

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2012 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9769 HISTORY**

**9769/04**

Paper 4 (African and Asian History Outlines c.1750),  
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 2012 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 Why was European colonial rivalry in North Africa greater before than after the First World 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. There was colonial rivalry over Egypt between Britain and France, especially over Britain's response to unrest in 1882. Italy and France were rivals over the French annexation of Tunisia. Italy and Turkey fought over Tripolitania. The Germans provoked anger over the Kaiser's visit to Agadir and his support for Moroccan independence and there was more anger over the sending of the Panzer to Agadir in 1911. After the First World War, Germany offered no comparable colonial adventurism and even after 1933 Hitler showed little interest in colonies – the North Africa campaign was part of a wider power struggle and not really colonial rivalry. France and Italy did not resume their rivalry about North Africa. Mussolini was more concerned with the Balkans and with East Africa. The intense rivalry between France and Britain over affairs in Egypt and the Sudan did not seem relevant after the First World War because of the shared effort against Germany and France's diplomatic efforts to ensure security in Europe rather than North Africa. The acquisition of much more valuable lands in the Middle East and the obvious problems that Britain faced in her empire made have made claim and counter claim in North Africa seem part of a now outdated African scramble.

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

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 How well did Haile Selassie serve his subjects?

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. Since gaining control of the army in 1925 and acting first as regent then king, Haile Selassie, who began his rule as emperor in 1930, had been seen as a moderniser who gained admission to the League of Nations for Ethiopia. He achieved greater power for central government over the tribal chiefs and a new constitution. He failed despite a dignified and emotional plea to get international help against the Italian invasion. The period after his restoration by Britain in 1941 saw internal reforms, financial and administrative reforms and suppression of particularist revolts. There was no implementation of any real constitutional government until the general election of 1957, though the regime had some successes, such as the incorporation of Eritrea by 1962. The Emperor continued to dominate politically and a failed coup of 1960 could either point to his success or to the opposition he was engendering. He continued to offer his country an outward-looking vision and interest in internationalism and the new OAU was based in Addis Ababa in 1963. Foreign affairs were a priority and some blamed him for neglecting Ethiopia. The famine of 1973 revealed discontents and he was overthrown in 1974.

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 discussion could be about a modernizer who orientated his country into the international sphere and attempted religious, educational, fiscal and administrative reforms and a ruler who clung to personal power for too long and did not make adequate provision for economic problems or deal sufficiently well with the aspirations of the young or the Ethiopian educated classes. He offered his people prestige abroad; his wartime leadership was inspirational and he maintained the independence of his nation after 1941, but at a cost of some political ossification. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 Assess the impact of Italian rule on Somalia.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Italy had been interested in Somalia since the 1870s, established control there in the 1880s and began more formal and regulated colonisation after 1905, establishing six subdivisions and a basic law in 1908 regulating the administration of the colony. The Governor had key rights but there was some input from an assembly and from the government of the homeland. The governor controlled customs duties, police and military affairs, with some cooperation from local chiefs. After World War I there was a movement to develop Somalia by the SAIS (Societa Agricola Italo-Somalia) – mainly sheep farming. Fascism was introduced from December 1923. Forceful colonialism provoked rebellion in Northern Somalia, but the new regime cooperated with key tribal leaders to restore order and added Jubaland in 1925 from British Kenya. In 1936, after the defeat of Ethiopia, Somalia became part of Italian East Africa, which temporarily overran British Somalia in 1940. However Britain conquered the Italian colonies by 1942 and administered Somalia right up to 1949. Italy retained administration of Somalia under the United Nations until independence in 1960. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 likely to be between the view that Italian rule, especially after the arrival of De Vecchi in 1923, brought prolonged warfare, destruction, for example of Baargaal in 1925. In 1927 Mussolini committed large scale forces to the subjection of the Northern sultanates which provoked violent resistance. Cholera and disease followed the prolonged fighting and rebellion up to the creation of a unified Italian East Africa in 1936. Italian immigration added a layer of white supremacy and the war brought the return of British colonial rule and political uncertainty until 1949. On the plus side, Italian investment into a poor region did result in some economic and political development. There was the development of infrastructure, modern administration and a class of Italian administrators who were devoted to the region. The UN granted Italy the right to administer the territory in recognition of some achievements in 1949 and in comparison with a lot of its post-1960 history a relatively prosperous and harmonious period ensued in the 1950s with local religion and laws being generally respected and some urban and economic development. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 successful were the internal policies of Nasser's successors in the period 1970 to 2000?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Sadat 1970–81 broke the relationship with the USSR that Nasser had developed and internal liberalisation policies modernised aspects of Egypt. He pinned his hopes on peace and won the Nobel peace prize, but the costs of the Six Day War and the end of Russian aid put strains on the standards of living and the peace policy alienated Muslim fundamentalists. Sadat tried to negotiate loans for the maintenance of living standards and the avoidance of radical opposition and he made concessions to the Islamic fundamentalists by accepting Sharia law. However, he was assassinated in 1981 and succeeded by President Mubarak. Since 1981 there has been a state of emergency in Egypt and though three referenda have elected Mubarak, this has largely been as a result of a government-dominated assembly having the vote. The state has controlled the Coptic Church with the pope being exiled from 1981–85 and repressed the Muslim Brotherhood. Despite having substantial debt reduction as a result of supporting the coalition in the 1991 Gulf War, the Egyptian economy was still facing problems in 2000. The privatization continued, but led, as with Sadat to accusations of corruption and benefits going to the president's supporters. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 here is whether the successors have moved away from a sterile state socialism and realigned Egypt's economy and society in a way comparable to, say China, by having a closer relationship with the West. Against this there have been ongoing economic problems and the process of liberalization has been marked by corruption. The reliance on repression to deal with Egyptian fundamentalist opposition to foreign policy has led to a failure to develop the sort of Arab democracy envisaged by Nasser, but Egypt has achieved some development. Domestic policy must be seen as being linked to some degree with the movement away from unrelieved opposition to Israel and stronger relationship with the USA. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 significant were the achievements of Bourguiba in Tunisia?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Habib Bourguiba was President of Tunisia after independence in 1957 until his removal from power in 1987 in a bloodless coup led by his prime minister. He attempted modernisation, giving women the vote, ending polygamy and abolishing the veil. However, though he rejected Fundamental Islam he did not align himself entirely with the West, supporting the PLO. And, until 1961, the struggle of the FLN in Algeria, seriously weakening the economic and political links with France. The development of industry and tourism gave Tunisia a greater degree of prosperity than in colonial times, but the lack of any real discussion or democracy led to ill-judged economic policies such as agricultural collectives which failed. A one-party state with a considerable emphasis on the personal power and prestige of Bourguiba himself developed by 1980. Opposition was repressed as with pro-democracy demonstrations in 1977. However, until the 1980s Bourguiba was seen as a developer and moderniser and a father figure for modern Tunisia. He was admired for keeping a balance between the support for Islamic freedom and avoiding too much confrontation with the West, on whom Tunisia depended for trade and tourism. The economic problems of the 1980s and disputes within the country, especially with organised labour, led to his overthrow. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 here may be between the view of Bourguiba as a flexible moderniser, able to maintain Western support in the Cold War and, after 1970 to pursue a more liberal and free-enterprise economic system which moved away from the Nasser model of socialism and opened up trade and tourism and the view of a president who still remained rooted in anti-western ideas and whose reforms did not go beyond a surface modernisation. For example, although he did improve the lot of women in 1956, there was no freedom for women to organise and the enforcement of social reforms was limited. However there were reforms in public education and social welfare and also in traditional property laws which did effect important changes. Voted president for life, it could be argued that although he contemplated more democratic reforms he did not significantly move Tunisia away from a quasi-dictatorship and that his rule ended in forcible overthrow when economic pressures built up. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 Why did apartheid in South Africa last so long?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Following the elections of 1948 a series of discriminatory laws was passed which amounted to an institutionalised racial segregation system; Mixed marriages were banned in 1949 as were inter-race sexual relations. Municipal amenities were segregated in 1953 and there was official employment segregation in 1956. Education was segregated in 1953 and extended in 1959 to higher education. Language was used as a racial segregation tool when Afrikaans became the language in high schools. From 1951 the Bantustan black homelands had separate administrations, leading eventually to the 1970 Black homeland Citizenship Act in which blacks were citizens of the ten homelands rather than South Africa itself. Economic discrimination was enforced by the pass laws. Thus ongoing development of apartheid made it harder to resist. Until the 1960s the discrimination in the Southern States of the USA made it difficult for the USA to offer any moral condemnation and much of the legislation had its origins in colonial Britain. However, from the 1960s there was more change as so many more African nations gained independence and the Civil Rights movement developed. However, there was a time lag between these developments and the eventual decline of Apartheid begun in 1990 and ending in 1994. Boycotts, criticisms, sanctions and internal unrest had limited effects until the ending of the Cold War and the sense of political and economic isolation felt by the South African leadership became compelling reasons for change. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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

