

MARKSCHEME

May 2004

**HISTORY – SOUTH ASIA,
THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA**

Higher Level

Paper 3

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1. **Evaluate the contributions of both internal and external pressures in causing the disintegration of the Mughal Empire in the second half of the eighteenth century.**

Answers should identify the extent of the Mughal empire and then discuss the issues which led to instability and disintegration. These could include: legacy of Aurangzeb – Hindu/Sikh conflicts within the Empire, Muslim dominance in Bengal and Deccan. Sikhs, Rajputs, Maharattas increasingly independent of Delhi. Separation of Sind and Gujerat 1750, Oudh and Punjab 1754.

External factors: increasing British and French intervention in political affairs by the latter part of the period. British predominant after defeat of the French. Economic influence of EIC also a factor. Do not expect all of the above but there must be reference to internal and external factors to score more than **[12 marks]**.

[0 to 7 marks] Generalizations, with little accurate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] Descriptive account of events with limited assessment, may focus on internal or external factors.

[11 to 13 marks] Better focus on question. Assessment may be undeveloped/limited.

[14 to 16 marks] Balanced focused answers which attempt the significance of both internal and external factors, with sound reference to the material.

[17+ marks] Analytical, detailed answers which may suggest that external factors of less significance than internal, or which may argue that both were of equal importance. Real attempt at assessment.

2. **“A reaction against British influence and policies.” To what extent does this assertion explain the causes of the Great Revolt (Indian Mutiny)?**

A question which invites the candidates to examine in depth the causes of the revolt. Areas to consider would be discontent of the Sepoys, Princes, rural poor, with British interference in a range of matters, including religion, territory (Oudh), agriculture, culture (McCaulay) *etc.*. The question implies a reaction to British influence rather than the birth of Indian nationalism. A narrative account of the events of 1857 would not score well unless the nature of events was linked to the question.

[0 to 7 marks] Generalized answers which may refer to key events such as the “greased cartridges” but go no further.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative of background causes. May mention Bentinck and Dalhousie’s policies but no developed comment.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed narrative with some attempt to assess “validity” of statement.

[14 to 16 marks] Analytical, detailed answers which focus fully on underlying causes rather than events of 1857, although may refer to these to substantiate points.

[17+ marks] Fully developed assessment, will consider whether 1857 was a reaction to British rule or the beginnings of Indian nationalism. May make apt reference to **historiography**.

3. Assess the impact of the Tanzimat reforms on Ottoman society between 1839 and 1876.

Candidates should know the major reforms and understand that the aim was to strengthen the Ottoman Empire. The focus of the reforms was military, educational, legal and provincial administration. A focused assessment of impact in these areas is required, particularly education, religion, law and the economy. Good answers will be able to comment on the variable impact of the educational reforms, *e.g.* removed from control of the Ulema in 1847 but real educational developments mainly in towns and cities with little impact on rural areas. Legal reform was gradual and consisted of a series of compromises, with the adoption of new penal codes and commercial coded bases on European procedures and the Mejlle which represented a compromise between Sharia and secular law. Candidates may argue that the Tanzimat reforms began the process of modernizing and secularizing the Empire but that real impact was limited to towns and cities and not completed until after 1922.

[0 to 7 marks] Limited, often inaccurate, accounts of the reforms.

[8 to 10 marks] Accurate narrative, with clear understanding of aims but no developed comment on impact.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed narrative with some understanding of impact but not covering all aspects of the reforms.

[14 to 16 marks] Analytical comment on the variable impact, they may consider the extent to which aims were achieved.

[17+ marks] As above but may additionally consider continued European economic importance, the fact that secularization was not achieved until collapse of Empire, may see Tanzimat as the early stages of a long process.

4. How far do you agree that Islamic reform movements were a reaction to western influences in the nineteenth century? Use two specific examples to illustrate your answer.

An open question that allows candidates to draw on major reformers from the whole region. Could include Al Afghani, Mohamed Abduh or Sayid Ahmad Khan. Answers should not only consider the emergence of reform movements but also why they occurred when they did (*i.e.* the importance of western influence). Answers which only give one example cannot gain more than **[12 marks]**.

