pour la Liberation du Congo* (MLC). Together, Uganda and the MLC established control over the northern third of the DRC.

At this stage, the DRC was divided de facto into three segments, and the parties controlling each segment had reached military deadlock. In July 1999, a cease-fire was proposed in Lusaka, Zambia, which all six parties (The DRC, Zimbabwe, Angola, Uganda, Rwanda and Namibia) signed by the end of August. The Lusaka Accord called for a cease-fire, the deployment of a UN peacekeeping operation the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the launching of an 'Inter-Congolese Dialogue' to form a transitional government leading to elections. However it was internal factors which prevented peaceful development as Laurent Kabila blocked full deployment of UN troops, hindering progress toward an Inter-Congolese Dialogue, and suppressing internal political activity.

Each side in the conflict repeatedly accused the other of violating the Lusaka accord; there was evidence of foreign exploitation of the resources of the DRC.

On January 16, 2001, Laurent Kabila was assassinated. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph. In October 2001, the Inter-Congolese Dialogue began in Addis Ababa and South Africa and there was an inconclusive agreement. This partial agreement was never implemented, and negotiations resumed in South Africa in October 2002. By the end of 2002, all Angolan, Namibian, and



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Zimbabwean troops had withdrawn from the DRC. Rwandan troops had officially withdrawn from the DRC in October 2002, although there were continued, unconfirmed reports that Rwandan soldiers and military advisers remained integrated with RCD forces in eastern Congo. Massacres continued during 2003–04. Rwandan Hutu militiamen feared returning to Rwanda, believing they would be targeted by revenge-seeking Tutsis. These Hutu remained in the forests of east Congo, preying on villages for food and money. Rwandan incursions into the DRC disrupted the fragile government and created instability. In December 2004, rival units within the DRC's national army clashed in the eastern part of the country. Hundreds of summary executions, rapes, beatings and hostage-taking of Congolese civilians took place in the territory of Walungu, South Kivu Province.

Throughout 2005, rival militias backed by Rwanda and Uganda, respectively, created instability in the north eastern region of Ituri, as they battled over border trade and gold fields. Additionally, Rwandan militias continued to operate in eastern rainforests, keeping the threat of an invasion alive. Still, the rest of the country remained relatively stable under President Kabila.

Elections were scheduled first for June 2006 but the UDPS party threatened to boycott, postponing elections until late July 2006. Kabila was inaugurated as president but there were substantial armed opposition forces still in existence.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The factors could be 1. The previous build up of domestic opposition to President Mobutu which was forced to take militant form. 2. The tribal conflicts which were aroused by the influx of Rwandan Hutus. 3. The situation in Rwanda and its implications for other surrounding countries. 4. The interests of other neighbouring powers in protecting their own security and also exploiting DRC resources; the failure of UN and African initiatives to end the fighting. 5. The cumulative effect of war and disorder in the creation of militias and tribal armies. 6. The failure of Kabila to adopt measures to bring the war to an end. Better answers will attempt to weigh the relative importance of these factors.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 8 How successfully did Malawi deal with its internal problems after independence?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. 6 July 1964, Nyasaland became a fully independent Commonwealth country and adopted the name Malawi. On 6 July 1966, Malawi became a republic, and Hastings Banda assumed the presidency. After the constitution was amended in November 1970, Banda became president for life. Problems: Candidates could discuss: 1. Territorial disputes with Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique. Banda was accused of fostering relations with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal to sustain these claims; Malawi recognised South Africa in 1971 and received aid and arms. Internal opposition – there was an attempted coup in 1967 which led to death sentences and repression. This became more marked as Banda grew older. Several thousand people were imprisoned for political offences at one time or another during his rule. 2. Problems arising from the war in Mozambique. The Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which, in its efforts to bring down the government in Maputo, seriously disrupted Malawi's railway links with Mozambique ports. As a result, an increasing share of Malawi's trade had to be routed by road through Zambia and South Africa at great expense. 3. Other critical problems for Malawi, particularly during the late 1980s and the early 1990s were the nation's growing debt burden, severe drought, and the nearly one million refugees from Mozambique. 4. Resistance to Banda. In 1992, there were church-based protests against detention without trial and harsh treatment of political prisoners. University students demonstrated. Wildcat strikes and rioting followed the arrest of opposition trade unionist, Chakufwa Chihana in May. Nearly 40 were killed by police gunfire in the first significant anti-government demonstrations since 1964. 5. Foreign pressure included threats by aid donors abroad to suspend assistance, and in October Banda agreed to hold a referendum early in 1993 on whether Malawi should remain a one-party state. Opposition groups merged and held large scale protest rallies. 6. Willingness to change. Chihana was released two days before the referendum. In July and November 1993, parliament passed a bill of rights, establishing a multi-party electoral law, and repealing detention without trial provisions of the Public Security Act. Dialogue among various major parties resulted in the establishment of a National Consultative Council and a National Executive Committee, with representatives from all registered parties, to oversee changes in the constitution, laws, and election rules and procedures. 7. The role of the army. In December 1993, security forces disarmed Banda's paramilitary MCP Young Pioneers. On 16 May 1994 the National Assembly adopted a provisional constitution, and the country held its first multi-party elections. Muluzi immediately ordered the release of political prisoners and closed the most notorious jails. The new constitution took effect on 18 May 1995. However, there were problems in running a multi-party democracy after years of a virtual dictatorship. 8. Regionalism. Malawi's second multi-party elections were held on 15 June 1999. The balloting showed a distinct regional cast to party constituency. The results confirmed the regional voting trend set in 1994, with the UDF winning the densely populated south, the MCP strong in the central region and all of AFORD's seats coming from the north. 9. Electoral problems. Opponents alleged that the ruling UDF had rigged the elections, and refused to recognise the outcome, leading to riots and the razing of ten mosques in the north. Political and religious conflicts coincided. 10. Continuing political unrest. In July 2002, the National Assembly rejected proposals to amend the constitution to allow President Muluzi to run for a third term in 2004. The proposals, resubmitted in February 2003, were quickly withdrawn under protests from opposition groups, civil society, and the diplomatic community. In all, three people were killed in the 2002 protests. 11. Economic and social problems. Severe food shortages in 2002 affected some 3.2 million people. The shortages exacerbated living conditions for more than 65% of the population considered 'poor,' and for some 15% of the adult population infected with HIV/AIDS. Widows of AIDS victims were increasingly subjected to property grabbing by relatives. 12. Religious problems. In June 2003, overriding a court order, the government deported five men accused of al-Qaeda connections. Muslim protests were dispersed by police using rubber bullets and tear gas. Muslim demonstrators looted seven churches and the offices of Save the Children USA. Muluzi, himself a Muslim, declared that religious intolerance would not be allowed.

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AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The problems of dealing with post-independence problems were tackled by the creation of an authoritarian one-party regime. This did get aid from connections with conservative regimes, but opposition built up. There was an ability to respond to pressure for change, but the problems of the 1990s were centred on regionalism, economic and social problems and greater religious divides. Better answers will attempt to balance a certain stability and relative lack of political violence with a failure to solve longer-term problems.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 9 Explain the failure of Liberia to fulfil the dreams of its founders.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The founders were the American Colonization Society who established a home for freed slaves from the US in 1821–2. Freed slaves from intercepted ships were also given the chance to settle in Liberia which was established as a Republic in 1847. Liberia was seen as a better solution than having freed slaves in the USA. The democratic ideals of the USA were established there and it was hoped that democracy, prosperity, freedom and tolerance would obtain. The Liberian elite were often the product of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania.

However, there were problems from early days: 1. The relationship with the indigenous people of West Africa – especially the Gio and Mano tribes. What started as peaceful co-existence ended with domination and exploitation by the American-Liberians who essentially brought alien ideas and culture. 2. The uneasy relations with the French and British colonists which led to annexations and competition which reduced the trade and prosperity of Liberia. 3. The domination of a single party, the True Whigs after 1877 – which mirrored the problems of racialism and corruption in late nineteenth century America and which strengthened the role of the ruling elite, with the support of the USA. 4. Financial and economic weaknesses eroded hopes of stability and prosperity and increased reliance on the USA. By the late nineteenth century Liberia had lost a lot of its previous trading income and there were problems of poverty and under development. 5. Though more US aid in the twentieth century helped, it led to the power of the Firestone Corporation which established itself from 1926 and also dependence during and after the Second World War on US investment and grants. A big gap emerged between the ruling elites and the other ethnic groups. 6. This led to the beginnings of a long period of political unrest in 1980 when Sergeant Kenyon Doe led rebellious army units against President Taylor who was killed. Doe did allow elections in 1985 which were fixed and led to further unrest. From 1989 a series of civil wars began with the intervention of Bukina Faso and the Ivory Coast in Liberian affairs in backing a rebellion by Charles Taylor. An army made up of excluded tribal groups under Yonie Prince Johnson led to violence and instability in which Doe was killed. Singhalese troops backed by the USA intervened against Taylor. A Libyan-backed force restored him and he instituted a period of repression after 1997. In a second civil war US and Nigerian troops intervened to prevent a bloodbath by rebels against Taylor, who was deposed in 2003. 200,000 Liberians died in civil wars – a far cry from the dreams of the founders.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. In such a long period, candidates could use a thematic approach – long term ethnic conflicts, economic and financial instability, the increasing role of the army, the failure to establish and maintain a US style democracy; the influence of neighbouring countries; the ambitions of unstable leaders

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 10 What best explains the civil conflict in Nigeria after independence?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Pre-independence Nigeria had widely differing peoples and tribes. Britain maintained its colony's unity and decided to keep the country one in order effectively to control her vital resources for their economic interests. Thus, for administrative convenience the Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914. This alone was an insufficient basis for true unity. There was division, hatred, unhealthy rivalry, and pronounced disparity in development. The growth of nationalism and the subsequent emergence of political parties were based on ethnic/tribal rather than national interests, and therefore had no unifying effect. At independence Nigeria became a Federation and remained one country. Soon afterwards the battle to consolidate the legacy of political and military dominance of a section of Nigeria over the rest of the Federation began with increased intensity. It is this struggle that eventually led to political instability and a costly civil war. The Nigerian Civil War broke out on 6 July 1967. The war was the culmination of an uneasy peace and stability that had plagued the Nation from independence in 1960. This situation had its genesis in the geography, history, culture of Nigeria. The immediate cause of the civil war itself was the coup and the counter coup of 1966 which altered the political equation and destroyed the fragile trust existing among the major ethnic groups. The coup was brought about by resentment by Southern elements in the army of supposed electoral fraud. A counter coup by the Northern-origin military leaders led to racial and religious violence and pogroms against the Igbo people in the Hausa dominated North. Fears that the North would dominate the oil discovered in the South West exacerbated the situation. As a means of holding the country together in the last result, the country was divided into twelve states from the original four regions in May 1967. The former Eastern Region under Lt. Col. Ojukwu saw the act of the creation of states by decree 'without consultation' as the last straw, and declared the Region an independent state of 'Biafra'. The Federal Government in Lagos saw this as an act of secession and illegal. Negotiations failed. To avoid disintegration of the country, the central government was left with only one choice of bringing back the Region to the main fold by force. The Federal government was prepared to risk war because it saw a quick victory. Biafrans were prepared to risk war to avoid domination by tribes with which they had long-standing hostility. Both sides hoped for international support. By August 1967 the war had spread to the Mid-Western Region. The conflict became prolonged and Biafran leaders held out until January 1970.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Better answers will consider different possible explanations and offer a balance between the long term racial and religious tensions, the colonial legacy, the increasing role of the army after Independence, the failure to establish a democratic consensus, the role of individual military leaders, the impact of economic factors such as the disparity between North and South and particular issues such as oil and the reaction to proposed constitutional change.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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