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

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

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 far was Nkrumah responsible for his own downfall?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. From 1954 Nkrumah became less popular. The taxes on the cocoa farmers prevented them from benefiting from the rapid rise of world cocoa prizes and even though the money was used for infrastructure investment, the levy was widely resented. His regime became more repressive: strikes were made illegal in 1958 after fears that miners' strikes would endanger economic prosperity and opponents were made liable for imprisonment without trial following the Preventive Detention Act. The legislation was used against railway workers in 1961. There was widespread resentment about the use of the repressive legislation, with accusations that personal feuds were being waged or that successful businesses were being grabbed by government members ordering the arrest of businessmen. Nkrumah seemed to be increasingly remote from everyday problems and withdrew from public appearances. In 1964 his party was declared the only legal political party and he became President for life. Heavy debts incurred for projects for national development such as the Akosombo Dam needed heavy taxes to service. The increase of cocoa taxes hit the southern part of Ghana disproportionately. The rising cost of military expenditure put pressure on the state, while conscription was resented by some; and within the army and among the ruling elites there was some concern about diplomatic policy and support for the Communist world. Nkrumah was overthrown by the military while he was on a state visit to China in February 1966. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 might be about whether Nkrumah's goals in the long-term were simply too idealistic and the benefits too far in the future to avoid problems brought about by short-term factors and regional/sectional discontents; or whether Nkrumah is more to blame for an increasingly remote, suspicious and dictatorial form of government, too orientated to socialism and major projects regardless of short-term costs and whether he misjudged foreign policy and the support of the army. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Zimbabwe became independent April 1980. Its capital became known as Harare in 1982. It had a constitution with a non-executive president until 1987 when an executive president was established – Mugabe held the office 1988–2000. Until 1986 20% of seats in the lower house were reserved for whites and other non-black minorities. The Senate was abolished in 1990 and the lower house dominated by the President's appointees. The post-independence hopes that whites would be integrated into the system were ended. The integration of the guerrilla armies with the Rhodesian army again suggested a transition but the commander was exiled and claims of corrupt elections ignored. Previous rival groups at first worked together but the ZAPU groups were accused of treason and racial tensions between the Matabele-based Ndebles and the ZANU emerged. Discrimination against ZAPU led to renewed guerrilla activity and government repression by 1987. The new government maintained emergency powers and suppressed opposition in Matabeleland 1983–84 and a low level civil war was waged with some violence in the 1980s until a compromise was reached in 1987 between Mugabe and Nkomo. Though Mugabe won the 1990 elections there were accusations of corruption. In April 1991 capital and corporal punishment was introduced and there were no rights for those whose lands were taken over by the state. There were considerable problems brought about by AIDS. Demonstrations by trade unions were banned in 1992, but unrest continued and there was a general strike in 1997. The government resorted to greater repression and more concessions to the ZANLA veterans of the war against the white Rhodesian forces. In the late 1990s there was a policy of forcible land reclamation from the whites – who owned a disproportionately large amount of land. The mass migration of white farmers was brought about when the army and police were forbidden to prevent land seizures. The disruption and severe droughts led to a food crisis. Initially the new state had relied on severe economic controls of prices, wages and economic life. There was relaxation in the 1990s but the economy suffered from inflation and contraction of economic growth with resultant loss of basic social services. Government deficits were high and there many economic failures in farming and manufacturing. Poverty increased. An opposition movement in 1999–2000 failed to dislodge Mugabe who relied on support by encouraging even more land seizures. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Most answers will stress the problems – the failure to maintain the constitution; the suppression of opposition; the reliance of Mugabe on veterans with the consequent land seizures leading to impoverishment of once-prosperous agricultural land; the inflation; the decline in public services and the damage done to Zimbabwe's reputation in Africa and the world. However, for all that, pre-independence Zimbabwe was a radically unjust semi-colony; white rule was bolstered by violence and repression; land ownership and the distribution of wealth was distorted; black political representation was limited and the Smith regime was regarded with distaste internationally and in Africa with sanctions impeding economic progress. So a degree of balance and discussion is called for. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 How is instability in Rwanda after independence best explained?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The overwhelming element is the racial tension between Hutu and Tutsi. The historical legacy of Rwanda-Urundi and the legacy of the Belgian administration may be analysed, but modern Rwanda was created by the republic of 1962. This followed a period of internal violence following the Hutu overthrow of the Tutsi monarchy in 1959. The sheltering of guerrilla groups in neighbouring countries continued to plague Rwanda and challenge stability. The Hutu leader Kayibonda had high ideals but his party resorted to corruption and discrimination against the Tutsi minority in employment and education. The legacy of a sort of apartheid system between the two racial groups made integration more difficult. By 1964 Rwanda had banned opposition and relied on US and Belgian support. Instability however spread after the Hutu massacres in Burundi in 1972 caused large numbers of refugees to enter the country and in 1973 a military coup brought General Habyarimana to power. Little changed in that there was still discrimination against the Tutsi and a drift to dictatorship, confirmed by an official one-party state in 1978. The regime was challenged by a Tutsi resistance movement and in 1993 a full scale invasion by Tutsi forces from Uganda forced a compromise power share but civil war raging between Hutu and Tutsi spilled over from Burundi and there was a major crisis in 1994 when a plane carrying the presidents of both Rwanda and Burundi was shot down. Hutu militia carried out a genocide which may have claimed a million lives. A renewed civil war led to the fall of Kigali to rebel RPF Tutsi forces and a vast refugee outflow which was reversed in 1997. The unrest led to two wars in the Congo after 1996. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 obvious starting point in the bitter struggle between Tutsi and Hutu, which has a long history. The colonial legacy may be discussed and other elements might be the resort to military rule and the ambitions of the generals. A complicating factor is the spreading of ethnic conflict to neighbouring states, which has compounded the instability. The failure of international organisations to control the communal violence (in contrast, say to NATO's actions in former Yugoslavia) might be considered. Better answers will attempt to separate long/short term explanations and offer some sort of priority. Though ethnic conflict is at the heart of any explanation, it may be considered in a wider context. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. In Central and East Africa the major stimulation for economic growth was the decline of the slave trade with Europe. Internal trade could not replace the Atlantic trade and caused a rapid increase in population as young men were no longer being sent away. This led to more slave labour being used for agriculture and the development of alternative trade and enterprise. The Chokwe emerged as specialised traders in beeswax and ivory and later rubber. Long-distance trading emerged and new groups such as the Ambaquista and Ovimbundu emerged. Imports of firearms, woollens and Indian cotton were traded for copper from the Congo/Zambia, ivory and salt and captives. Professional traders like the Bisa and the Yao emerged. The prazeros, descendants of Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese traders and hunters dominated the Upper Zambezi slave and ivory trade. Thus a major upsurge in trading activity developed from the diversification and extension of trade. In West Africa there was also the development of 'legitimate commerce'. New crops from America such as maize and cassava were tried in the 1830s and a range of alternative products replaced slaves – though slaves were used in its production – gum Arabic from Senegal; groundnuts from Guinea; palm oil and gold from Asante. Dahomey had to depend on internal slave traders until the 1860s ended the demand from Cuba and the US. Palm oil developed as a major export and was in demand by the European factories as a lubricant. However, diversification had little benefit for the majority of the peoples and the resulting increase of European textile imports undermined local production. In Southern Africa the pace of economic development was more limited and by 1850 both conquerors and conquered, white and black, depended on small scale farming and some export of hunting products rather than a highly developed cash crop such as palm oil or long-range trade. Economic activity was more associated with the need for power as in Sotho's imports of guns and horses from the white colonists. In North Africa the prolonged war in Algeria retarded economic progress, but the reforms of Mohammed Ali in Egypt saw economic growth. His control of the Mamaluk lands and his irrigation projects brought an increase in land cultivated and the growth of cotton and wheat for export. The invasion by Egypt of the Sudan opened up trade with the red Sea and a revival of the pilgrim trade to Mecca. British interest in developing trade led to overseas investment at the end of the period. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 pace of change was different in some areas than others and better answers may take an overview and look synoptically at developments. In Southern Africa invasions and conquests dominated the period and generally did little to effect economic progress, while in Central and West Africa the impetus of a major external change in the ending of the slave trade with Europe and America had an unexpected effect in stimulating alternative trades. The impact of industrialisation can be seen in the demand for key crops such as palm oil in West Africa and cotton from Egypt. The continuing supply of cheap slave labour was an element in economic growth with more being applied to purely internal economic activity than simply being exported in slave ships. Trade was a major stimulus but European trade often had a negative effect on native production and European colonisation efforts had a negative effect on general economic activity in Algeria, Ethiopia and South Africa. Where there was promotion of economic activity by local rulers as in parts of West Africa and in Egypt, this had major impact on developments. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.