[0 to 7 marks] Vague, generalized comments on an Islamic revival with little specific reference.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative accounts of the careers of reformers/emergence of reform movements.

[11 to 13 marks] As above but more detailed with some attempt to assess why the movements emerged.

[14 to 16 marks] Thorough, detailed knowledge and developed analysis; consideration given to significance of western influences.

[17+ marks] Balanced, detailed accounts, with a very clear judgment as to causes.

5. To what extent were the tensions which led to civil war in Lebanon in 1860 resolved by the conflict itself and the settlement which followed?

Answers will need to clearly identify the tensions which led to civil war. These could include Communal tensions (between Christians and Muslims but also within each religious group). Economic tensions between landlord and peasants. The weakness of Ottoman rule and therefore its inability to impose stable government in the area. Additionally, the intervention of both Britain and France contributed to the outbreak of the conflict.

Good answers will have to consider how successfully the establishment of the Montassarifah resolved these tensions, limited role for Government, Communal power-sharing, continued British support for Druze and Maronites. If there is no consideration of the settlement then only *[12 marks]* can be gained.

[0 to 7 marks] Limited generalized accounts of events of 1860.

[8 to 10 marks] More detailed accounts of events, causes of tensions clearly identified. Limited account of the settlement.

[11 to 13 marks] More balanced answers which deal in detail with tensions and the settlement. Analysis of resolution limited.

[14 to 16 marks] Fully analytical answers supported by detailed knowledge of causes and clear analysis of settlement.

[17+ marks] As above but may consider that the settlement did provide relative stability up to 1914. May also comment that Communal divisions still an issue in Lebanon.

6. Analyse the impact of the 1919 Government of India Act (Montagu–Chelmsford reforms) on Indian nationalism up to 1930.

Candidates will have to identify the forces of Indian nationalism (INC and the Muslim League) and what their aims were. An examination of how far the Act satisfied these aims given the limited nature of change under the system of Dyarchy. Additional legislation e.g. Rowlatt Acts, events such as Amritsar could also be considered in conjunction with the 1919 India Act. Candidates may consider the events of the next few years (the entry of Gandhi into nationalist politics and his mobilization of the masses) which essentially transformed the forces of nationalism in India from a middle class movement.

[0 to 7 marks] Limited accounts of Indian Nationalist movements, some general reference to the 1919 Act.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative accounts of events in the early twenties, may focus too much on Gandhi's role.

[11 to 13 marks] More balanced narrative with attempt to consider the impact of legislation.

[14 to 16 marks] Well developed detailed answers synthesizing all the factors which transformed Indian Nationalism into a mass movement (piecemeal change by Britain plus Gandhi's role in raising national consciousness).

[17+ marks] As above. May also consider various historiographical interpretations of events. May argue that in some ways the act was irrelevant to the changing nature of Indian nationalism, which had increased tempo as a consequence of the First World War.

7. To what extent were the aims of the Young Turk revolution realized in the years 1908–1921?

Candidates will need to identify clearly the aims of the Young Turks – the end of Abdul Hamid's despotism and the removal of corrupt, inefficient government. However, it is also necessary to make clear that there were divisions among the revolutionaries, with liberal elements often at odds with CUP who desired the revival of a powerful state. The realization of these must be considered for a fully developed answer. Succession of Mehemet V as a more amenable Sultan. CUP came to dominate politics, resorting to ruthless methods. Parliament dissolved after Enver Bey coup, so politically not very liberal. Some reforms of the tax system and improvements in provincial government. CUP clearly unsuccessful in establishing strong Turkish state, as illustrated by ultimate defeat in 1918.

[0 to 7 marks] For general answers which are vague, knowledge is not always accurate.

[8 to 10 marks] For narrative accounts of events with little focus on aims or realization.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed accounts which consider both 1908 and events subsequent to it. Analysis may not be fully developed.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed knowledge and analytical comment focused on both the issues in the question.

[17+ marks] As above with perceptive comments on the limited nature of change as a consequence of 1908 – may even challenge the use of the word “revolution”.