#### 11 How important were strategic factors in explaining the Scramble for Africa in the period 1870–1914?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. In Africa and Asia, prior to 1870 the pattern of European colonisation was that trading stations on the coast had been established and European powers recognised local authority, relying on treaties with indigenous rulers. By the end of the century there had been a wave of more formal colonisation. One factor was the changing European background. The changing power balance in Europe brought about by the Franco-Prussian War and the emergence of a powerful new Germany and a weakened and embittered France and the emergence of a new united Italy, together meant that colonial expansion might have been related to developments in Europe rather than being merely for economic purposes. Britain was conscious of the need to protect its routes to India, but the acquisition of Egypt and the subsequent expansion into the Sudan was seen by France as a strategic threat to its North and Central African possessions – or at least as a threat to French prestige weakened after the war with Prussia – hence the tensions that culminated in the Fashoda incident and were resolved in 1904 only against a background of mutual concern over Germany. The colonial expansion of Germany in Africa may have been a way for Bismarck to exert diplomatic pressure on Britain or a concession to national feeling, but they had strategic implications for Britain and encouraged more formal control by other countries over Africa. Italian expansion may have had its roots in domestic policies but had strategic implications for control of North and East Africa. These explanations may be set against purely economic factors, or factors linked to the internal developments of the colonising states, or explanations which focus on internal African factors. As Britain had the largest navy and the cheapest manufactured goods, it could afford to allow a 'free trade' policy in Africa. By 1870 other countries were catching up. With greater European and US manufacturing there was a need for markets – cloth, clothing, alcohol, arms and metal goods needed African markets and there was a pressure to protect those markets by more formal control than fluctuating treaties. There was also the belief that Africa held riches – vegetable oils, ivory, gold, and diamonds. So economic factors could be an explanation. In North Africa, there was the issue of the Suez Canal and the links to the Far East and the Asian possessions. Because of the strategic significance of the Mediterranean there were political motives too. Both France and Italy were concerned with their status as a great power and Italy's conquests were driven less by economic motives than matters of internal politics and the desire not to be left out of colonialism. The same may be true of Germany whose colonisation was a result of a temporary alliance between Bismarck and colonial enthusiasts. Economic motives have to be set against ideological concerns generally promoted by a minority but used by governments for justification; strategic concerns and political motives based on the need to demonstrate to electorates that a country was not being left behind.

However, the rivalry between African states and the superior military power of Europe after 1870 are enabling factors. The breech-loading rifle and the Maxim gun so outclassed native African weapons that conquest became temptingly easy. Transport technology, too, played a part as when the French started a railway in 1879 linking Dakar to the upper Niger to secure markets. Once the scramble began, political factors came into play as nationalistic mass electorates were impressed by ideals of Imperial expansion and an extension of Imperial missions to Africa. The ability of European powers to cooperate as at the Berlin Conference was also a factor. Once the process began it developed its own momentum and generated its own enthusiasts, like Rhodes whose desire for a Cape to Cairo link had various motives. Threats from indigenous people – like the Asante in Nigeria or the Boers could be a factor, as could fear of European rivals. There is a lot here and candidates would be better to consider factors exemplified from knowledge of colonisation rather than attempting a long description of expansion by different countries in diverse areas.

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AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Better answers will assess the relative importance of different explanations and perhaps draw distinctions between different countries and different regions. Italian and German expansion could be seen to have different priorities than say British expansion in terms of purely strategic factors. In some areas the influence of 'the man on the spot' was greater than others. Some colonisation was more driven by local threats than others.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## **12 Assess the impact of the Second World War on the development of African nationalism.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Second World War also saw fighting on African soil – in the North African desert, Tunisia, the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia and the transfer of Italian colonies. French African troops suffered heavily in Europe. In 1940 French North Africa and West Africa declared for Vichy. But Equatorial Africa declared for Free France, thus dividing the French African Empire – in 1943 Africans made up 50% of Free French Forces. The Allies depended on African raw materials more after the fall of the Far East and this increased the colonial organisation of agriculture – for some producers the war brought more prosperity and investment. There was a move to urban centres and in some areas, for instance South Africa, a growth in industrial production. 100,000 South African blacks served in allied armies. The stress was on persuasion and encouragement of African participation with more discussion and consent, thus the war did have political effects. However it also caused dissatisfaction with colonial regimes because of conscription and inflation; it brought Africans into closer contact fighting alongside Europeans and with ideas of democracy and opposition to tyranny. The defeats and reverses of the main colonising powers in the war – firstly France, Britain and then Italy and Germany – weakened their colonial prestige generally. In order to get support from Africans, reforms were promised, for example at the Brazzaville Conference in 1944. Africans who fought in the war saw greater experience of Europe and saw European vulnerability for themselves. In a parallel to the experience of African-Americans, they saw a war against racism and domination by Germany as an inspiration to gain freedom for themselves. The myth of white superiority was weakened and the war brought new awareness. There was more talk of democracy and the European powers lost their domination. Neither the USSR nor the USA had African possessions and both were hostile to the restoration and continuation of the European empires for ideological and economic reasons. The Atlantic Charter implied greater freedom at the end of the war and the United Nations provided a forum in which European powers had to account for their stewardship of their colonial possessions.

The war brought a change of attitude to Empire – there was more focus on internal problems in Britain and the decision to allow Indian independence in 1947 was a major turning point and inspiration to Africa. However the failures in the war made France more determined to hold on to its African possessions – but nationalist ideas had developed as a result of war and this became increasingly difficult. The world context had changed and international opinion was much less favourable to assumptions of white superiority and the morality of having African empires. The confidence of nationalist leaders had increased. Elite leaders put pressure on colonial powers and made use of greater awareness among their people and a changed international context. Africans educated at Western universities and with greater experience of the world beyond Africa were more critical. The emerging post-World War II order provided them with the opportunities to reconstruct their identities and, more importantly, reconstruct their societies.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Some may see the origins of African nationalism as being before the war; others may see the war as important but post-war developments – the Cold War or the development of the Civil Rights movement – being more significant. Some may stress the external impact – the weakening of the colonial powers; others may put more emphasis on changes in Africa and the development of African leaders and independence movements.



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AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 13 To what extent and why did slavery survive in Africa in the twentieth century?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Slavery is still a problem as this report from 2009 by the World population foundation to the UN indicates:

*On 12 February 2009, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes published its first report on the application of the 2003 United Nations Protocol against Trafficking in Persons. The report expressed a number of concerns regarding both the scarcity of judiciary statistics submitted by certain African States, and the weakness of national laws against modern day slavery. For example, Benin, Togo, Mauritius and Mali do not have any specific legislation to defend victims of trafficking above the age of 18. Moreover, a number of African states, such as Congo, Kenya or Burundi, have no legislation specifically targeting human trafficking.*

*In East Africa, the report notes that “many of the countries in the region report hundreds, or even thousands of victims of trafficking per year during the reporting period. The great difference between the number of victims and the low number of traffickers is a specific pattern in this region.” Yet not all slaves have been trafficked; vast numbers are born into slavery. There are an estimated one million people living as slaves in Africa today. Yet sadly, the response of many of the States involved in this scourge has been patchy at best, and at worst almost non-existent. For example, in Mauretania, despite anti-slavery legislation in 1960, 1966, 1981, and 2007, the law has never been enforced and an estimated 600,000 people in the country continue to live in slavery. And at least 35,000 Southern Sudanese slaves remain in bondage in the Sudan.*

Slavery persisted in Africa long after the abolition of the British and American trade and the abolition of slavery in the British Empire and in the USA. It is claimed that it still exists in this century and was certainly extensive well into the last. Explanations might indicate the very deep rooted place of slavery in different forms in African history as a form of landholding in some countries where the distinction between free peasant and enslaved cultivator was often blurred. The demand of the Muslim world is another explanation and the great importance of the trade to some African economies – both in terms of income for the traders and revenue for rulers who sold captives; the relatively slow control established by colonising powers who did not establish complete control until late in the nineteenth century or in the case of Ethiopia until 1936 when Italy suppressed the trade. The prevalence of local wars and tribal conflicts and the existence of large-scale poverty may also be factors. Post-independence economic problems and civil wars in some areas have perpetuated or even revived slavery and lack of change in attitudes to women have been important. The different types of slavery – from restrictive land tenure to human trafficking to abuse of prisoners or captured civilians should be taken into account as well as the failure of effective government action in some regions. As the extract above shows, the international community has been slow to act and criticism is sometimes politically difficult.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. This is a long period and candidates should consider possible explanations with examples rather than attempt to describe the continuation of slavery in different regions. Better answers will attempt to assess the relative importance of different factors.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

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AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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#### **14 Assess the achievements of the Pan-African movement by 1945.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The historical roots of Pan-Africanism go back to the eighteenth century and it was a product of the diaspora brought about by the slave trade rather than a movement in Africa itself. The early history centres round a series of dynamic and pioneering figures. Quobna Cuguano's Sons of Africa was based on his writings and a sort of French Revolutionary corresponding society which addressed Pan-Africanism in letters to leading figures. It sought to address the issue of slavery and exploitation and to encourage a sense of African identity among people taken from their native continent. There were developments in the USA which developed a sense of black consciousness but the first major Pan-African movement probably dates from the late nineteenth century with Henry Sylvester-Williams's African Association of 1887 which held its first conference as the Pan-African Association in 1900. The greater international experience of the First World War and the influence of political change such as the Russian Revolution, together with the strengthening of colonialism in the Treaty of Versailles did result in a resurgence of Pan-Africanism 1919–45 with a number of conferences. In 1919 the first of five Pan-African Congresses was held. This was organised by the African American thinker and journalist W.E.B. Du Bois. Fifty-seven delegates attended representing fifteen countries. The delegates focused on responding to the proposals of the Treaty of Versailles and addressed the peacemakers with definite proposals for the treatment of African colonies taken from Germany, suggesting that 'The Allies administer the former German territories in Africa as a condominium on behalf of the Africans who lived there and Africans should take part in governing their countries 'as fast as their development permits' until, at some unspecified time in the future, Africa is granted home rule'. This showed an anticipation of future developments and was significant as the articulation of the view that colonial policy applied to white dominions in the British Empire and to a limited extent to India should be applied to Africa. This congress of 1921 met in several sessions in London, Paris and Brussels. The Indian revolutionary Saklatvala and the Ghanaian journalist W.F. Hutchinson spoke. The bringing together of different radical ideas and the development of a common stand against discrimination seems remarkably modern. This Congress developed the theme of demands for independence and was more radical in tone. The London session resulted in the Declaration to the World, also called the London Manifesto. Though ignored by the colonial powers, it nevertheless was an important milestone in the history of developing African political awareness. The third congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923. Badly organised, it was also not very well attended. But it repeated the demand for some form of self-rule, It demanded (a) the development of Africa for the benefit of Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans (b) home rule and responsible government for British West Africa (c) the abolition of the pretension of a white minority to dominate a black majority in Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa (d) the suppression of lynching and mob law in US.