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

Candidates should:

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

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. Discussion should focus on whether the Berlin Conference merely intensified existing trends for greater formal control by the powers or whether it was of major importance in the Scramble for Africa by setting the example of the permission given by Leopold and establishing with the expansion of German influence a sort of chain reaction and a formula by which European powers could colonise with a degree of mutual acceptance. The colonisation that emerged from Berlin was accompanied by some horrific violence and exploitation, for example in the Congo, and led to extensive resistance and warfare; it also led to some unhappy accretions of territories of different ethnic composition which laid up future problems. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The Second World War brought a greater awareness of political rights among educated African opinion – the Atlantic Charter was widely discussed and the democratic nature of allied war aims was influential. Africans were aware of the importance of Africa for the allied war effort; for some, wartime demand increased prosperity and confidence. The colonial powers made more effort to win over African opinion and there were influential African –run newspapers. African troops played a leading part in liberating Ethiopia and Pan-Africanism grew to some extent. By 1945 there were influential nationalist leaders like Nkrumah and Kenyatta. When it came to resistance, it was clear that nationalists could count on considerable support and sacrifice, for instance in Algeria. On the other hand, the war had considerably weakened Europe. By 1947 Britain was not in a position to combat Indian nationalism and the granting of Indian independence had a major effect on nationalism in Africa. The USA was not prepared to bolster the British Empire and Britain was overstretched as a world power. The prestige of the colonial powers had been reduced by defeats by Japan and there was considerable damage brought about by the war in economic terms to some countries. The political support for colonisation had been eroded to some extent, too. Against this, in some areas the humiliations of war had made France more determined to reassert itself and in Algeria it was arguably the strength of resistance that was the key element in prolonging the conflict. There is a wealth of material here and candidates may cite well-led protests which were widely supported, as in Tanganyika against the position of the colonising power – Britain – which by 1954 had still to maintain itself as a major player in European Cold War politics and did not have the same resources as before 1939 to put into suppressing nationalism which it had acceded to in other parts of the Empire. After 1956 and the Suez debacle it also became clear that international support would not be forthcoming and that public opinion at home had changed. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Factors are clearly interlinked – and generalisations are difficult. The level of national awareness differed and often ethnic conflict impeded nationalism. In some areas, like Morocco, independence did not follow a drawn out campaign; in other areas, partly as a response to local pressure and partly in response to the perceived value of the colony or reluctance to be seen to giving in to violence, such as in Kenya and Algeria, there was a more sustained conflict. 'Weakness' may be challenged and it may be more realistic to see the position of the colonial powers having been changed by the war, by a new public opinion, by the changing trade patterns within Europe and by the new international situation. Good answers will achieve a genuine discussion of different factors – the situation of the colonisers and the nationalist developments in Africa. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The War was fought in Africa and thousands of Africans participated – 80,000 African troops went to France in 1939, for instance. African labour and resources were used to support the allied war effort, tin, palm oil and rubber were vital aspects and Africa was also an important food source. All this gave Africa a greater sense of its importance and more direct colonial administration brought the colonial states closer to many Africans. There was more investment in infrastructure in Africa, especially ports and in some areas like South Africa the war had a big impact on increasing manufacturing. The European powers sought to involve Africans in the war effort and there was more of a sense of partnership than before. The events of the war encouraged nationalism – especially as the colonisers' weaknesses were apparent with the victories of the Germans and Japanese early in the war. Pan-Africanism grew and so did the demands of nationalist groups. The effects of the war in Asia impacted, especially the post-war decision of Britain to grant independence to India. More Africans travelled overseas as a result of the war; they came into contact with different ideas and environments. The war also changed European attitudes – the Atlantic Charter, the Brazzaville Conference. Portugal kept her old attitudes, but there was a greater willingness by France and Britain to bring more Africans into administration. The emergence of Communist superpowers and the antagonism to communism in Asia and Europe by the West had considerable impact on Africa, where anti-colonial movements were seen as communist and the South African government equated opposition with communism. Ostensible anti-Communist regimes could get support from the USA while the Soviet Union aided Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, the Congo, and Egypt under Nasser, Somalia, Ethiopia under Mengistu, Benin and briefly Uganda. The spread of Russian influence was a matter of major concern to the West and even corrupt anti-communist leaders such as Mobutu of Zaire got US support. The Cold War probably extended the existence of Apartheid. The most evident manifestations of the Cold War were probably the links made by Nasser, with his vision of Arab Socialism with the USSR, which helped to fuel the invasion of 1956. The links increased in the late 1960s and in 1973 there was a danger of direct Soviet involvement in the Yom Kippur War but Egypt repudiated Russia under Sadat in the later 1970s. Egypt was part of an anti-Israeli policy pursued by Russia and played a part in increasing tensions. The Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea Somalia and Angola were areas directly affected by Cold War politics with the US and USSR giving military aid to opposing sides, prolonging the conflict and leaving a dangerous legacy. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Those arguing for the greater importance of the Second World War may link the war with the emergence of an independent Africa; but this may well be modified – nationalism was not as potent or well-organised as in India and there was less tradition of colonial powers working with native elites. Few expected an independent Africa to emerge so quickly. Those who see the Cold War as more significant in extending major conflict to Africa, bringing new ideologies to nationalist resistance and intensifying internal conflicts may well have a case; but better answers will reach a judgement about relative importance however qualified. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. This is a contentious issue and generally the case that foreign aid has been ineffective is based on a series of arguments. 1. That corruption and inefficiency prevent aid from reaching those who most need it and often it ends up in European bank accounts of corrupt government leaders. 2. That aid is often put into pointless and loss making projects that have little economic benefit. 3. That aid can induce dependency, reduce incentives for agricultural developments and may only reinforce changes which may have been made anyway. 4. That aid is much less effective than genuine and sustainable economic developments which in practice it has not encouraged. 5. Some aid has had conditions that have benefited the donor countries and has been motivated, as in the case of China, in acquiring cheap energy and raw materials, distorting the free market which might have benefited producers. The general criticism is that the outcome from such a vast investment has been disappointing; \$500 billion between 1960 and 1997, were given to Sub-Saharan Africa. And today, the national budgets of most Sub-Saharan African countries are dependent on foreign aid for up to eighty percent of the annual budgets. The World Bank provided \$20 billion towards African development programmes. Yet, It is argued, Africa still suffers from a poverty trap There are often examples given in this sort of analysis. For example, Somalia's share of food imported in total volume of food consumption rose from less than 33 per cent in 1979 to over 63 per cent in 1984. This sea change ironically coincided with the period of highest food aid distribution to that country. By increasing the supply of food aid, Somalia's domestic food prices were dampened, and the prices of local food crops were prevented from rising, thus reducing the incentives for domestic food crop producers. This exacerbated Somalia's food deficit. On the other hand, there is a distinction between long-term limitations and sheer short-term necessity in alleviating humanitarian crisis. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The reports of individual projects to encourage education, better water, medical care and local initiatives show a far more encouraging picture than some of the macro-economic analyses.