8. Account for the limited economic and social development in Iran in the late nineteenth century.

The key to economic development in the nineteenth century was effective communication systems. Iran had little in the way of effective port, road or railway systems, thus economic activity was geared to local markets and subsistence, except where there was access to the communications systems of other countries (*e.g.* Caspian sea or Transcaspian railway). Some high value foreign trade developed during the nineteenth century (hand-woven carpets *etc.*) and a merchant class did develop but was very much limited to urban centres. Lack of financial systems also hampered economic development (no bank until 1888 and an elementary credit system). There was little government investment and limited foreign investment. Socially developments were also limited – there was no consistent Government policy for education; although specialist military colleges and language schools were opened they were limited to the elite. The geography of the country plus substantial tribal populations and the absence of foreign minorities as drivers of change meant that Iran did not experience pressures for change seen in Ottoman Turkey or Egypt.

[0 to 7 marks] General unsubstantiated comments on traditional nature of Iranian society.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative accounts which deal with both social and economic issues but lack detail.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed analysis of both social and economic development.

[14 to 16 marks] Clear focus on a range of factors which hindered change.

[17+ marks] As above but may also wish to consider the nature of government as a major factor limiting social and economic development/or possibly the argument that Shia Muslims more “other-worldly” and less inclined to organize society for material development.

9. “The post-First World War settlement in the Near East was a compromise that satisfied no one.” Comment on the validity of this statement.

This is a complex question and candidates will have to organize their answers. They will need to identify the main parties *i.e.* the Turks, Zionists, Arabs, French and British, and what their interests were before a judgment can be reached.

This is not a question about complex wartime diplomacy but a discussion of Hussein–McMahon Correspondence, Balfour, Sykes–Picot, King–Crane Commission may well be used to identify where compromises were made. Knowledge of the settlement and an ability to judge its effectiveness in satisfying a conflicting range of aspirations is required. Candidates may tend to focus overmuch on the Palestine Mandate and to gain more than **[12 marks]** a wider ranging answer is required.

[0 to 7 marks] General statements about the end of Turkish Empire and the establishment of mandates.

[8 to 10 marks] More detail on the settlement, identification of changes between Sèvres and Lausanne but still fairly limited in scope.

[11 to 13 marks] Answers will range across both local interested parties and major powers; will consider either nature of compromise or levels of satisfaction but not both in depth.

[14 to 16 marks] Substantial factual detail and developed analysis of both “satisfaction” and “compromise”.

[17+ marks] As above but may also consider that the peacemakers had little option but to compromise because of US disinterest, fear of Bolshevik Russia, the rise of nationalism and their own post-war weakness.

10. For what reasons, and with what consequences, did Reza Shah undertake a programme of reforms in Iran 1926–1941?

Reza Shah had established the Pahlavi dynasty by 1926. His aim then was to centralize and modernize Iran along western European models. A centralized bureaucratic state was established, the law courts were secularized at the expense of religious law, laws were passed to symbolize Iran's evolution into a modern state (banning the veil, ethnic dress, polygamy and divorce discouraged).

Economic development concentrating on industry and communications but no land reform. Financial developments had adverse effects on poorer sections of the population. Iran unable to reduce control of Anglo–Iranian Oil Company until 1933.

Consequences: benefits to some sections of the population who flourished in military and civil service. Rural poor and religious elements disliked westernization. Reform achieved because of the essentially dictatorial nature of regime, which was deposed when Allies invaded in 1941.

[0 to 7 marks] General accounts of the establishment of the regime. No focus on policies.

[8 to 10 marks] Accounts of the reform programme. Some understanding of the reasons behind reforms.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed knowledge of reforms, clear understanding of aims, limited comment on consequences.

[14 to 16 marks] Clear understanding of both aims and consequences, clearly highlighting the variable impact on Iran.

[17+ marks] As above but also with informed comment on the fact that reforms were to some extent imposed from above and did not have major impact for most Iranians.

11. “Independent but under British control.” How accurate is this description of Egypt in the inter war years?