This was significant in that various issues in different countries were brought together and the equating of racialism in the USA with African colonialism seems a striking modern idea. The fourth was held in New York in 1927 and adopted similar resolutions to those in the 3rd Pan-African Congress. The fifth of the series was held in Manchester in 1945. There were ninety delegates, twenty-six from all over Africa. The significance lies in who attended and their future importance. These included Peter Abrahams for the ANC, and a number of men who were to become political leaders in their countries, such as Hastings Banda, Nkrumah, and Kenyatta. There were thirty-three delegates from the West Indies and thirty-five from various British organisations including the West African Students Union. W.E.B. Du Bois, the man who had organised the first Pan African Congress back in 1919, was there too. A theme was the unity of those of African descent. Despite the turnout, this conference scarcely got a mention in the British press. There were many resolutions passed, including one calling for racial discrimination to be made a criminal offence.

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What seemed to be of marginal significance at the time offered views and suggestions that were to be of considerable significance later and was ahead of its time.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The debate is between the view that these efforts were too limited in scale and impact to have been said to have achieved anything of significance and the view that to raise Pan-Africanism at all, to develop moral and political views, to link leaders from different continents and to have future highly influential African figures developing clear political aims together meant that Pan-Africanism had a significance for the future far beyond its modest scale.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 15 Why was the AIDs epidemic such a difficult problem for Africa to deal with?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Experts studying the spread of the epidemic suggest that about 2,000 people in Africa may have been infected with HIV by the 1960s. It was in Kinshasa in the 1970s that the first epidemic of HIV/AIDS is believed to have occurred. Although it was probably carried into Eastern Africa (Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Kenya) in the 1970s from its western equatorial origin, it did not reach epidemic levels in the region until the early 1980s. Once HIV was established rapid growth rates in the eastern region made the epidemic far more devastating than in West Africa. The accelerated spread in the region was due to a combination of widespread labour migration, high ratio of men in the urban populations, low status of women, lack of circumcision and prevalence of STD. These factors made the disease difficult to control. In Nairobi for example, 85 per cent of sex workers were infected with HIV by 1986. In Western equatorial Africa the difficulties of communication and travel meant that the disease spread less. It was more difficult to control in urbanised areas and areas with extensive immigration. However, even rural areas of West Africa were affected by the mid-1980s. Early diagnosis and treatment faced two problems in Uganda, where the disease was very prevalent in the 1980s. 1. A simultaneous eruption of 'slim disease' with some overlapping symptoms. 2. A failure to connect a disease affecting US homosexuals with black Africa. The disease was spread by truck drivers, often having paid sex and the pattern of infection coincided with major trade routes. This proved difficult to control as trucks crossed state boundaries. By the end of the 1980s southern Africa was on the verge of overtaking East Africa as the focus of the global HIV epidemic. A major problem was medical uncertainty about the cause and how the disease was transmitted. Public ignorance was a major factor; the sexual element gave the disease a stigma which made rational discussion and precaution difficult. Those tested feared ostracism and moral disapproval which impeded prevention. Government responses were often inadequate and many states were distracted by economic problems or wars.

As there was no cure or treatment for HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, government strategies had to focus on prevention. These included encouraging people to revise their sexual behaviour, by abstaining from or delaying first sex, being faithful to one partner or having fewer partners, or using condoms consistently and correctly. For this reason prevention efforts in Africa were often confronted with opposition from religious authorities. Both Muslim and Christian leaders found prevention campaigns such as condom promotion difficult to reconcile with their teachings. Many senior politicians were reluctant to admit to a generalised HIV/AIDS epidemic in their country for fear of creating panic, or discouraging tourism. Uganda and Senegal are often cited as countries that did respond quickly and effectively to the AIDS crisis. It was not until 1986 when the Ugandan civil war ended and President Museveni was firmly in power that the country got behind a prevention programme. By this time the country was in the midst of a major epidemic, with a prevalence rate of 26% in its capital city.

Other African nations did not respond to the HIV/AIDS epidemic so positively. In fact, President Mobutu of the Congo banned the subject from the press for four years between 1983 and 1987 and Zimbabwean doctors were instructed not to mention AIDS on death certificates. South Africa's white leaders refused to install an AIDS education programme in schools and did not begin to take seriously the danger of a large-scale heterosexual HIV/AIDS epidemic until the end of the decade. The ANC did not work with AIDS organisations and tension between the party and AIDS activists escalated throughout the decade. The World Health Organization was slow to respond to the emerging HIV/AIDS epidemic in Africa as it contended that AIDS was not the primary healthcare concern.

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Sub-Saharan Africa was the hub of the HIV epidemic of the 1990s. In 1993 there were an estimated 9 million people infected in the sub-Saharan region out of a global total of 14 million. Treatment was too expensive at possibly \$15,000 per person. International drugs companies were slow to allow local companies to manufacture drugs. Not until 1999 did the USA and the major companies take a more flexible attitude. However not all African countries had the facilities for manufacturing drugs locally. Not until 1999 was there the first major campaign to prevent mother-child transmission – which involved a huge cultural change in areas where breast-feeding was the norm. Many countries lacked the health care infrastructure and many patients lacked the education and awareness of treatment to take drugs at the right time, which eroded the effectiveness of the early C21 retroviral programme. Global funding was slow to arrive though has made a substantial difference since 2000. The recognition and acceptance of the scale of the problem is now common, but the failure of this to develop was a major problem in the last 25 years of the C20.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The factors are medical – the early problems in diagnosis and lack of treatment; social – the spread was rooted in areas of sexual hygiene difficult to control; economic – the high cost of treatment and the unwillingness of international companies to lose profits; political – the slow response of governments and the unwillingness to acknowledge the problem.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**16 How important were economic factors in the changing role of women in Africa in the twentieth century? (You should refer to at least two countries in your answer.)**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. An official UN report states that The strategies adopted by international forums for the advancement of women include 1) promoting women's education and providing population education and information programmes in fertility, mortality, and high risk pregnancies; 2) recognising the vital role of women as health care providers within the family and increasing their health knowledge; 3) introducing programmes to guarantee equal opportunity of employment for men and women; and 4) improving and protecting the legal rights and status of women. So a starting point might be to balance purely economic factors – urbanisation, the diversification of economic life in some areas, the development of modern communication such as the internet – against social factors such as greater contraceptive availability, educational change, greater awareness of world developments etc and political/religious change – the spread of Islam in some African states has meant that change has not necessarily meant progress towards a western model of equality; in some states political espousal of movements for greater legal rights has been a factor. The nationalist struggles may have helped women in the sense that they were active participants, but may have also put issues related to political independence to the forefront and sidelined issues relating to gender issues. Although some efforts are being made in most countries, integrating women in the development process will take a long time and involve major social and attitude changes.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here it is the ability to isolate contributory factors and offer some assessment, perhaps drawing a distinction between different areas of Africa and different periods. Change should not necessarily be seen as progress. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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## Section 4: China

### 17 How important was Sun Yat-sen in the modernisation of China?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Seen as 'The Father of the Revolution' or 'The Father of the Republic,' Sun has been considered the most important figure of Chinese history in the twentieth century. His ideas for a nationalist republic seemed to have come to fruition in 1912, but by the time of his death in 1925 China was deeply divided and the Republic had failed. Nevertheless despite the fact that the revolution of 1911 was more a result of internal divisions among the ruling elites and that a military dictatorship soon emerged, the longer-term impact of Sun's influence has been considerable. Sun Yat-sen based his idea of revolution on three principles: nationalism, democracy, and equalisation. These three principles became known as the Three People's Principles. The first of these was that the government of China should be in the hands of Chinese people not foreigners. The second was that government should be republican and democratically elected. Finally, unequal land ownership should be equalised among the people, wealth more evenly distributed, and government should operate to mitigate the social costs of economic development. One major element was nationalisation of land; Sun believed that land ownership allowed too much power to accrue to the hands of landlords. This mixture of nationalism, democratic political development and socialism might be seen either as a key element in the modernisation of China, or might be seen as essentially impractical and rooted in C19 political and social theories more applicable to Europe. Some of Sun's theories, acquired by foreign study, were based on C19 liberalism and the theory of separation of powers. However, some were more rooted in China's traditions. Government would be divided into five separate branches: the executive, legislative, judicial, the censorate, and the civil service system. The latter two branches primarily functioned as a check on the first three, which are the more familiar branches of government to Westerners. The latter two were also traditional branches of the Chinese government and functioned independently. The civil service had its origins in the Han period and the censorate had been created in the middle ages, at the start of the Hung dynasty. His theories of democracy depended on a belief in democratic rights to vote, the direct use of referenda and an assembly which could initiate legislation. In terms of 1911, this was certainly modern, but it could be argued that this essentially Western model did not and could not play a great part in modernisation. With a long history of belief in the Mandate of Heaven and with mass illiteracy and a relatively small middle class China could not be quickly changed, so Sun envisaged 'Three Stages of Revolution' in which a virtual military dictatorship would sweep away Imperial rule and then gradually teach China the basics of democracy and regional self-government. There would be a 'guided democracy'. This was close to Marxism, though the nature of democracy was not the same. In the sense that it provided a model for Communism in China and in a sense that Communism was a modernising influence, Sun's importance can be argued for. Sun was a hero to nationalists and Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) did carry out modernising reforms and offer some participatory elements. However, it can be argued that Sun was a cover for what was more like traditional authoritarianism. The Guomindang was divided about how long Sun's 'guided democracy' would have to last. In the end modernisation came both from capitalist economic development (in the Guomindang period and post-1976) or from undemocratic and authoritarian social engineering (Communist rule) more than from Sun's mixture of democracy and moderate socialism. However in terms of inspiring the 1911 revolution and promoting nationalism Sun can be seen as a moderniser.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The judgement is really whether Sun's ideas were 'modern' or relied too heavily on traditional Chinese practices and whether the ideas were actually implemented to modernise or whether China's