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 arguments that aid has been ineffective and there are examples of waste, but better answers will attempt to offer a balanced view and see that this is a long period in which political problems, such as prolonged war in Eritrea, has made large scale economic development difficult but has not obviated the need for immediate assistance. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 successful was the Organisation of African Unity?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, by representatives of 32 governments. A further 21 states joined gradually over the years. In 2000 it merged with the African Economic Community. It created a number of specialist agencies such as the African Civil Aviation Commission and the Pan-African Telecommunications Union. The OAU aims to promote the unity and solidarity of African states; co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; promote international co-operation, giving due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and co-ordinate and harmonise members' political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defence policies. Critics point to large scale failure. They argue that little was done to prevent Somalia becoming a failed state; they point to the history of conflict in the Congo; the genocides in Rwanda and the ongoing civil wars in Rwanda and Burundi; there has been criticism of the failure to intervene in Zimbabwe to prevent the erosion of public services, the crippling inflation and the violence of the regime. The effectiveness of the OAU has been compared unfavourably with, say, NATO in Bosnia or the intervention internationally to defend Kuwait in the Gulf War. The humanitarian crisis in the Horn of Africa provoked a weak response. The poor quality of some of the leaders of African countries and the blatant dictatorship and corruption of some of the participating regimes has been seen as a reason for weakness. Defenders point out that as the majority of conflicts have been civil wars and the organisation is pledged to non-intervention then criticism has been unfair and has ignored the solid work in many areas apart from conflict in which cooperation has been increased. Defenders say that in its first few months, the Organisation of African Unity successfully mediated three weeks of border fighting between Morocco and Algeria. During the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–70, the OAU attempted to bring peace. Also conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire and Gabon, the Eritrean War of Independence (or secession) from Ethiopia, which began about the same time, were condemned by the majority of African states. The OAU adopted a policy of supporting the predominant party in civil war situations to try and end the conflict and establish a government with which to deal. This happened in the Chad Civil War, thus the OAU has the policy of recognising a government in power and thus can press it to negotiate with its opponents. The Cairo summit of 1993 agreed to the creation of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The OAU has tried to intervene in several crises in recent years, as in Burundi in the Comoros and most recently in Madagascar. It would not be realistic to think that the OAU could end all conflicts but it has helped to mediate and control them and established a framework for discussion. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Much depends on the expectations of a body like the OAU. Not all of its aims focus on ending long standing and bitter internal conflicts and given the problems this would probably not have been possible; but the fact that mediation is available and that a clear policy of recognising the predominant power has been accepted may well have prevented escalation, though not ended war or prevented horrific genocides. Candidates may well see the OAU as essentially ineffective, but that does not mean that it has had no success – the fact that it was created at all and lasted, adapting to calls for greater economic cooperation, may be discussed as well as its evident failures. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 4: China

### 17 What best explains the weakness of the Chinese empire by 1911?

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 most obvious feature may be foreign domination and the unequal treaties imposed by overseas powers. An analysis of why this occurred may involve consideration of the relative technological and therefore military backwardness. By comparison with Meiji Japan, the unequal encounters with European and US power did not lead to a major modernisation in terms of government, education, industry, agricultural production or naval and military power. There were some reforms in the later Manchu period but these were insufficient to meet the weaknesses that had been evident since the 1830s. The two Opium Wars with Britain revealed the technical weaknesses of the Chinese armed forces. Western influences and the influx of missionaries threatened Chinese culture. There were territorial losses in Indochina to France and Korea and defeat by another Asian Power, Japan, in 1894, The Boxer rebellion and the subsequent reaction of foreign powers revealed the impotence of the Empire. As well as foreign incursions, the internal divisions of China had caused serious damage – the extended and very costly Taiping Rebellion 1851–64 was one of the most brutal events of the century. The actions of Chinese leaders was a contributing factor with the reactionary Dowager Empress Xi Xi suppressing the reform movement among the Confucian scholar gentry led by Kang You-Wei in the coup of 1898. Reforms of the army and the oppressive and rigid education system, begun after 1905 and there were promised constitutional reforms and provincial assemblies began in 1909. However, the moves towards reforms provoked discontent and provincial separatism. By 1911 China had achieved neither strong reform nor appeased discontent and there was considerable discontent among provincial gentry, elements of the army and peasantry. There was also violence between Han and Manchu forces. The provinces broke away from Qing control.

AO2 – 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 judgements to be made about the long- and short-term factors, their links with each other and their relative importance. Candidates should weigh key elements such as the military and administrative weaknesses of the Empire; the economic limitations; the internal divisions; the rigid social system which inhibited progress to the more modern state needed to resist foreign incursion and maintain unity and progress. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The Chinese Communists faced an onslaught from Jiang and the GMD after the breakdown of the united front after the Northern Expedition. They were able to survive until the Japanese invasion of 1937 took pressure off them and forced the Nationalists into some sort of compromise again. The arguments for the main reason being the strengths of the Communists themselves might centre round the nurturing of ideology and organisation. There was little effective help from Moscow and the CCP developed a strategy of holding pockets of occupied territory – soviets. The most remote proved to be a problem for the GMD and a dogged series of attacks against the Jiangxi Soviet achieved slow progress. However, sheer weight of numbers, equipment and the strategy of blockhouses did prove more effective in the long term. The most famous episode is the Long March, October 1934 – October 1935, which took the Communists to a stronger and more inaccessible position and made Mao's leadership reputation. There is some discussion possible about the effectiveness of this and the heroism of the March has elements of myth. However, the establishment of the Shaanxi Soviet did mean that Communism had a base for future growth. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 between the strengths – the ideology and organisation and the policy adopted towards the peasants in occupied areas, which respected them and tried to gain support. There is the effective leadership, especially that of Mao but also Zhang Guotau and the dedication shown in the Long March. The whole strategy of holding and defending areas like Jiangxi and Shaanxi, using China's distances, avoiding pitched battles and exhausting the GMD by forcing long lines of communication and extended and costly siege-like campaigns could all be discussed. However, against this is the distraction of the GMD by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and subsequent expansion into Jehol; the limited military abilities of Jiang and the low morale of his armies; the failure to combat the effective support gained by the CCP in the areas they controlled and the failure to destroy a relatively small but important force that undertook the Long March. There is a well-developed counter argument which casts doubts on Mao's leadership abilities, pointing to violent disputes within the party and some irrational decision making during the Long March, so some may question whether leadership was a great strength. Some may argue that China's sheer size and underdeveloped communications and the distraction and miscalculation of his opponents made Mao's survival possible. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