Egypt under de facto British control since 1882 although nominally autonomous state of the Ottoman Empire. Declared a British protectorate in 1914. Egypt’s position a matter for intense debate during peace negotiations. Wafd representation both in Paris and Egypt necessitated Britain granting Egypt formal independence in 1922. King Fuad was established as ruler and a constitution was drafted in 1923. However, Britain reserved for herself the right to organize the defense of Egypt and to protect “imperial communications”, *i.e.* a British military occupation was continued. Egyptian politics were dominated by the struggle of the monarchy to increase its power and the determination of Wafd to assert sovereignty of parliament. Both sides turned to British for support, hence British presence important in internal politics as well as Egyptian foreign affairs. 1936 Treaty formally ended British military occupation but Britain would retain a presence in the Canal Zone and access to military facilities in the event of war. Military links therefore extremely close, and during the Second World War Egypt once again under virtual British occupation.

[0 to 7 marks] General accounts linking independence to consequences of the First World War.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative of events in Egypt in inter-war years with some clear reference to Britain – limited analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed knowledge plus consideration of the limited nature of independence.

[14 to 16 marks] As above plus developed analytical comment on military occupation and the real consequences of the 1936 Treaty.

[17+ marks] Likely to project to Second World War and brief references to post-war period and comment that Egypt not truly independent until mid 1950s.

12. To what extent did British policies increase existing tensions between Arabs and Jews in Palestine in the years 1920–1948?

Answers may well follow the common view that British policies were inconsistent and contradictory. They will need to know what these policies were (*e.g.* Churchill's 1922 White Paper, the events surrounding the Wailing Wall riots, MacDonald's Black Letter, Peel Commission, policies during Second World War, immigration restrictions *etc.*). Candidates could and should examine existing tensions (religious differences, Zionist programmes, issues of land ownership, economic disparity, confusion during withdrawal process). Not all these may be referred to but there does need to be analysis of the impact of British policies.

[0 to 7 marks] Simplistic acceptance that British rule was problematic – may dwell on contradictory First World War promises.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative of events culminating in British withdrawal. No real analysis of increasing tensions.

[11 to 13 marks] Detailed knowledge of events plus analytical comment on rising tensions.

[14 to 16 marks] Analysis will link British policies to increasingly tense situation but may well begin to consider issues beyond the purely political.

[17 marks] Analysis will link political tensions and other factors and attempt to reach a judgment on the contribution made by British policies

13. Analyse the contribution fear of Hindu nationalism made to the rapid growth of the Muslim League from 1937.

1937 is the key date as Jinnah began the mass mobilization of Muslims after the meeting at Lucknow and INC dominance in provincial elections. Candidates should provide some context of League/INC relations prior to 1937 as well as subsequent events up to and including partition in 1947. Areas to consider could be fear of a Congress/Hindu Raj, the growth of the Two Nations Theory, intransigence of Congress leaders, self-interest of Muslim League leadership, possible Divide and Rule policies pursued by British government. Not all of these may be touched on but for higher level answers a range of factors should be critically examined.

[0 to 7 marks] Likely to be basic narrative of the events leading to independence.

[8 to 10 marks] More detailed accounts with some attempts to consider Muslim anxieties.

[11 to 13 marks] Clear understanding of demands of the question but limited critical examination of factors contributing to support for Muslim League.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed knowledge of events plus critical examination of factors which led to separation.

[17+ marks] Will see a complex range of factors, will be able to argue effectively and make a judgment. May call on different interpretations to support their views.

14. Assess the nature and extent of political and economic change in Tunisia from 1956 to Bourguiba's overthrow in 1987.

Politically: Bourguiba and Destourian Socialist party dominant and since all other state wide organizations subordinate to the party and Bourguiba dominated party – it was essentially a period of personal rule. However, Bourguiba faced challenges to his power, *e.g.* unable to fully ban Ramadan fast in 1961, he also faced criticism over his willingness to allow French to remain influential. It was not until 1964 that Bourguiba nationalized all French land.

Economic change: tensions with France over Algeria led to withdrawal of French capital. Bourguiba hoped to stimulate economic development by establishing co-operatives in agriculture, fishing, construction *etc.* – public resistance meant output stationary and projects abandoned. More liberal economic policies introduced. In the 70s Tunisia experienced inflation, foreign exploitation of cheap labour and agricultural stagnation. In the 80s increasing food prices contributed to popular unrest and discontent with Bourguiba. Tunisia's economy undeveloped as a result of Bourguiba's eclectic policies.