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modernisation came from other sources not related to Sun, despite his high reputation. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**18 Assess the view that warlordism was the main obstacle to progress in China in the years 1911–1928.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The classic instance of the powerful warlord is Yuan Shih-kai who subverted the Republic. However there were other powerful provincial military leaders that eroded the possibilities of unity and some form of progress towards an internationally-accepted republic. These were tackled in Jiang's Northern Campaign. Whether the warlords were the cause or the symptom of China's weakness and lack of progress might be discussed. The continuing foreign domination was a major problem. The western powers continued to be influential and Japan increased her demands, playing off powerful local Chinese commanders against the central government. The 1911 revolution had not been a powerful popular uprising but had depended on rifts between the central government and local elites. The inheritance of Manchu rule was a heavy hand on the aspirant republicans and economic backwardness, landlordism, mass illiteracy, localism and brigandage were all checks to progress and preconditions for the power of military leaders. The constitution was undermined by lack of democratic experience, low levels of education and the Confucianist traditions. These would have been important even without the ambitious warlords. Lack of foreign respect for the new governments undermined their position. The failure of China to gain recognition as a major regional power was evident at the Versailles negotiations and the rise in nationalist resentment added a degree of political instability in which Marxist movements were able to arise. This in turn led to violent suppression which acted as an obstacle to peaceful development and progress. The increasing reliance of the Guomindang leaders on military solutions, together with the special position of the regular Chinese army within the state (inherited from the Imperial regime) led to the rise of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. What is required here is an evaluation of a major factor and an analysis which links it with other factors rather than taking it as an isolated explanation. Better answers will assess its relative importance in comparison with say either the inherited problems of the Manchu era or the rising problems offered by Japan and the emergence of Communism. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**19 To what extent did the success of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 result from the weakness of its enemies?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The weakness of the CCP's enemies could be dealt with by examining the inadequacies of Jiang's regime. There was military failure; the failure to stem rising inflation or to provide a convincing political programme which would meet the needs of the peasants. Jiang has been seen as over-dependent on the USA and then failing to convince American advisers that his regime could last. There was widespread corruption, a too obvious alliance with large scale financial and industrial interests associated with his family, too close an alliance with landowners. Jiang's army did not treat its own men well and made little effort to gain the support of areas it entered to pursue the Communists. Its record against the Japanese had been variable, with resources diverted in unsuccessful campaigns to crush Mao.

However, the alternative explanations put more stress on Mao's leadership – this is questionable, but there were some key policies such as treatment of the peasants and the pursuit of guerilla warfare that need to be considered. The acquisition of large amounts of military equipment from the retreating Japanese in Manchuria with Soviet assistance is an explanation that has been put forward and reference could be made to the details of CCP military strategy in the Civil War. The heroic image offered by the Long March and CCP propaganda that over stated its contribution to the defeat of Japan is a factor, as is the US preoccupation with Cold War events in Europe that precluded large scale intervention in China – but whether that would have been possible given the diminished reputation of Jiang and his circle is open to question. Mao's image and his successful concentration of power have to be set against the very real weaknesses of his internal opponents and also possibly his potential overseas opponents – with Japan defeated and occupied, Britain in no state to resist and the USA uncertain and distracted.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. A balanced judgement about elements on the 'strength of the CCP' and 'weakness of opponents' sides of the debate is expected. There should be sustained assessment of the relative importance of factors for higher marks. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 20 How successful were Mao Zedong's economic policies in the years 1949–76?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. This covers the policies from the early land reforms and industrialisation to the large-scale experiment of the Great Leap Forward so some distinction might be made between the different periods. In 1949 the CCP was committed to land reform and oversaw a massive redistribution. Accompanied by class violence, it nevertheless revolutionised agriculture and ensured greater prosperity which eased the new regime into power. The CCP was wedded to the Soviet model of large-scale central planning even if its Marxism had had to be adapted to suit a largely peasant society. The increasing reliance on economic controls brought both rewards and problems. Economic development was often disrupted by unrealistic campaigns and persecution of more successful peasants. By 1956 strains were appearing and the success of the plans was questioned. The development of a major economic initiative in which industrial development and agriculture were linked in massive communes and huge new projects undertaken making use of China's great resources of labour was known as the Great Leap Forward. This has been seen as one of China's great disasters with the disruption of traditional agriculture causing famines and the production of low grade steel in local furnaces a huge waste of raw materials and human resources. The scale of the losses has been disputed, but outside analysts saw millions of lives lost. The economic effects of the Cultural Revolution might be considered but it was not really an 'economic policy' rather a result of a series of failures of economic policy. The focus will be first on the attempt to introduce a Soviet planned economy and then to use China's communal traditions and huge potential labour force to link economic progress with large-scale social engineering by reducing the distinction between town and country and maintaining the momentum of revolution.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Looked at from the perspective of 1949 with huge rural injustice, industrial under-development and high inflation together with the need to repair the damage caused by years of war, then the earlier policies might be seen more favourably. There is a case made for the Great Leap Forward, too, but candidates may well find this less convincing. A balanced judgement is expected with some distinction between the different policies and their aims and context.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**21 Assess the view that there was more economic than political change in China after the death of Mao Zedong.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. This has to do with the need for economic change after the effects of previous policies and the way that China had lagged behind in key aspects of economic development. It still needed to maintain large defence spending and it needed, after the death of an iconic leader, to maintain support and legitimacy. Comparison with the capitalist West revealed limitations and the Soviet model, so admired after 1949, was clearly by 1976 not delivering in the same way that it had in the 1930s. A new generation who had not endured the hardships of the 30s and 40s had higher expectations and Deng Xiaoping was committed to economic modernisation and the transformation of economic life. These policies built up their own momentum in the 25 years after Mao's death, especially as China's Asian rivals also developed a far freer and more global economic policy – India after 1991 and the 'tiger economies' of Singapore and Malaysia. Japan too was an obvious model of high-tech prosperity in a capitalist system. China did indeed achieve economic transformation, though still suffers from considerable regional differences and relies a lot on cheap labour and low-end technology. However in comparison with the Maoist period the degree of foreign trade and profits from investment and well-equipped manufacturing enterprises is considerable. The problem for Deng and his successors has been that Marxist theory indicates that with greater capitalism, there is greater chance that the economy will drive politics and undermine communist power. Rather than backtrack on the greater prosperity that has kept the party in power and finances a large military establishment and a foreign policy that extends China's influence in Asia and Africa, the CCP has restricted political freedom. The death toll at Tiananmen Square, the control of internet access, the control of media, the widespread stifling of criticism at local levels and in regions like Tibet, the maintenance of one-party rule and the considerable power of police and courts to enforce obedience to the regime has meant that political change could be seen at a considerably slower pace than economic change. However, there are argument that the nature of the regime did change considerably – Deng's leadership style was very different from that of Mao: there were no sudden personal initiatives, less cult of personality, less stress on a heroic personal past.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Candidates can weigh why economic change was so rapid by considering the 'push factors' – the personalities and aims of leaders, the need for more consensus, the need to maintain defence spending and to be competitive and the world context; the imbalance with political change might look at the authoritarian tradition, the impact of the Cold War, the desire of the Chinese leadership not to go the way of their Eastern European counterparts, the ability to play on nationalist feelings in China and the very strong emotional impact of the heroic rise of the CCP and its years of isolation which developed not only a siege mentality but the instruments of control and oppression. There will be in better answers an appreciation of the degree of political and economic change and not merely a description of aspects of change. Better answers will weigh relative importance of these types of explanation.

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AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### **Section 5: The Indian sub-Continent and Ceylon/Sri Lanka**

#### **22 'More than a mutiny, less than a war of independence.' How far do you agree with this view of the unrest in India in 1857–58?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Traditional views stress military grievances such as the discontent about serving in Burma which meant loss of caste for Hindu Brahmins and the issue over the pork and beef grease on the cartridges for the new 1853 Lee Enfield rifle. Wider issues such as the Doctrine of Lapse, the annexation of Oudh and the Dalhousie reforms touched the army, too.