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

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. Much depends here on whether the early years are seen as prelude to the increasingly capricious and irrational dictatorship, taking economic decisions on ideological grounds, or a release of millions of people from a corrupt, unjust and reactionary system and opening up hope for the future. Even the Great Leap Forward had and has its defenders, but most answers may take the view that whatever benefits had arisen for China by 1956, the repression of 1957 and the decisions taken in relation to the GLF were not beneficial. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 important were ideological factors in bringing about the Cultural Revolution?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. One explanation is the political struggle by Mao to regain control. He resented and feared possible rivals especially Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. There may have been fears that the army would remove Mao, especially after the fall of Khrushchev in 1964 and Mao was suspicious of Marshal Ho Lung. There was factionalism within the party with Lin Biao the head of the PLA an enthusiastic Mao supporter and Chen Boda, Kang Shen and Jung Quin eager to promote the cult of Mao against possible enemies. The creation of the Red Guards, the announcement of attacks on the Four Olds, Mao's re-emergence as a cult leader by his swim in the Yangtze and the humiliation of Lin and Deng may have the appearance of purely political struggles. However, the violent enthusiasms of the Revolution and the insistence on the renewal of Revolution against supposed counter-revolution made a strong case for ideological motivation. Mao was reacting against what he saw as the betrayal of communist ideals in Russia and seeking to re-invigorate the idealism of the early Revolutionary years. There was a violent reaction against anything bourgeois, foreign or capitalist and an effort to end the distinction between town and country and the possibility of a new party elite. The propaganda of the time was strongly ideological. The restoration of order by the army in 1968 suggests that ideological radicalism had its limits. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 focus should be on the ideological justifications – the emergence of a new bourgeoisie, the ossification of bureaucracy; the failure of radical socialist plans in the GLF; the dangers of a Russian-type undermining of real revolutionary principles. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 How successful was Chinese foreign policy after 1976?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Deng aimed to open China to the world, a vital concept in the light of economic liberalisation. In 1979 full diplomatic relations with the USA were restored and Deng's visit to the US was of historic importance. The increasing diplomatic and economic links with the USA have been weakened by human rights issues and fears of China's military expansion and its expansion of its overseas links to areas where economic resources are important. However, relations did not return to the pre-1972 levels. This might be seen as a success for China – it has not had to bow to Western pressure over some key issues like Tibet or to give up claims to Taiwan while enjoying economic benefits of financial and commercial links with the West. The heavy burden of an arms race with the west was one of the contributory factors in the fall of the USSR and China has been successful in avoiding this. China benefited from the decline of both the Russian and US military presence in the Pacific. The power of China in the region was shown by its occupation of the Spratly islands in the face of claims by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. In 1978 China was unsuccessful in backing a Cambodian invasion of Vietnam but Vietnam was unable to prevent China's expansion in this case. China has not accepted international views on pollution or human rights and has pursued self interest by maintaining relations with authoritarian regimes in various parts of Africa and in Myanmar. Trade with Africa rose considerably after 2000 but the seeds were sown before – Angolan oil, Burmese gas, Sudanese oil are fruits of an amoral foreign policy which puts China's interests first. Mugabe has been a beneficiary of Chinese aid and China supports the banned ivory trade. It has been argued that China is forcing areas of Africa into a semi-colonial state. The border disputes with India continue to cause tension, but China has made little compromise in any area involving territory or national interest. Its arms sales to Nepal, Burma, Sudan and Iran have created international problems. Its relations with North Korea brought problems and in a sense China is shackled to an uncompromising regime which it supports at the expense of better international relations. In the period China achieved the levels of economic growth that led it to superpower status and its enormous local military dominance in South-East Asia gives it considerable influence in the face of weak regional organisations such as ASEAN and, since 1989, it has been helped by the decline of Russia and the unwillingness of the West to compromise trade. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The aftermath of the ‘mutiny’ of 1857 saw firmer British rule with the abolition of Company rule and direct colonial administration. There was closer control of the Princes, more vigorous administration and some closer ties with Muslims in order to ‘divide and rule’. Closer links with the Crown were established by the Empress of India Act and state visits such as the Delhi Durbar. There were accommodations with the Indian elites and the beginnings of a reformed constitution with the Morley-Minto reforms. The Congress nationalism began as restrained and did not develop into a mass movement; the leadership shared British belief in constitutional legalism. The horrific memories of 1857 deterred Indian princes and elites from associating with any form of popular radicalism; British rule was better supported by military power and by more modern administrative changes and reforms. The powerful non-violent resistance that emerged later on had not yet become a challenge. The viceroy Lord Mayo devoted himself to all sorts of improvements after 1869 and there was a dedicated corps of Indian civil servants. Lord Lytton formed strong bonds with the Princes whom he appeased. Famine and grain riots lacked any political organisation. Lord Ripon after 1880 provided measures of limited self-governance though his liberal proposal to allow native judges to try Europeans met resistance. From its failure came the rise of Congress – mainly lawyers and journalists and led by a Scotsman. Lord Dufferin offered more repression in the conquest of Burma but as well as the threat of violence there were concessions and the Nationalist movement did not try to emulate the success of the Irish nationalists. Congress was divided between Muslim and Hindu and by issues such as the abolition of child marriage proposed in 1891. Curzon attempted to defuse nationalism by offering highly effective good government after 1899. He worked hard at improving irrigation, famine prevention, and communications, and virtually reconstructed the Raj – there were impressive monuments and British rule was suffused with grandeur. However, the partition of Bengal in 1905 caused discontent and saw the creation of the Muslim League. After 1905 there were demonstrations, boycotts and some acts of terrorism. The Liberal government under Hardinge’s viceroy ship responded by arrests. Talik the radical Congress leader (Congress split between him and the more moderate Gohkale) was arrested but concessions were made such as Indian representation on the vice regal council and the reunification of Bengal. The Delhi Durbar was a high point of British power and an impressive series of monuments to the Raj. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Either the failure of effective resistance might be seen predominantly effective divide and rule, a series of energetic viceroys, the threat of repression, the alliance between Britain and the princes or the emphasis might be more on the weak and divided Congress opposition, the divisions between Hindus and Muslims; the willingness of the Princes and elites to cooperate with the Raj; the lack of links between political nationalists and the mass of the people, a lack of effective strategy and aims. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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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### 23 How well did Nehru rule India?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Nehru became Prime Minister in 1947 and oversaw the transition to independence and India as a Republic in 1950. He was committed to a modern, secular, industrial state with a strong socialist element. The Planning Commission of 1951 was based on a Soviet model and Nehru aimed at a mixed economy with government management of key infrastructure elements, especially power. Efforts were made to modernize the countryside by irrigation schemes, dams and the greater use of fertilisers. In foreign policy he wanted to support anti-colonialism and developed a policy of non-alignment, positive neutrality as a third way in the Cold War. He thought that India's diversity must not stand in the way of social change and he improved the social condition of women and the poor, raising the marriageable age to 15, allowing women rights of divorce and property inheritance. There was some land reform and absentee landlords had property confiscated and redistributed. Five-Year plans developed industry and education and scientific research was developed. The All-India Institute of Technology, a Science institute and Management Institute were established and there were policies for free and compulsory primary education. There was a drive towards rural school enrolment and teacher recruitment. India became a major diplomatic power and Indian mediation helped end the Korean War. However, Nehru was seen to favour the Soviet Union. Nehru prided himself on good relations with China and the war of 1962 was a considerable personal blow. In his era, the Congress Party dominated politics and won impressive victories in 1952 and 1957. By 1962 there was a reduced majority. There was the rise of socialist and regional parties and some resentment about the rise of Nehru's daughter Indira as Congress President. He died in 1964. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Nehru has a high reputation as the leader who maintained a secular and democratic India and prevented regional separatism and the sort of problems experienced by Pakistan. He opposed inequality and did his best to promote lower caste leaders and to use education, science, industry and rural modernisation as a way of developing India. The fusion of a strong belief in democracy with a belief in state economic management did reflect an attempt to use the best models in the contemporary world; non alignment was ethically based and an attempt to keep alive the ideals of Gandhi. It would be legitimate to acknowledge these achievements, but a balanced answer would look at the problems – there was a low rate of growth – around 2.5%, despite the considerable efforts made to promote economic activity. State planning produced a plethora of inhibiting controls which were dismantled after 1991. The domination of Congress meant that key areas of Indian life were not being well represented in political life. Nehru's policies did not – perhaps could not – solve the deep-seated problems of poverty and caste. High levels of defence spending had to be maintained as the relations with Pakistan did not greatly improve and Nehru put too much faith in the Communist world to be disillusioned in 1962. His own ideals were undermined by the ambitious rise of Indira and were undermined by members of his own Party. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The position of Pakistan was difficult in 1947. There was considerable poverty; the masses lived near or below subsistence level and there was the problem of the influx of refugees from India. Jinnah died before there was an established constitution. There were considerable regional, linguistic and economic differences between the five different regions. Relations with India were bad and required a large armed force. The Muslim League was not representative of the people as a whole and more of the elite professionals and landowners. Jinnah died early in Pakistan's history and Liat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951. Thus there was no Nehru figure to lead the transition to independence and democracy. Secularism was more difficult in Pakistan because of the demands for the country to be an Islamic state with Shariat law. There were disagreements about the 1950 constitutional proposals and there was possible danger from the Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act which allowed the ruling elite to remove officials. The army was seen as an important unifying factor and necessary for the defence of the country against India. Politicians did not necessarily enjoy approval; there was corruption and resentment about Urdu being the official language. There was a planned military coup in 1951. Food shortages and falling demand for raw materials after the end of the Korean War in 1953 led to discontent and martial law. There were disputes between the Governor General and the cabinet and the assembly was dissolved in 1954. In 1955 a General, Iskander Mirza, became Governor General – he resolved the political crisis and Pakistan finally got a constitution in 1956. However, martial law was declared in 1958 after renewed disagreements and General Ayub Khan forced Mirza out and took control. There had been disagreements over the creation of a more unified West Pakistan with the provinces and considerable instability and four prime ministers. Ayub attempted a return to democracy with a new constitution in 1962, but the Presidential elections of 1965 were disputed and there was unrest. In 1969 Ayub handed over power to the army and again there was martial law under general Yahya Khan – he allowed elections in 1970 but did not accept the result of the separatist Awami League winning a majority in East Pakistan. The use of force in the East resulted in rebellion and war with India and the creation of Bangladesh. The failure of the army allowed Bhutto to restore civilian and constitutional rule and a third constitution emerged in 1973. Disputes about election rigging in 1977 led Bhutto to resort to military rule to suppress discontent and opposition – but this led to General Zia ul-Haq taking power, Bhutto was tried and hanged and martial law lasted until 1985. From 1979 a number of Islamic laws were introduced. Zia was killed in a plane explosion in 1988 and Benazir Bhutto became PM. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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