[0 to 7 marks] Generalized accounts of Bourguiba regime.

[8 to 10 marks] More detailed narrative. May emphasize politics over economics or vice versa.

[11 to 13 marks] Balanced narrative with clear knowledge of both politics and economy. Analysis may be undeveloped.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed, balanced analysis dealing with both issues.

[17+ marks] Clear understanding that personal idiosyncratic rule was liable to lead to problems.

15. “Kashmir has been the main cause of the strained relationship between India and Pakistan since 1947” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

The question is intended to encourage candidates to avoid a traditional answer based on the Kashmir conflict. Other factors should be examined, including the tensions which arose during the partition process (Congress’ desire for a unified sub-continent), unequal division of assets of the Raj, the issue of Kashmir and Hyderabad being part of a range of factors. Other issues since 1947, Indus River disputes, war in Sind, tensions over the Bangladesh war, Cold War stance, arms race. Higher level candidates may see the Kashmir issue as a means of rallying populations in support of the new nations.

[0 to 7 marks] Limited account of actual conflicts in Kashmir.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative accounts of relations between India and Pakistan, extending beyond the issue of Kashmir but with limited analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] Closer reference to the question and some attempt possibly in the conclusion to assess the contribution made by the issue of Kashmir.

[14 to 16 marks] A critical examination of a wide range of factors which contribute to tensions between the two nations. A clear judgment as to the role of Kashmir should be made.

[17+ marks] Fully analytical, relevant, showing real insight. May suggest Kashmir is a symptom not the cause of tensions.

16. For what reasons, and with what results, did Indira Gandhi impose Emergency Rule from 1975 to 1977?

This is not an invitation to write an essay on the career of Indira Gandhi but to examine a specific episode in that career.

Candidates should examine the political and economic problems prior to the declaration (these included inflation of 25 %, famine, unemployment 25 million, slow industrial development, growth of regional sentiment, divisions within Congress itself, accusations of corruption) and comment on whether these problems justified such an extreme step.

Consequences included: arrest of opponents, banning opposition movements, press censorship, political immunity for Indira, elections postponed. Twenty point economic programme to reduce prices, improve agriculture *etc.*, urban slum clearance and sterilization (often forcibly) to deal with overpopulation. Emergency ended with 1977 elections in March which she lost.

[0 to 7 marks] Basic narrative of Indira's career.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative of events in the mid 70s with little analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed answer with attempts to analyse the reasons and consequences. May be unbalanced.

[14 to 16 marks] Thorough detailed answer with all the demands of the question explored.

[17+ marks] As above and may well argue that in view of the conditions at the time the Emergency was necessary, or that Indira was clinging to power. May well cite various interpretations but should retain objectivity.

17. To what extent was the rise of Tamil nationalism after 1948 a consequence of the fear of Sinhalese dominance?

The question is not an invitation to write an account of the Tamil Tigers and the violence since 1983. It requires an investigation into the rise of the Tamil secessionist movement, government policies which seemed to be discriminatory (constitutional, linguistic, economic *etc.*) against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. Candidates should be able to comment on the unification of the Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils to form the Tamil United Liberation Front and may further comment on support for Tamil demands by Indian Governments. More able candidates may argue that Sinhalese/Tamil tensions are rooted in the colonial past due to policies to Divide and Rule by Britain.

[0 to 7 marks] Narrative focused on events since the 1980s.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative accounts of the growth of the secessionist movement. May focus overmuch on the Civil War period.

[11 to 13 marks] More detailed accounts with real focused attempt to consider reasons for tensions between the two populations.

[14 to 16 marks] Well focused analytical answers, with real attempt to consider the “extent” of the fear of Sinhalese nationalism. May not set tensions in pre-independence context.

[17+ marks] As above but will also critically examine pre-1948 situation. May examine impact of Government policies.