However, arguments that it was not just a sepoy revolt but a genuine First War of Independence point to the widespread popular revolts in different areas and the declarations of some rebels that they wished to restore the Moghuls and drive out British rule. There was reference to India and not just local areas and there is evidence of wider political aims and national awareness. In the main area of 'mutiny' the Bengal army contained different elements from various parts of India and expressed support for common national aims. On the other hand, the forces that suppressed the unrest were drawn largely from Indian troops loyal to the East India Company, or at least with little sympathy for the rebellious troops. The local rulers if they were not using the unrest for their own interests showed relatively little national feeling and did not unite behind a concept of India. The rebellions were largely restricted to North and Central India and the cause of national unity of the revival of the Delhi nation state did not transcend religious differences or regional/ethnic divisions. There were more than purely military causes, so in that respect it could be said to be more than a mutiny, but there is a debate about whether the national feeling was great enough for it to be seen as more than a general, multi-faceted expression of discontent against different elements of British rule which affected different groups and areas differently.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The evidence for the different views of the unrest will be considered and better candidates will offer a view based on evaluation. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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### 23 How convincing is the view that Jinnah was a greater political leader than Gandhi?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The two men are deeply revered in Pakistan and India respectively. However, their approach to politics was very different. The type of mystical, ethical doctrines that Gandhi made use of to promote the aim of an independent India were foreign to the much more urbane and worldly Jinnah. Both were lawyers, but Jinnah was a far more traditional politician who came to a view of an independent Pakistan much later and with greater reservations than Gandhi. It was a lot easier for Britain to negotiate with Jinnah than with Gandhi. However, Jinnah did not inspire the fervent mass movements that Gandhi did and neither was his vision of a purified and united country as intense. The question does focus on leadership and candidates have the chance to examine different aspects of leadership qualities and political effectiveness. In 1919, British plans to intern people suspected of sedition – the Rowlatt Acts – prompted Gandhi to announce a new *Satyagraha* which attracted millions of followers. A demonstration against the acts resulted in the Amritsar Massacre by British troops. By 1920, Gandhi was a dominant figure in Indian politics. He transformed the Indian National Congress, and his programme of peaceful non-cooperation with the British included boycotts of British goods and institutions, leading to arrests of thousands. Jinnah had hoped in the 1916 Lucknow Conference to work with Congress and the British. He disliked the non-cooperation movement and became increasingly distant from the Congress Party. He was disappointed with the failure of the Round Table Talks as he had wide experience of working within the framework set up by Britain and a respect for parliamentary and legal political activity. Unlike Gandhi he was not interested in a village-based ethical mass movement, but eager to work within the system to secure a democracy which would ensure protection and equal rights for Muslims. In the desire to avoid religious-based politics and discord, Jinnah and Gandhi were similar. It is a matter for discussion whether Independence could ever have been achieved without the extra-parliamentary mass pressure that Gandhi exerted. In some views both men essentially failed. Gandhi failed to control the fervour unleashed by his campaigns and to control religious hatreds. Jinnah failed to prevent the Muslim League demanding a Muslim state which could never encompass all Muslims and which ended as an unsustainable and somewhat artificial creation, divided into two and with disputed territories which led to years of conflict. Both men were appalled at the violence which attended the division. Arguably Jinnah's reputation for compromise, such as the 14 points and his ability to work with Mountbatten, gave Pakistan a credibility that would have been otherwise lacking. Arguably Gandhi's image and personality gave the idea of an independent India wide international popularity and a moral dimension that made Labour find it an acceptable solution by 1947. Gandhi never saw himself as an administrator or actual political leader in the way that Jinnah did; Jinnah never saw himself as a major philosophical and inspirational force on the Gandhi model. In 1922, Gandhi himself was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. He was released after two years and withdrew from politics, devoting himself to trying to improve Hindu-Muslim relations, which had worsened. In 1930, Gandhi proclaimed a new campaign of civil disobedience in protest at a tax on salt, leading thousands on a 'March to the Sea' to symbolically make their own salt from seawater. This gave the independence movement massive publicity and a heroic image that Jinnah could not match for his Muslim League. However, it made practical negotiation difficult and roused extremism that Gandhi did not want. It could be said there was an element of naivety in thinking that non-violent protest could actually be contained and that passions would not, as was the case when Congress actually ruled locally, be turned against Muslim minorities. Gandhi attended the Round Table Conference in London in 1931 making a striking impact, but was not a conventional representative and fell out with his own party in 1934. Jinnah was more of a party politician and his strength was in the development of the Muslim League. Both were concerned about growing religious divides in India, but maintained a campaign against British rule in different ways.

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AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered evaluation. The better answers will consider aspects of leadership, the problems each faced and what each achieved. No set judgement is required and it would be quite feasible to consider that each had successes and failures, but a supported judgement should be attempted for higher marks. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 24 How is the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country best explained?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. There are long-term issues which date from the birth of Pakistan – the resources of East Pakistan did not mean that it was given a fair share in political power, administrative posts, high ranks in the army or development policy. The strong Bengali tradition and culture meant that there was a difficulty in fusing with a state from which Bengal was geographically divided. There were areas in the east which were barely integrated at all into the new Pakistan and culturally and linguistically there were problems in uniting the two areas. A leadership developed with much stronger roots in the west and the east became a neglected and exploited area. The disputes with India over Jammu and Kashmir came to be seen as being for the benefit largely of West Pakistan, where the capital and main administrative and military establishments were located. Separatist feelings arose with the development of the Awami League and the influential Six-Point Programme of 1966 and there were instances of mass unrest in 1969. The 1970 elections were a major victory for the Awami league and Sheikh Mujib-el-Rehman. The immediate cause of independence was the failure of the Pakistan leaders – Yayha Khan and the leader of the PPP Bhutto – to achieve any compromise in negotiations and to fall back on a military solution. This subversion of the constitution and brutal repression not only united Bengalis into a freedom movement, but it alienated world opinion. Pakistan found itself isolated from its traditional allies, especially the USA, and China was not likely to interfere so the field was left open for India to take up the cause of an independent Bangladesh. This put India on the side of civil rights and freedom and gave it a massive chance to weaken its rival and increase the chance of a favourable resolution of the Kashmir issue and gave the Indian leadership huge popularity. The Bengalis had a personable and effective leader and a good public image. It also had the economic potential to be a separate state with its rich jute crops and fertile alluvial delta lands. Its population fought bravely and the Bengali language was a binding element. However in the end Indian military superiority may have been the key together with weaknesses in the Pakistani army and leadership faults which led to the fall of Yayha Khan and the emergence of Bhutto as President by the end of 1971 and the acceptance of an independent Bangladesh.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Some discussion is expected between internal factors like the leadership of Mujib and the growing nationalist movement, especially in Dakhar and among radical students and the external factors such as Pakistani misjudgement and foreign intervention or lack of it. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 25 Why was Nehru's foreign policy not continued by his successors?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. It was natural that after years of struggle for freedom, India would wish to support the cause of anti-imperialism and be opposed to western influence. It was also natural that, given the enormous influence of Gandhi, there should be a strong ethical influence on India's role in the world. This is the background to the so-called Peaceful Coexistence and Non-Alignment movements promoted by The Republic of India's first leader, Nehru. Nehru hoped that India would be the leader of those countries who did not want to take sides in the struggle between Communism and Western liberal capitalist democracy. This was a very strong influence on Indian foreign policy well into the 1990s. India's role was one of peace-making, standing apart from ideological conflict in order to lessen international tension. It was the foreign policy equivalent of Gandhi's message of peace and reconciliation. However, India was impressed by Soviet Russia and after 1949 the People's Republic of China in terms of economic progress and planning. India had a regulated and planned economy, unlike Britain and the USA, and was closer to Russia, with whom Nehru established good relations. Correspondingly relations with the USA were much less good.

India urged greater aid for the developing countries, but actually did not do much to develop strong economic links with South-East Asia. For all Nehru's idealism, there were practical problems facing India.

First, it had a relatively low rate of economic growth before 1989 which restricted its power and influence. Secondly, it had ongoing border problems with both Pakistan and China. For all Nehru's efforts to establish friendship with China, the Communist regime never accepted the boundaries between India and China. Thirdly, Indian armed forces were not strong enough to maintain a full defence of all her borders. When disputes broke out into full scale war with China in 1962 India lost. India's economic and military weaknesses were the key to limitations in her regional and world power. After 1967, there were more efforts to increase India's power in the region and less concern to take a major role in international affairs, generally though Non-Alignment remained in theory the key concept behind Indian policy. In 1971 India was able to exploit a major revolt in East Pakistan to support an independence movement there with troops and bring about the birth of Bangladesh, dividing and weakening her enemy, Pakistan. In 1974 India began but did not develop an atomic weapons programme. The development of India as a nuclear power was one of the most significant developments. With conflicts unresolved with Pakistan and China, India felt vulnerable. It seemed impossible to resolve either the disagreements in Kashmir or to get China to drop her border claims. Opinion in India prevented major concessions and India's democratic nature meant that 'weakness' in negotiating disputes would lead to electoral disaster.

Policy makers had to remember the existence of substantial areas of possible discontent within India. 150 million inhabitants of India were Muslims. Not only were there after 1971 two independent Muslim states on India's borders, but international events in the Middle East impacted on India. In the struggles between Israel and her Arab neighbours, India was careful not to show any support for Israel.

When Russia invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and a radical Islamic Jihadist movement emerged, this had dangers for stability in India. There were also problems with Maoist influence from China on peasant rebels in India with the emergence of the Naxalite revolutionary movement which led to the formation of the Indian Communist party.

With separatist movements a problem in India, concessions which might lead to an independent Kashmir might have implications for Indian unity. In other words, foreign policy and internal problems were linked, as was to become apparent with the emergence of Hindu nationalist mass politics in the 1980s which made concessions to Pakistan even more difficult. Finally the Cold War

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produced problems when India leaned towards Russia. The US favoured Pakistan and when China's relations with the Soviet Union worsened, her links with Pakistan improved. Thus despite being officially non-aligned, India was drawn into the Cold War. The failure to end potential disputes with China and Pakistan entailed high levels of defence spending which India's economic performance could not always support. While not enjoying the full benefits of alliance with one side or the other in the Cold War, India was still drawn into it.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. There are various reasons, some of which have to do with Indian domestic political developments, such as the rise of the BJP and some of which have to do with external developments which made Nehru's policies seem inadequate – especially with the war with China. Foreign policy changes are tied, too, to the economic liberalisation programme which rejected Nehruvian socialism and the influence of Soviet economic models. Better answers will show some sense of discrimination and prioritisation. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 26 Why was rural poverty so persistent in India after Independence?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The growth of the agricultural sector in India has not mirrored the economic development as a whole since 1991. Agriculture employs 60% of the Indian population today, yet it contributes only 20.6% to the GDP. Agricultural production fell by 12.6% in 2003, one of the sharpest drops in independent India's history. Agricultural growth slowed from 4.69% in 1991 to 2.6% in 1997–1998 and to 1.1% in 2002–2003. This slowdown in agriculture is in contrast to the 6% growth rate of the Indian economy for almost the whole of the past decade. Farmer suicides were 12% of the total suicides in the country in 2000, the highest ever in independent India's history. (Unofficial estimates put them as high as 100,000 across the country, while government estimates are much lower at 25,000. This is largely because only those who hold the title of land in their names are considered farmers, and this ignores women farmers who rarely hold land titles, and other family members who run the farms.) Agricultural wages even today are \$1.5–\$2.0 a day, some of the lowest in the world. Rural suicides and high levels of debt are common in many areas and despite the so-called green revolution of the 60s the persistent problem of rural poverty has persisted since independence. Factors might include high rural population; illiteracy and poor education; the failure of both central and local governments to address key issues; the persistence of unequal landholding; the imbalance between agrarian development and the promotion of large scale industrialisation in the 1950s and high tech industries since 1991 and competition for staples in the Asian market. The failure to adopt some of the policies that China has used – population control for instance and the negative impact of free-market economics after 1991 might be discussed as well as long-standing economic problems which vary from region to region.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Better answers will see some distinction in developments since 1947 and go beyond a list of factors common to the period but generalised. There will be some evaluation in stronger responses. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## Section 6: Japan and Korea

### 27 How far was the late Tokugawa period in Japan an era of decay?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Tokugawa Shogunate or Tokugawa bakufu (also known as the Edo bakufu) was a feudal military dictatorship established in 1603 by Tokugawa Ieyasu and ruled by the shoguns of the Tokugawa family until 1868. This period is known as the Edo period and gets its name from the capital city of Edo, now Tokyo.