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importance of underlying factors and particularly the gap between East and West Pakistan that led to unrest and finally war and division of the state; the ambitions and personalities of the key military politicians like Ayub Khan and Zia, and the failure of the civilian politicians to offer a sustained credible alternative. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The major reason is the failure of the government to continue to contain the Tamil separatist movement and the emergence of a civil war which led to a semi-autonomous Tamil area until this was attacked and overcome by 2009. The political stability achieved between 1948 and 1983 could be explained by having an accepted constitution with two parties and sound political leadership, together with socialist policies similar to those of Nehru in India which offered some social reforms and by the 1970s nationalization of plantations under Mrs Bandaranaike. Further changes brought economic development after 1977, but the rise of Tamil nationalism restricted progress. Conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils had been part of Ceylonese history and the origins of the 1983 civil war go back at least to the discriminatory measures introduced in 1956. From independence, the Tamil minority has been uneasy with Ceylon's unitary form of government and worried that the Sinhalese majority would be oppressive. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike triumphed in the 1956 elections after appealing to Sinhalese nationalism. He ruled that Sinhala would be the country's official language. Other discrimination followed. Educational policies were seen to favour Sinhalese and agriculture schemes gave incentives to Sinhalese farmers from the south to move to newly irrigated lands in the east. Intermittent outbreaks of communal violence occurred in the 1960s and 70s and growing radicalisation among Tamil groups. By the mid-1970s Tamil politicians were moving from support for federalism to a demand for a separate Tamil state – 'Tamil Eelam' – in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, areas of traditional Tamil settlement. In the 1977 elections, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) won all the seats in Tamil areas on a platform of separatism. Other groups – particularly the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tamil Tigers) – sought an independent state by force. Divisions among the Tamils helped to restrict the revolutionary activity and Ceylon had a democratic tradition. However, the growing influence of more radical Tamils began a cycle of violence in 1983. In 1983, the death of 13 Sinhalese soldiers at the hands of the Tamil Tigers led to unprecedented communal violence and 100,000 Tamils fled to India. The Tamils developed their forces into a highly disciplined force and caused disruption by suicide attacks. Refugees brought Indian intervention which exacerbated the situation with 50,000 Indian peace keeping forces. A prolonged conflict ended in a cease fire in 2002. Unlike the Maoist insurrection of 1971 which was suppressed with international support, the Tamil war was more deep-rooted, sustained by a dedicated leadership and uncompromising commitment (170 suicide attacks) with some spectacular terrorist successes such as the assassination of Raj Ghandi and the Sri Lankan Prime Minister. Repression and terrorism fed each other and. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 question invites comparison between the relatively stable period before 1983 and the period of violence, Indian intervention and sustained civil war afterwards. Stability can be explained by the continuation of the trade in Ceylonese staple exports, the successful adoption of democratic processes, parties, leadership and constitution more on the Indian than Pakistan model. The country contained ethnic conflict but a new generation of Tamils in a world that was increasingly aware of civil rights and action against oppression – with the PLO, the Civil Rights movement and with a cycle of violence after 1983, led to sustained unrest and violence. The Tamils were unwilling to accept a federal solution and in fact the cease fire of 2002 broke down leading to a renewal of war. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

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

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

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 6: Japan and Korea

### 27 What best explains the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Candidates should show understanding of the nature of the 250-year old shogunate that fell in 1868. After years of isolation the growing appearance of foreigners provoked a debate about how to deal with incursions into Japanese waters and on Japanese sacred soil. The superior fire power of Commodore Perry's black ships in 1853–54 forced the shogunate into modernisation and the power of other interested foreign nations who had already shown the weakness of the Qing dynasty produced a policy of rapid modernisation and appeasement of the West by a series of unequal treaties. The debates of the 1840s were re-started with a substantial element among Japan's feudal aristocracy being opposed to concessions and wanting to expel the barbarians. After years of seclusion, the emperor was drawn into the debate, putting his weight behind the movement to expel the barbarians. Attacks on foreigners culminated in an imperial order to expel them, but displays of naval power showed that this was unrealistic. Nevertheless key clans – the Choshu and the Satsumas – blamed the shogunate for weakness and for signing unequal treaties such as the Harris Treaty with the US, opening up key ports and offering preferential trade. A series of armed struggles led to the victory of the rebellious daimyo and the final struggle was the so called Boshim War 1868–69 in which the conservative lords announced the deposition of the shogun – something the emperor had already promulgated. Resistance ended in 1869 and the Emperor Meiji was restored to the pre-Shogunate position. The last Shogun, Keiki, was reduced to the status of an ordinary noble and resistance in Hokkaido was finally defeated. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 key element is obviously the arrival of foreign military power which exposed long term weaknesses in Japan. The peculiar rule of the Shoguns – a dynasty of actual rulers behind which were the God-Emperors in a parallel dynasty having status but effectively no power – had meant that Japan was cut off from modern developments. When the country was challenged it had technology, weaponry and an economy frozen since the seventeenth century. Attempts to modernise by the Shogunate were too late and it got the opprobrium of concessions to the barbarians. The shogunate was part of an archaic system swept aside, paradoxically, by religious conservatives seeking a revival in the restoration of the Emperor and themselves having to modernise to meet the challenge. The discussion may be about the relative weight of the short-term impact of the foreign powers and the long-term stagnation of Japan; between the shoguns and the conservative clans of Satsuma and Choshu and the militarised system which allowed both to recruit samurai for their power struggles. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. When the Meiji period ended, with the death of the emperor in 1912, Japan had adopted some key modern elements from the West. In place of the convoluted shogunate there was a central bureaucracy; there was a constitution on the German model with an elected parliament (1889); transport and communications had been improved; education reforms had reduced illiteracy and urban growth had eroded customs seen by foreigners as primitive. A navy had been built up with British advice and an army on German lines. The unequal treaties had been abolished and Japan had regained control of its legal system and trade. It had defeated China and Russia in major wars. It welcomed modern European science and technology instead of isolating itself from them as in the Shogunate period. The feudal domains were ended in 1871 and private samurai-led armies replaced by conscription and a national force. The national financial system was modernised by money taxes not payment in kind. The last conservative rebellion was defeated in 1877 and gradually Western dress and manners were introduced into Japan. By comparison with China, the transformation was rapid and successful. Visitors were amazed at railways, modern cities, telegraph and the success against the Russian armed forces in 1905. There was greater personal freedom for ordinary people released from feudal obligations and control. Employment opportunity in government industries of sugar, glass, textiles, cement and chemicals (privatised after 1880) and in growing towns amounted to a considerable social revolution. Universal popular education was a major cause of change – by 1912 all children attended school for at least 6 years. However, duty to the Emperor and to the nation was inculcated. Western-style individualism did not emerge – traditional loyalties to family and the sacred homeland remained. The constitution offered restricted political rights – only one per cent could vote. However, 'modernisation' had not come about in a willing way. The restoration of the Emperor was actually a return to a much older system and with it came a revival of Shintoism, replacing Buddhism as the national religion. The Emperor was a mysterious God figure, remote from subjects and speaking a special language. He was a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess and every effort was made to inculcate Emperor-worship and respect for traditional values and the special status of Japan. Though Japan had changed from being a colonial power to being a power with which other great powers allied, its wars of conquest and its uncompromising suicidal fighting methods may be seen as belonging to a former age. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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