Following the Sengoku period of 'warring states', central government had been largely re-established by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi during the Azuchi-Momoyama period. After the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, central authority fell to Tokugawa Ieyasu who completed this process and received the title of shogun in 1603. His descendants were to hold the position, and the central authority that came with it, until the 19th century. The Tokugawa period, unlike the Shogunate before it, was based on the strict class hierarchy established by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The warrior-caste of samurai were at the top, followed by peasants, artisans, and traders. An additional class was filled by the burakumin (or eta), the lowest in status and socially despised for dealing in taboo trades connected with death. 'Classless' persons such as entertainers also existed, having neither the restrictions nor the protections granted by the acknowledged castes. Ironically, the very strictness of the caste system was to undermine these classes in the long run. Taxes on the peasantry were set to fixed amounts which did not account for inflation or other changes in monetary value. As a result, the tax revenues collected by the samurai landowners were worth less and less over time. This often led to confrontations between noble but impoverished samurai and well-to-do peasants. The Shogunate by the 1850s was anachronistic and over complex, offering a sort of shadow government. It was a product of isolation and inwardness and groups of more progressive daimyo forged an alliance with the Meiji emperor for what amounted to a revolution and the creation of a state that was prepared to learn from the West.

The Tokugawa bakufu came to an official end in 1868 with the resignation of the 15th Tokugawa Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu and the 'restoration' ('Taisei Houkan') of imperial rule. The effects of isolation from the West came to have disastrous consequences after 1853 and the arrival of Perry and the obvious limitations of Japanese military and naval forces revealed the weakness of an ossified feudal society. The divisions that it caused can either be seen as a confirmation of decay or a desire for renewal among a section of the ruling elite which resulted in the Meiji restoration and an assault on the daimyo to create a unified state. Decay may be unfair of all the elements in Japan, but certainly by the late Edo period Japan had failed to move with the times and allowed tradition to impede development. Some may argue that culturally 'decay' is unjustified.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The debate is between views that see merely decay as an outdated feudal system was in its death throes, challenged by the arrival of the West and those that see the late Edo period as one of transition with some admirable cultural developments and the beginnings of a reform movement that culminated in the Meiji restoration. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

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AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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## 28 How is the growth of Japanese nationalism between 1914 and 1941 best explained?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Long term factors could include the residual resentment at the US arrival in 1853 and the strains of westernisation eroding long-held traditions. The failure of the West to allow gains from the defeat of China in 1898 was resented and the ability to defeat Russia in 1904–5 established confidence. The development of industry, naval and military strength so quickly grafted modern progress onto samurai tradition. The war in 1914 provided opportunity for expansion and the weak state of China after 1911 offered tempting options. The development of mass markets and greater literacy provided a new nationalist feeling, but there was already a strong basis in traditions. The key factor was the growth of a younger generation of army officers and perhaps the direct encouragement of nationalism by groups within the Japanese establishment from the royal family to the Zaibatsu industrialists. The Tanaka Plan could be an example of this. The resentment of Versailles and the treatment of Japan fuelled national outrage and the economic problems that beset primary producers in the 1920s culminating in the effects of depression after 1929 revealed a humiliating dependence on western markets. The weak state of China with struggles between Jiang and the warlords and the communists tended to confirm the superiority of the more unfired and disciplined Japanese. The hardships in rural areas which provided many officers and the failure of the rulers to control nationalism in the army led to independent initiatives, such as the invasion of Manchuria condoned by the Japanese ruling class and applauded by a public influenced by modern communications.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Better candidates will offer a distinction between developments within Japan and the growth of Shintoism and Emperor worship, together with a pride in military achievements, and external factors which gave the opportunities for nationalism or provoked national resentment such as the great depression and the attitude of the USA and the European powers to Japan, treating her as racially and militarily inferior.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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

Candidates should:

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

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. There are different explanations possible – economical, political and military so candidates should for higher marks begin to offer some assessment which goes beyond explanation and see the links between economic and military weakness. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 30 Who was most to blame for the outbreak of the Korean War?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Korean War took place between June 1950 and July 1953. It can be seen either as a local conflict brought about by local factors, or it can be seen as being a product of the Cold War in which case the focus of blame shifts to other countries. Syngman Rhee has been seen as having the desire to invade North Korea and Kim in the North certainly allied with Stalin. The debate is about how far Stalin encouraged his north Korean ally to invade the South and how far the initiative came from Kim, partly in order to extend his power, partly in order to secure his regime from a possible strike by the South. The determination of the USA, in the aftermath of having to accept that China was lost to Communism and fearful for its influence in Japan and the Pacific area has been seen as a cause of the escalation of conflict, with the US under the Truman Doctrine of 1947 providing 14 billion dollars and 350,000 men. It was also heavy US pressure on the UN at a time when the Russian representative was absent that led to 14 different nations taking part and the war becoming a mini-world war. Stalin saw that after the defeat of the Berlin blockade, Korea could be a way to distract and humiliate the West and there is a view that he pressured Mao Zedong to intervene. The Chinese involvement is a major element in the development of the war. This in turn opened up the possibility for the US of a defeat of China and the establishment of a base in North Korea which might threaten the new regime. Both countries might be blamed to having ideological motives going beyond the simple defence of 'friends in need'. The struggle for survival between the leaders of the two Koreas is the most immediate reason for the outbreak of the Korean War. However, the involvement of other countries led to 'a massive deadly proxy-war between an increased militaristic army from the South; and a powered army from the North with the help of USA and the USSR'.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. There should be a sustained discussion about relative responsibility in better answers, though the evidence is still unclear. Stalin may well have encouraged both Kim and Mao, but they were not unwilling to be persuaded and supported. The massive US reaction in turn may have escalated the war. Some distinction might be made between the purely Korean struggle and the Cold War confrontation that it became. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 31 'Japan was totally transformed after 1945.' How far do you agree?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Japan before 1945 contained many elements of a feudal past; many were devoted to Emperor worship and Shinto had enjoyed a revival. There had been a reaction against western influence in favour of a celebration of Japanese culture. Urbanisation and industrialisation had been seen as a means of establishing cultural hegemony in Asia and individualism was seen as decadence. The occupation by America and the revelation that the Emperor was not a God, but a revered constitutional monarch, together with rapid economic development after the Korean War and a revolution in industry and communications brought a lot of social change in terms of attitudes to democracy, a far greater linkage with the West, new cultural life and a decline in militarism and nationalism. However, whether this was more on the surface than fundamental and more a result of virtual foreign domination can be discussed. The development of even larger scale corporations and the stress Japanese society put on the group rather than the individual in education, economic life and the family continued many traditions. However, the cultural influence of the West and the growth of new cities from the ruins of the old made changes. Youth culture emerged and the affluence of the 50s and 60s produced a consumerism that ran counter to many older traditions and emphasised the individual as consumer. Religion changed and so did aspects of education. Family life grew more atomised and the gap between urban and rural Japan widened. Militarism declined, though reactions to wartime sacrifices show that there has not been a complete revolution. The dramatic events of the atomic bombs and the occupation did put a considerable barrier up between pre- and post-1945. The arts, especially the cinema, have acted as a means of cultural change; but continuities exist at all levels.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. There should be some attempt to assess continuity and change and to assess the social impact of economic change rather than merely to describe it. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## Section 7: South-East Asia

### 32 How important to France were her colonies in South-East Asia?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. France moved into Vietnam in 1858, capturing Saigon in 1859. Using the south, then called Cochin China, as a base, the French moved west and north completing the conquest of Indochina by 1907. (Indochina – the five territories under French authority: Cochin China, Annam, Tongking, Laos, and Cambodia.) The French also wanted to retain their colony after the Second World War. The Vietnamese rejected French rule, and after defeating the French at Dien Bien Phu, obtained their independence at the Geneva Conference in 1954. There is a considerable link between French domestic circumstances and assessing the importance of her colonies. The prestige of Napoleon III rested on his foreign policies; there was also the importance of supporting Catholicism as the hostility of the Vietnamese rulers to Catholic missionaries was the trigger; the defeat of 1870–71 was offset to some degree by the strengthening of the colonial empire. The defeats of 1940 allowed Japan to take over the South-East Asian empire of France so after 1945 there was a determination not to give in to independence demands in order to confirm France's recovery as a great and independent power. The limitations of France's military recovery were shown at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and it proved impossible to hold on to South-East Asia. It could be argued that rather than being of special economic or strategic importance for France, these colonies assumed an importance because of the context of developments in France and its relationship with its European neighbours.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. This question could be considered by taking a chronological approach and examining the relative importance of SE Asia at different times, or a thematic approach could be adopted showing the political impact, the importance in terms of foreign competition or trade and economic resources. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 33 Assess the extent of China's influence on South-East Asia in the period 1949–2000.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The immediate influence of China's revolution was to encourage revolutionary groups on one hand and resistance on the other. In Taiwan the influence was for an anti-Communist state bolstered by US protection to provide a capitalist alternative. In Hong Kong, too, China was seen as a threat and western support spurred considerable economic development, so China had a negative influence. In Vietnam China's influence was apparent but in the long run tempered by traditional fears of China's domination. Help given by China to revolutionary movements in Malaya fuelled civil war, but confirmed anti-communist rule. Singapore became a key capitalist state. However in the post Cold War period, relations have become more complex. China offered to support SE Asia solidarity in 1953; countries including China and Myanmar proposed the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence". In 1955, China attended the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, when all parties united to fight against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony. In return, China's effort to resume the seat at the United Nations was also firmly supported by many Southeast Asian countries. Thus China was a threat to the stability of SE Asia but also seen as an alternative to western influence. On August 8, 1967, the ASEAN was established. It was the first association in Southeast Asia made of independent developing nations. Southeast Asian countries came together for regional economic growth, social advancement and cultural development. Today, ASEAN has expanded from five member countries initially to an international organisation that covers ten countries of Southeast Asia with wide influence, and plays a more and more important role at the Asia-Pacific and World stages. When ASEAN was firstly established, the world was in the Cold War, which caused distrust and confrontation between China and Southeast Asia. This was just a short episode in history. In November 1978, the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping visited Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, and proposed to develop friendly relations with Southeast Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Afterwards, the two sides made fruitful cooperation during the process of solving the Cambodia problem by political means. Moreover, the problems of communist parties and overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia were solved as well. These laid a foundation for the establishment and development of friendly Sino-ASEAN relations. By 1991, China had established or resumed diplomatic relations with all Southeast Asian countries. The two parties entered a new era of dialogue and cooperation. In the past 15 years, bilateral relations have gone through three stages, from establishing full dialogue framework, to friendly neighbourhood and mutual trust, and finally to the establishment of strategic partnership. In 1996, China became ASEAN's full dialogue partner. In December 1997, when the Asian Financial Crisis was sweeping through the region, ASEAN proposed to hold 10+3 meetings. Within that framework the China-ASEAN Annual Summit, or 10+1 mechanism, was established. During the financial crisis, China kept the *renminbi* from depreciation, and provided aid to crisis-hit Southeast Asian countries. When Indonesia and Thailand were struck by the devastating tsunami, many ordinary Chinese people offered a helping hand voluntarily, and set the highest record of unofficial donation. However the considerable military power of China remains a huge concern.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. This is a long period with different countries and candidates should understand the change in China's influence as the CCP has developed. In many ways the encouragement of violent conflicts in Vietnam and Cambodia, in the Philippines and Malaysia, for instance has had a negative effect. In some ways, the China threat has encouraged a strong response, western investment and prosperity in other countries. The willingness of revolutionary regimes to be controlled by China has varied. China is a major trading partner and has been accepted as a virtual ASEAN member, contributing to SE Asia's economic developments. It still remains a threat, so there is room for

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judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**34 How convincing is the view that 'North Vietnam did not win the war in Vietnam; the USA lost it'?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Candidates could set features which demonstrate the considerable strength of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong opposition – the effective propaganda, the deployment of guerrilla forces, the use of tunnels, the use of the long borders with Cambodia, the endurance of heavy bombing and casualties, the daring initiatives such as the incursions into Saigon in the Tet offensive, the aid from China, the inspirational leadership of Ho Chi Minh, the political control that Communism gave; the generalship of Giap, the inspiration from the victory of 1954, the experience of war against the Japanese – against weaknesses on the US side: the inexperience of drafted troops, the failure to secure enough domestic support; the over-reliance on bombing and search and destroy; the failure to establish stable democratic regimes in South Vietnam; the reluctance to accept heavy casualties; the failure to win hearts and minds. There is some debate about the extent of US military failure – in conventional terms there were US successes, but the political aspects and the increasing international hostility to the US may have been decisive.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. It is important to focus on the implications of the question rather than to produce a list of reasons. The actual military strength of the North Vietnamese was over exaggerated by propaganda and the seeming impossibility of controlling difficult terrain in an environment which favoured guerrilla warfare; but US military opinion, encouraged by the defeats of the enemy in the Tet offensive, thought that with sufficient resources, the war could have been won – as it had been, for example in Malaya by the British. The US had enormous technological advantage and air power. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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### 35 Account for the lack of democratic government in Burma after independence.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The new state came into being as a parliamentary democracy and, although beset by ethnic strife as minority peoples demanded autonomy from the Burman majority, survived as a representative government until an army coup in 1962. By 2000 Burma had an army of 500,000 which was being used to repress ethnic opposition, enforce extensive forced labour and ensure that any moves towards a restoration of representative government were notional. The problems with Marxist guerillas and regional/ethnic separatism after 1948 together with the economic damage caused by World War II fighting made the task of developing Burma along similar democratic lines to, say, India difficult. However, the military takeover of 1962 proved to be decisive and democracy was not restored. This may be explained by the very extensive linguistic and racial divisions in the country which prevented cooperation between hostile or persecuted minorities and provided motivation for the repression and control of the different peoples. Burmans are the largest single ethnic group. According to available statistics, they comprise about two-thirds of Burma's approximately 50 million people, and dominate the army and government. Most of Burma's ethnic minorities inhabit areas along the country's mountainous frontiers. Karen and Shan groups comprise about 10% each, while Akha, Chin, Chinese, Danu, Indian, Kachin, Karenni, Kayan, Kokang, Lahu, Mon, Naga, Palaung, Pao, Rakhine, Rohingya, Tavoyan, and Wa peoples each constitute 5% or less of the population. Burma has experienced a long history of migration and conflict among various ethnic groups along fluid frontiers, which were finally fixed only during British imperial rule from the 1820s to 1948. Under British control, diverse peoples far from Rangoon were brought under at least nominal central administration. Yet many areas remained effectively self-ruled, with only a thin veneer of imperial oversight. During World War II, while many Burmans joined Japanese forces, many minority ethnic groups remained loyal to Britain. This reflected a genuine desire for independence on the part of both groups: Burmans struggling to be free of the British colonial yoke, and ethnic minorities wishing to escape Burman domination. The Union of Burma became independent in 1948 only after extensive negotiations led by General Aung San, who convinced most ethnic minority groups to join the new union. The Panglong Agreement of 1947 outlined minority rights and specifically gave the Shan and Karenni peoples the option to secede from the union a decade after independence. Yet these constitutional guarantees were never fully respected. Almost immediately upon independence, Burma was thrown into a series of brutal ethnic wars that have continued. Another major factor has been the special position and influence of the army within the state that did not develop, for example, in India. The repression of the democracy campaign of 1988 was only possible with the power of the Burman-dominated army. Economic development has not been as great as that of other Asian countries and so economic diversification and sophistication has not brought about political change. Reliance on forced labour has strengthened the Junta and the influence of foreign investors and traders as a means to bring about change has not been as important as in other countries. Also Burma's source of raw materials, particularly gas, has led to neighbours being muted in their criticisms – especially China, and to some extent India, and has led to opposition movements lacking vital support. The relative insignificance of an educated middle class has also been a factor and the cumulative effect of military power feeding on its own success in Burma's isolation has led to the growth rather than modification of violence and repression.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Though ethnic divisions and internal characteristics may be the compelling explanations, nevertheless the question offers candidates to put Burma's dictatorship into context and consider why international opinion and action has been so limited. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical

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interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### **36 Assess the significance of the rise and fall of President Marcos for the Philippines.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. From a privileged background, Ferdinand Marcos tried to enter politics in 1935 but was defeated for the Senate and was convicted of murdering his rival. Marcos was a victim of the death march from Bataan in 1941, escaped the prison camp and joined the resistance. He later claimed to have been a guerrilla leader, but that claim has been disputed. After a career as a member of the House of Representatives and the Senate and after switching from the Liberal to the Nationalist party he was elected President in 1965. The significance of his rise might be seen in the ability of a man with a possibly criminal past, accused of lying about his war record and with some fraudulent claims for compensation for war damage and who had been openly opportunistic about his ambitions for power to be elected on a programme of economic development, improved infrastructure and good government. One significant element in his policy was his clear support for the USA and their policies in South Vietnam. The first presidency saw some attempt to put reform policies into practice but the second spell in office from 1970 saw an increasing desire for personal power and prestige and the start of a cult of personality, encouraged by his wife, Imelda. Giant pictures of him and messages with his words appeared and his image was in every classroom and public office. He faced increasing resistance from radical students, from communists and from Muslim separatists. The response was martial law and increasing reliance on US aid. Opponents were repressed and a constitutional change was passed to give legitimacy to what was essentially a dictatorship. Elections in 1978 were engineered to produce government victories. Martial law was formally ended in 1981. The opposition leader Aquino was murdered in 1983 on his return from exile in the USA. By the 1980s the Philippines were encountering economic problems and more important Marcos had lost US support. 1986 saw a massive demonstration of People Power and after another obviously rigged election, there were massive demonstrations in favour of Corason Aquino. The sheer corruption of the regime was revealed and the Marcoses fled to Hawaii where Ferdinand died in 1989. The significance of the fall lies in the reluctance of the USA by the 1980s to condone human rights abuses in the post-Vietnam era. Reagan had been a firm supporter; Carter was a severe critic. The growing economic problems put pressure on the regime and the importance of popular demonstrations in ousting dictatorial regimes prefigured the changes in Eastern Europe, also part of the decline of the Cold War. The higher expectations in the Philippines may have been a result of greater political awareness, more international contacts as workers went abroad and better communications. Marcos depended on his cult of personality but was increasingly ill and his wife's obvious corruption weakened him. His rise reflected a need for economic reforms; his fall reflected his failure to deliver this in a changing economic climate of high oil prices and less US support.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Significance offers the opportunity for sustained analysis of the emergence and decline of the Marcos phenomenon and not an account of his actual rule. Better answers will attempt to look at what elements had the greatest significance and offer some balance in treatment of rise and fall. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

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AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### **Section 8: Themes: Asia c.1750–2000**