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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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**29 How important were economic factors in Japanese territorial expansion in the period 1914 to 1942?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The starting point may well be an analysis of Japan's relative lack of raw materials and the ideals of the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Zone. Territorial acquisition in SE Asia would offer the rubber, oil and minerals of the European and US colonies and also a market for Japan's industrial products. Manchuria provided reserves of aluminium, coal, bauxite and agricultural produce like soya, China offered unlimited markets. Japan was under economic pressure from falling agricultural prices in the inter-war period and hoped for economic self-sufficiency to escape from the fluctuations that primary producers faced in world markets for rice and silk. Her industries lacked metal ores, oil and coal. The embargo put on the USA revealed her vulnerability. The armed forces agreed on the economic needs and on possible use of force for solving problems – the depression was the backdrop to the invasion of Manchuria and also to the conflict with China. The military needs these generated were behind the occupation of Indo-China. The navy favoured a strike North policy to utilise the resources of Siberia; the army preferred the more immediate economic gains of South-East Asia. During the war, resources were plundered. However, even when there was much less economic pressure, Japan had been interested in expansion – hence the willingness to join World War I to gain Shandong and her exploitation of the Russian Revolution to put troops into Siberia. The 21 demands preceded economic hardship and the Tanaka plan came before the worst period of depression. The annexation of Korea and the acquisition of land from China and Russia had more to do with the urge to assert Japan's local military superiority and to put its growing power to the test. By the 1920s and 1930s rabid nationalism among sections of the army, especially in Kwantung, and a sense of mission linked to ideology based on Shintoism and deep-seated militarism might well have been driving elements. Some claim an interest in racial expansion at the heart of the court; others see China becoming embroiled in a war in China and being driven by hostile US diplomacy into wider conquests for national survival. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 may be between purely economic factors and longer-term elements dating back to the 1850s and 1860s of national purification and an end to the European/US presence in the Pacific. Japan's humiliations in the 1850s and 1860s were rekindled by the Treaty of Versailles' failure to permit expansion into Shandong and restriction of Japanese control of German colonies to mandates and the refusal of the allies to build in racial equality. The Washington and London naval conferences attempted to build in inequality while effectively offering Japan opportunities for expansion. These non-economic factors may be linked to the rise of nationalism and interest in tradition among younger officers in the army and the reluctance of civilian ministers to rein in the military. Long term designs may explain the war in China as much as rational economic calculations. Once the war had begun, it became impossible to withdraw and the conflict dictated policy almost independent of Japan's real economic interests. The decision to attack in December 1941 came from matters of military risk – underestimating the USA and assuming that the European war would incapacitate serious resistance on the part of the European colonists, rather than, probably, careful consideration of long-term economic advantage. However, candidates are free to offer their own supported judgements. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. 75,000 North Korean troops invaded South Korea on June 25 1950 and made rapid progress. The UN approved sanctions already taken by the USA in providing military support and the war was fought by the UN rather than America alone. US troops were ordered in on 30 June amid reports that the North Koreans had pushed the South Korean army down to the far south. Landings at Inchon and a push out of the Pusan bridgehead opened the possibility of crossing the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel and actually uniting Korea. The advance to the Yalu river was made in the expectation that the Chinese would not offer effective resistance. On 26 October China responded by a large scale intervention. In theory the United Nations was being opposed by Chinese 'volunteers'. In November MacArthur's advancing troops were met by 200,000 Chinese forces. Military demands for a massive air strike however were not met and talk of nuclear war was met by British opposition as Attlee flew to Washington to dissuade Truman. By March 1951 the fighting stabilised around the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel. MacArthur was denied the use of nuclear weapons and the use of nationalist Chinese forces and his criticisms led to his dismissal on April 11 1951. Acheson and Truman responded to criticisms from the anti-Communist right by talking of the dangers of a world war – with uncertain allies. The main focus of anti-Communism was Europe rather than Asia. Peace talks began in June 1951. Fighting continued into 1952. Eisenhower promised negotiations and compromise was reached about the issue of POWs – Russia urged flexibility and an armistice was signed July 1953. By then Stalin was dead and Truman out of office. Before the war the USA had not thought Korea very important strategically and had not given much attention to its defence. After 1950 a great deal more economic and military aid went into South Korea. The war persuaded congress to authorise a great deal more military spending. It would be hard to consider any form of united Korea after this, yet given the huge problems of the war even harder to contemplate an invasion to topple Kim il Sung. The war had made the Communists more secure in the North and shown the power of China's support. The prestige of the Communist world had been bolstered by the defence of North Korea and Chinese troops had appeared heroic. However, further actions would have been expensive at a time when Mao was trying to get his Five-Year Plans going and, after Stalin's death, Russian support was even more uncertain. US policy was constrained by her allies and also by the fear of nuclear war – something that her supporters feared. Rapid US responses had led to the initial attacks failing; rapid Chinese responses had led to the failure of any US hoped for advance into North Korea. Negotiations at Panmunjom were stuck because neither side could accept a status quo, but neither side was in a position to change it. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Japanese economic takeoff after 1945 might be explained by a number of factors: pre-war and wartime economic development of large concerns like Toyota and Nissan and Hitachi – ten of the post-war car makers came out of expansion during the war with assured raw materials. There had been rapid development of electrical manufacturers in large scale units. Despite the bombing destruction, the technological knowledge, personnel and corporate organisations could transfer to peacetime the availability of capital and the existence of entrepreneurs like Honda Soichiro. Sony developed from the persistence of two businessmen in 1953 in developing the key element of transistors. Banks offered loans. The desire to compete with the West went from military to economic areas and focused on key consumer goods like sewing machines, radios, cameras and binoculars, using wartime machinery. The devastation gave companies the chance to begin again and to have the US market open to them as a result of the Cold War and US reliance on Japan as an ally and base against Red China. US policy after 1947 allowed Japan trading opportunities and protection of its domestic market. Low tariffs and cheap oil plus US protection were beneficial to export-led recovery. The nature of a welfare-conscious industry with low unemployment increased consumer purchasing power and effective management boosted loyalty and productivity. Business leaders worked closely with the state to achieve high growth rates – GNP expanded by 10%. There was high investment in new technology. Participation in GATT helped exports and cheap oil from the Middle East fuel industrial expansion. High savings rates meant that private capital was available for investment and government policy helped by setting up saving banks which channelled investment into industry. Good rates of return fuelled consumption and the home market. Government policy encouraged rationalisation of firms and helped channel resources out of declining industries like coal into electronics, steel, biochemicals. The state established the Japan Development Bank in 1951 and there was a large pool of state organised savings capital. There were also direct and indirect subsidies to key industries. Large scale corporations have restricted competition and kept down costs, undercutting international rivals and providing capital for research and employee welfare. Low military spending made money available for economic development and welfare capitalism meant less need for welfare spending. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 distinction might be made between internal factors and the external circumstances that Japan found herself in as a result of US policy and the development of the Cold War in Asia. Better answers will try and weigh the relative importance of the sorts of factors above. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 Assess the view that there was little chance after 1954 of the USA preventing the emergence of a united, communist Vietnam.

Candidates should:

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

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 is no set answer expected and candidates will have to use what they know flexibly to consider the arguments for the overwhelming problems faced by the USA in defending the South that might be thought to have made victory unlikely and the counter view that failures can be exaggerated and that in military terms, the task was not unachievable. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Siamese rulers were able to play off French and British rivalry in the region. Key concessions made by the Siamese government and agreements between France and Britain played their part. Other areas had been colonised earlier, like Java/Sumatra and the Philippines or were closer, like Burma, to existing large British possessions. Candidates could refer to European internal issues or focus largely on Siam. King Mongkut and his successor, King Chulalongkura (Rama V; reigned 1868–1910), employed Western advisers to assist in the modernisation of the country's administration and commerce, and managed to maintain Siam's independence by playing off the British interests to the west and south against those of the French to the east. Anglo-French diplomatic agreements of 1896 and 1904 established Siam as a neutral buffer kingdom between the British territories of Burma and Malaya and French Indochina. Some territorial concessions were made by Siam in order to maintain its independence: the Laotian territories east of the River Mekong went to France along with the Cambodian provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap, while in 1909 rights to four Malay states of southern Siam were transferred to British Malaya. Though defeated by the Japanese, the ruler nevertheless made an alliance with them offering support in return for help regaining lost territories. The changing situation after the First World War and the new world in which colonial powers acquired lands on a mandate and faced nationalist unrest in existing colonies made them less interested in territorial acquisitions than had been the case before 1914. However, the Japanese needed control in Thailand for the passage of troops and once again careful negotiation prevented total loss of independence – this time by the military dictator of Siam since 1938, Phibun Songkhram. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 discussion will be about the diplomacy and concessions offered by the rulers and the circumstances in which great powers were anxious to maintain a balance of power in the region and use the threat of occupation to gain concessions. By 1940 the Japanese were willing to deal with the Siamese leaders to encourage a sense of South-East Asian solidarity against the colonial powers. The relative authority of the rulers allowed them to use circumstances to maintain a greater degree of independence than their neighbours. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The idea of a federation of Malaya, Brunei, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore was raised by the Malayan leader Abdul Rahman as an anti-communist measure in 1961. The danger of an independent Singapore which was dominated by Chinese acting a base for Chinese domination of Malaya may have been at the back of the proposal. The federation would have economic and defence advantages but was resisted by the socialists in Singapore. There was opposition from Muslim opinion in Brunei and also in Sarawak and Sabah, who feared Malay domination. Brunei withdrew after internal unrest and fears for the Sultan's oil revenues. Britain supported the merger and the Cobbold Commission recommended the merger of Sarawak and Sabah and the Lansdowne Committee drew up a draft constitution. Fears of Communist influence lay behind this, but British involvement raised suspicions of colonial domination. There was opposition from the Philippines and Indonesia to the merger which was due to come into operation on 31 August 1963 – in the event fears that Sarawak was being compelled delayed the merger – of Sarawak, Sabah, Malaya and Singapore. Indonesia supported a Communist insurgency in Sarawak, fearing that Malaysia would be Western-dominated and this lasted until 1966, putting a strain on the federation and increasing the rifts between the Chinese and Malays. Issues of education and unequal economic prosperity dogged the federation. The inclusion of Singapore swung the proportion of Chinese to Malay from 35% to 40% Chinese to 55% Malays. There was some fear in conservative Malay politicians of the radical nature of Lee's People's Action Party in Singapore. Demands for equality between the races and threats to run PAP candidates in Malaya to get the support of the Chinese there made a rift between Abdul Rahman and Singapore. The policy of shifting economic power away from the Chinese also set up tensions and Singapore left the Federation in 1965. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 whether given the disputes about the setting up of the federation it had any chance of success or whether long-term racial differences, the diverse nature of the areas joined and the opposition of other powers in the region made its fall inevitable. Both Lee and Rahman saw advantages both political and economic and the scheme was strongly urged by Britain, so there is some basis for discussion. However like other federations supported by Britain this one failed. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. From a privileged background, Marcos tried to enter politics in 1935 but was defeated for the Senate and was convicted of murdering his rival. Marcos was a victim of the death march from Bataan in 1941, escaped the prison camp and joined the resistance. He later claimed to have been a guerrilla leader, but that claim has been disputed. After a career as a member of the House of Representatives and the Senate and after switching from the Liberal to the Nationalist party he was elected President in 1965. The significance of his rise might be seen in the ability of a man with a possibly criminal past, 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 key explanation will consist of why such a man could rise to power and establish a dictatorship. Until the declaration of martial law in 1972 there had been reforming measures and a degree of economic progress, Marcos was careful to appease the Catholic Church and had US support. There was fear of Communist insurgency and Marcos for all his corruption offered a bulwark against revolution. He was also careful to offer the prospect of a return to constitutional normalcy. The divisions of his opponents and the reliance on repression could be seen as explanations together with the dominance of politics by essentially anti-communist conservative elements eager to maintain links with the USA. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. Possible discussion could centre round Marcos's persuasive policy and popular appeal and the circumstances of the Philippines by the time of martial law in 1972. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Pol Pot's justification in ideological terms was, 'We are building socialism without a model. We do not wish to copy anyone; we shall use the experience gained in the course of the liberation struggle. There are no schools, faculties or universities in the traditional sense, although they did exist in our country prior to liberation, because we wish to do away with all vestiges of the past. There is no money, no commerce, as the state takes care of provisioning all its citizens. The cities have been resettled as this is the way things had to be. Some three million town dwellers and peasants were trying to find refuge in the cities from the depredations of war. We evacuated the cities; we resettled the inhabitants in the rural areas where the living conditions could be provided for this segment of the population of new Cambodia. The countryside should be the focus of attention of our revolution, and the people will decide the fate of the cities.' (Quoted Grant Evans and Kelvin Rowley, *Red Brotherhood at War*, 1984.) Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 discussion is likely to be whether the violence which claimed anywhere between 1 and 2 million lives was a form of Maoism, trying to create an ideal peasant society by eliminating those who were not necessary for this and waging a sort of Cultural Revolution class war on the bourgeoisie (extended to anyone who could read in some areas) and to create a 'year Zero' by leaving major cities ghost towns to rely on the peasants. However the treatment of the peasants as virtual slave labour both before and after taking power casts some doubt on this. The ideology did not justify the extreme violence of the killing fields and the unremitting sadism and barbarity of the detention centres. The lack of an attempt to be reconciled with the Communist regime in Vietnam and the subsequent war is hard to reconcile with a desire for a new society, as is the paranoia about suspected opposition and the later acceptance by the Khymer Rouge of US aid. The takeover after five years of bitter guerrilla warfare and the brutalisation of the regime by heavy US bombing and years of conflict may explain the fanaticism and lack of humanity; or it may be a case of ideology being a mask for sheer evil. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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 8 Themes: Asia c.1750–2000