#### **37 What best explains the success of European penetration of China in the nineteenth century?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. There are factors which have to do with Chinese weakness and the misjudgements and failures of the Qing rulers and factors which explain the ability of small European forces to have a disproportionate influence on China. The failure to see the impact of the reluctance to trade with Britain and to insist on payments in silver led to conflicts and the Chinese were defeated in the two opium wars by Britain, which opened the possibilities of France and Russia taking greater advantage of Chinese weaknesses. The absence of large-scale industrialisation in China, the conservatism of the mandarin system, the limitations of central rule, naval and military weaknesses have to be set against the impact of western industrialisation on arms and naval development; the greater organisation and tactical strength of the western forces and the dynamism of the capitalist-industrial powers already building on their successes in India. With the further division of China in the Taiping rebellion, European powers were able to secure their foothold and extend their economic concessions, securing the dynasty only to dominate it. The defeat of China by Japan and the crushing of the Boxer rebellion confirmed China's weakness. Western powers were able to combine when needed to confirm their imperial domination and with the enormous growth of naval technology and weaponry after 1860 confirmed their military advantage. To overcome foreign domination China would have needed an economic and military revolution comparable to that of post-Meiji Japan or to the long period of growth since 1949. The Qing rulers and their ministers could or would not undertake this and the ruling elites were not committed to a modernisation programme in the same way as their Japanese counterparts. The profits of dominating China were too great for European powers to have any interest in making concessions to what they regarded as an inherently weak and divided state.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The elements are clearly the inherent problems of China in terms of political, economic, military and administrative development and the disunity and divisions, together with the ineptitude of its rulers, set against the rapacity and confidence of European powers eager to gain and maintain trading concessions, sustain access to China's massive market and its luxury products for which there was considerable demand. Introducing opium weakened resistance, but the rapid military development of Europe may well have been the decisive factor. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**38 How convincing is the view that the success of the East India Company from 1750 was primarily the result of internal divisions in India?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The establishment of Company power was a mixture of enterprise and the failure of native rulers to see the implications of allowing Britain to establish itself. Numerous trading posts were established along the east and west coasts of India, and considerable English communities developed around the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. In 1717, the Company achieved its hitherto most notable success when it received permission from the Mughal Emperor exempting the Company from the payment of custom duties in Bengal. The very large fortunes allowed the Company to accumulate military strength, but also to form alliances with dissident princes. The great success of Plassey in 1757 was a result of a mixture of these elements – Clive was an able and enterprising leader, but he had modern artillery and the support of Indian allies in the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal. The continuing support of the Delhi emperor was important. A few years later the Company acquired the right to collect revenues on behalf of the Mughal Emperor, but the initial years of its administration were calamitous for the people of Bengal. The famine of 1769–70, which the Company's policies did nothing to alleviate, may have taken the lives of as many as a third of the population. Another factor was the willingness of the British government to support the Company which, despite its massive wealth, faced heavy expenditure and the results of a major famine in Bengal. State intervention put the ailing Company back on its feet, and Lord North's India Bill, also known as the Regulating Act of 1773, provided for greater parliamentary control over the affairs of the Company, besides placing India under the rule of a Governor-General. The first Governor-General of India was Warren Hastings. Had there been concerted Indian resistance it is difficult to see the Company maintaining its hold, but adept diplomacy and strong leadership from Warren Hastings led to the expansion of Company rule by 1784. The linking of British rule with vested interests was expanded by Cornwallis, who initiated the Permanent Settlement whereby an agreement in perpetuity was reached with *zamindars* or landlords for the collection of revenue. With Britain's military expansion came a greater reliance on the use of force against Indian rulers who failed to gather allies to defeat the British. Wellesley defeated Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the Marathas, and finally the subjugation and conquest of the Sikhs in a series of Anglo-Sikh Wars led to British occupation over the entirety of India. Let in by divisions, the Company with the backing of the British state took a more dynamic policy of control and made increasing inroads on Indian independence and culture. However they still depended on using Indian allies and subordinates in the 1840s. In some places, the British practised indirect rule, placing a Resident at the court of the native ruler who was allowed sovereignty in domestic matters. Lord Dalhousie's notorious doctrine of lapse, whereby a native state became part of British India if there was no male heir at the death of the ruler, was one of the principal means by which native states were annexed. Not until 1857 was there a major attempt at resistance, but this too was undermined by Indian divisions.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The balance here is between Indian divisions, both social and political, and the skills and resources of the Company. Better answers will offer a supported judgement which goes beyond outlining factors. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### **39 Account for the changing relationship between Australasia and South-East Asia after 1945.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. After hostile relations with Japan in the era of the Second World War and ongoing hostility to Communist expansion in South-East Asia, together with restrictive immigration policies, Australia effectively had limited links with South-East Asia before the early 1960s. Australasia had to come to terms with new independent states in South-East Asia. Its links with Britain loosened and it had to adjust to a rapidly changing situation with its Asian neighbours that had not been the case before 1945. There was the danger of instability, the fear of a Communist Asia and then the rapid economic growth of South-East Asia and changing trade patterns and economic relations. Australia supported continuing Dutch colonialism in West Papua and was enthusiastic about the US war in Vietnam. Relations with Indonesia were strained by the Australian opposition to Indonesian control of West Papua. Generally, relations between Australia and South-East Asia have been fraught. Malaysia has not seen Australia as part of Asia and there have been objections to Australian participation in Asian affairs, for example the peace-keeping force in East Timor. Japan, South Korea and Taiwan have strong economic links with Australia and more than 40% of Australia's imports come from Asia and half its exports go to S E Asia. The closest relations have developed with Singapore, with trading and military agreements. Australian policy to try to extend the Australasian free-trade zone with New Zealand, to include South-East Asian nations, is running into problems. It has been agreed in principle but is unlikely to happen in the near future. However, Australia has been dependent for its security on links with the USA which has made SE Asia suspicious. Australia tended to see its SE Asian neighbours as politically and economically much less developed, but in order to ensure stable relations attempted to establish 'stable relations' with endorsed dictators: this policy was seen as one of a 'New Order'. It accepted Diem and Ky in South Vietnam, Marcos in the Philippines and Suharto in Indonesia, among others. Australia even moved closer to the military dictatorship in Burma, and offered some acquiescence over Indonesia's bloody invasion and occupation of East Timor. Australia's foreign policy has feared the breakup of the post-colonial states in East Asia. To this end, the foreign policy elite have loudly proclaimed the continuing necessity of 'stability'. Successive Australian governments endorsed its incorporation into Indonesia, despite the massive loss of life and the continued oppression of and resistance by the East Timorese people. Australia's policy in Vietnam was for similar reasons. Australia wanted a buffer state to help ensure 'stability' in South-East Asia. This view, of course, completely ignored Vietnam's history and its aspirations for both independence and unity. Australia's involvement in Vietnam was, consequently, a mistake. But the requirement for 'stability' continued as paramount. During the Cold War, 'stability' equated to opposing communism. With the ending of Whites Only in the 1970s there was an Asian influx, but again, not enough thought was given to infrastructure and the impact on inter-community relations.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The major emphasis might be on the economic factors, as trade with Britain and the relationship with Britain changed and the economic significance of SE Asia was revolutionized. The factors might be seen as ideological or strategic. Having fought off Asian expansionism in the war, Australia naturally feared it in another possible form in the rise of Asian communism. Linked to this was the fear of fragmentation in SE Asian countries like Indonesia. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

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AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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#### **40 Account for the varying degree of change in the status of women in Asia after 1945.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The variables might be: the extent of political change – for example in communist Asia in China, Vietnam, North Korea, Cambodia. Women had been seen as theoretically equal (Mao said 'Women hold up half the sky') and had played a vital role in the liberation movements.

The extent of economic change and modernisation. The emergence of Tiger economies which relied less on exports of raw materials and more on tertiary sector activity in which women could easily play a part and their soft skills could be developed. China allowed successful women entrepreneurs to emerge, but this was not always the case. Also economic change did not always translate into political change. In Singapore under 5% of public offices were held by women despite a massive urban development.

Education and awareness. Where there has been relatively limited change, for example in Afghanistan or Burma, there has been less opportunity for women. Sometimes education can open limited doors. In India for example most teachers are women but this has not resulted in complete economic/political equality.

The impact of role models – for example in India and Sri Lanka where women have ruled has been significant to some extent, though political change has not impacted on many traditional areas of discrimination.

Another factor has been decisive events which have shaken society and therefore shaken entrenched Asian views about women. One example is the defeat of Japan in 1945 or perhaps decolonisation in South-East Asia.

Religious factors might account for change – for example the rise of militant Islamic regimes in Iran or Afghanistan which affected the progress made.

The greater communication with the West – cinema, internet and actual experience of life in other cultures, for example with more Indians living overseas or Filipinos travelling and the impact of foreigners in Asia as tourists or soldiers has led to an awareness of different models – sometimes this has provoked a reaction against change as well as pressure for change.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. This is a wide question and examples could be drawn from many areas. Better answers will keep a focus on varying change within the period and in different areas and attempt to consider factors rather than explaining change in one country, for example China. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**41 To what extent can the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in Asia since 1979 be explained by economic factors?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. 60% of the world's 1.2 billion Muslims live in Asia and there are four very large concentrations of Muslims in India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Traditionally moderate as a result of the religion being spread by trade not conquest, as in the Middle East and North Africa, the Asian Muslims have been increasingly revivalist and fundamental. Possible explanations may include:

The effects of the Asian financial crash of 1997 (which brought the end of the Suharto government and opened the way for Islamic political power) and the general effects of modernisation and globalisation which have meant a disruption of tradition and isolated some groups, particularly in rural areas, Migration to cities has often left Asians rootless and eager to reaffirm traditional faith to give some stability and economic globalisation which has been seen to challenge traditional Islamic values. The appeal of fundamentalism has been strong in poor areas, but economic factors may not be the key. Sometimes Islamic insurgency has been associated with a desire for political power, for example in the Philippines and Thailand or for autonomy as among the Uighurs in Chinese Xinjiang. There have been anti-western feelings brought about by the Iraq Wars, by US support for Israel and by the Russian campaigns in Afghanistan followed by US and Nato intervention. These may be linked to a resentment of western economic domination, but the purely political element has to be considered. The political impact of the Iranian revolution is significant and the problems of governments such as that of Pakistan in enforcing political authority over its remoter regions are factors. Economics could be linked to technology – the ability of fundamentalist groups to use the West's own technology to challenge its supremacy – flying its own planes into the World Trade Building, using the internet and mobile phone technology etc. In terms of religious factors, there is the feeling that there are strong revivalist enemies in different religions – the rise of the BJP and Hindu nationalism in India and ongoing conflict over Kashmir, seen as Asian Muslims being placed under an alien religion; Israel's perceived harsh treatment of Palestinian Muslims; Bush was seen as a Christian activist crusader.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. The answer should not automatically equate terrorism and Islamic revival and there should be some awareness that different regions may be affected by different factors. There may be links between economic factors and other explanations that better answers will analyse. Better answers will treat possible explanations with discrimination. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**42 How important were government policies in the growth of the 'Tiger Economies' of Asia in the later twentieth century?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. In 1993, the World Bank published a report, entitled the 'East Asian Miracle', which identified eight countries that had achieved 'seemingly miraculous' rates of sustained growth over the 25-year period from 1965 to 1990. The eight were Japan, the 'Four Tigers': Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan; followed by the 'newly industrialising economies', now called 'emerging Tigers': Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. To these eight, some added the Philippines. The elements of economic growth were large degrees of foreign investment; harmonious industrial relations on the post-war Japanese model, emphasis on financial services in the city states and on exporting goods and services to industrialised countries. The tigers emphasised high technology and low costs, complete stability for investors backed by firm alliances with western powers and attempts to harmonise relations with potentially hostile neighbours in the case of Singapore. Partly economic growth was a matter of utilising factors in a global context which encouraged growth – the availability of raw materials for export in the case of Malaysia, the lack of conflict in the region, the globalisation and freeing up of economic activity in big Asian states such as China and India and the availability of cheap labour and modern communications. Partly it was government policies which encouraged foreign investment, ensured internal stability, offered grants and subsidies to attract investment and adopted a clear capitalist ethos. It was easier to create an effective infrastructure in a city state like Singapore and to ensure that policies of social control were matched by effective social security to promote harmony and offer investors a model capitalist state than in larger areas like South Korea. However in all these countries, the need to respond to global opportunities was recognised at government level and the state played a major part in permitting private enterprise to take advantage of opportunities, at least until the Asian financial crisis of 1997.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. There may be differing explanations and some may challenge the whole notion of 'Tiger Economies' particularly when, as in South Korea, there is a substantial agricultural element which did not reflect the same amount of economic development as the high tech and well-controlled cities. However the main debate will be between purely private elements, the general growth of SE Asia's economies and the impact of government policy. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.