#### 37 Assess the view that Indian weaknesses were not the main cause of the growth of British power in the subcontinent before 1857.

Candidates should:

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

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. Elements which might be discussed – the obvious disunity among the Indian rulers; the weaknesses of the Delhi empire after 1707; the military strength of the Europeans; the leadership of key figures like Clive, Hastings, Wellesley; the foreign invasions; the acceptance of foreign conquest by Indians. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Candidates could set personalities against wider influences. Sukarno was offered opportunities by the Japanese and virtually forced to declare independence by pressure from below, but he did bring experience of government and established principles of an independent Indonesia. Roxas of the Philippines also depended on collaboration with Japan, but had used the circumstances of occupation and then liberation. Here the whole context of an elite being influenced by the USA needs to be taken into account. Ho Chi Minh offered a different model of resistance to Japanese rule with his European education and Marxist philosophy. The factors of political commitment to a Marxist ideal and military development which led to the defeat of the French need to be balanced with Ho's inspirational leadership. In Burma, Aung San became President of the Anti-fascist People's Freedom League in August 1945 and was re-elected in that office at the first congress of the AFPFL held in January 1946, attended by over one thousand three hundred delegates from all over Burma and attended by nearly one hundred thousand people on its opening day. In October 1946, his outstanding efforts for Burma's independence made him a highly popular figure and accepted by the British. However, his efforts have to be seen in the context of a much wider move for independence in India, the effects of war and the rush by Mountbatten to pull out of the subcontinent as quickly as possible by 1947. It could be argued that in most cases the pre-war development of nationalism and then the impact of occupation and war were more significant or that, when linked to a strong ideology, leadership was more significant. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 will be between the context of the post-war period, with the over commitment of Britain and the USA, the weaknesses revealed by the Japanese victories of 1941–42; the changing economic situation in which colonial trade was less important; the burden of colonial defences; the greater political awareness of the peoples of Asia and changes in public opinion in the west. Against this the leadership of nationalist figures was obviously very important and should be the main focus of the answer even if it is argued that their importance was less than was claimed because of changing circumstances. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The creation of the Durrani empire in the eighteenth century encompassing a large area, including Pakistan, in an area where trade routes met different civilisations was a problem for the British, who were aware of security implications for India, especially with the spread of Russian internal colonisation. The Afghan wars 1839–42, 1878–80 were part of the 'Great Game' and Afghanistan fell under British influence until gaining independence again in 1919. Borders were hard to establish and police and the North-West Frontier was a crucial if problematic area for British forces. Border problems remained after the withdrawal of Britain from India in 1947 but the area was also of strategic importance to the USSR. The pro-Russian PDPA government in 1978 was an obvious advantage to Russia but Afghanistan was affected by Islamic revivalism and Carter from 1979 decided to support the Mujahedeen. The country then became a focus of late Cold War rivalry. A large scale Russian invasion of 1979 changed the interests of different powers in the region. Consistent support for the Mujahedeen was given by a USA concerned about its strategic interests in the region and seeing the need to protect oil supplies in Asia. For a declining Communism, Afghanistan came to be a symbol of Russia's great power status, threatened by internal divisions and poor economic progress. For the USA, Russia's standing could be eroded by manipulating religious feeling and using local military opposition. The destabilisation of the region caused problems for neighbouring states, especially Pakistan and ultimately for the USA. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 criteria established for justification – the defence of vital interests or to maintain Imperial defence; for prestige or to avenge misdeeds; to show other nations that imperial power was still strong. The lack of wisdom may be seen in the lack of a decisive outcome, cost and political unpopularity that followed. A thematic approach would be useful here but answers which address the issues in chronological sequence should not be penalised. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of 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 To what extent can foreign dominance in Manchu China be explained by Western military superiority?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The isolation of the Qing dynasty from industrial and technical developments in the West meant that Chinese forces were not a match for the naval and military power of first of all Britain and then other states who forced unequal treaties on the Empire. 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 not or would not undertake this and the ruling elites were not committed to a modernisation programme in the same way as their Japanese counterparts. The profits 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. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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 (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The argument would be supported by reference to religious conflicts – the clashes between Muslims and Hindus in post-independence India and the ongoing poor relations between Pakistan and India together with the disruption caused by the rise of militant Hinduism and Muslim terrorism. The fears of non-Muslim minorities in Malaysia has been a problem. In Afghanistan the rise of the Taliban could be considered. No set content is required, but candidates should look at alternatives – economic pressures; the clash between different regional elements (e.g. Sri Lanka); political conflicts as in Vietnam; the effect of foreign intervention might be set against religion. Indeed there are examples where religion has not been a source of instability and where different communities have co-existed peacefully. The rise of militant fundamentalism has been a problem. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events.

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. More limited answers will describe or explain religious conflicts in Asia. Better answers will offer an assessment of their relative importance using a range of examples. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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

Candidates should:

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

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 thematic approach may be useful here in terms of what the various effects of western aid might have been. Attempts to consider the impact country by country may well lead to excessive description. The nature and extent of aid varied within the period and from country to country. If candidates restrict themselves to American aid, this would be acceptable, though France, Britain and the Netherlands did offer some aid to their former possessions. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may well enhance responses, as will an ability to engage with controversy.

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.