18. Consider the view that Ayub Khan provided stability in Pakistan in the years 1958–1969.

Candidates will need to set Ayub Khan's accession to power in context and should examine the problems experienced in Pakistan since 1947 (death of Jinnah, death of Liaquat Ali Khan, political instability, economic problems including refugees, food shortages *etc.*, tensions between East and West Pakistan, dominance of landlords). An examination of his policies such as land reform, implementation of Second Five-Year plan leading to increased food production, Hydro-electric power projects, sacking of corrupt civil servants. Electoral victory in 1965 but plans "to return to democracy" led to the emergence of opposition groups led by Bhutto (often representing landowners). Ultimately Ayub Khan lost support of the military and was deposed in 1969 by Yahya Khan.

[0 to 7 marks] For uncritical narrative accounts of events between 1958 and 1969.

[8 to 10 marks] Balanced narratives which deal with both pre 1958 and post 1958 situation. Analysis limited.

[11 to 13 marks] As above but with more detail and attempt to comment critically on stability.

[14 to 16 marks] Full analysis of both pre 1958 and post 1958. May comment that Ayub Khan provided a measure of economic stability but political stability only possible with fairly authoritarian methods.

[17+ marks] May well argue that Ayub Khan provided as much stability as was possible in a nation so divided culturally and geographically and also economically. May look at subsequent events (1971 war *etc.*) to sustain argument on Ayub Khan's relatively beneficial regime.

19. To what extent was the 1979 Revolution in Iran a reaction against social and economic modernization policies?

Candidates will need to identify the aims of the White Revolution *i.e.* the establishment of an urban, industrial state, with the Pahlavi dynasty retaining power but free from reliance on landowning nobles. Policies implemented to bring this about will need to be known and examined critically (land reform, economic expansion, education). Consequences: agro-business developed in rural areas resulting in massive rural-urban migration (and high unemployment), traditional social structures damaged by both economic and educational change – led to growth of opposition within Ulema. Policies failed either to produce a support base of small farmers or a sufficiently large and prosperous business class (bazaar merchants hostile). Government unable to effectively utilize increased oil revenues, inflation increased as supply failed to meet demand for consumer goods. The government increasingly authoritarian, use of SAVAK to stifle opposition led to underground opposition with links between radical movements and religious opposition led by Khomeini. Reza Shah had insufficient support to retain power once these forces combined.

[10 to 7 marks] Simple narrative accounts of the 1979 revolution.

[8 to 10 marks] More detailed narrative of events between 1963 and 1979 with limited exploration of reasons for White Revolution.

[11 to 13 marks] Narrative with some focused attempt to explain reasons and to analyse difficulties.

[14 to 16 marks] Balanced accounts which examine reasons and critically examine policies.

[17+ marks] As above but are able to make insightful links between aims and how flaws in policies contributed to failure. May also comment on Reza Shah's lack of either consistent conciliation or consistent repression.

20. Analyse the impact of external influences on political developments in Lebanon in the years 1946 to 1970.

External influences could include European mission-led education, enhancing Maronite economic dominance and to some extent political dominance. Changes in the Arab world, the Suez crisis, the emergence of Nasserism led to tensions with the Sunni community and ultimately a change of attitude in the Sunni leadership. Sunni ministers resigned over Suez. The creation of the UAR in 1958 led to a brief civil war between Progressives and Conservatives brought to an end by US troops. Between 1958 and 1967 Lebanese politics relatively stable with the Confessional system working and the economy based on tourism and banking reasonably buoyant. This fragile political structure was destabilized by the growth of populist politics in the Middle East and the influx of Palestinian refugees to Lebanon which began after the 1967 War and increased massively after Black September, contributing to the emergence of the extremist militias who supported Palestinian guerrilla activities. All this contributed to destabilization. Not a question on the causes of the 1975 Civil War.

[0 to 7 marks] General narrative on Lebanese political structure.

[8 to 10 marks] Descriptive, more detailed account of Lebanese politics. Limited reference to external factors.

[11 to 13 marks] Clearer reference to the question with attempts to link issues in Lebanon with external factors.

[14 to 16 marks] Analytical accounts covering most of the issues and clearly pointing out the growing instability.

[17+ marks] As above but may argue that Lebanon's peculiar political structure, as confirmed by the National Pact of 1943 made it particularly susceptible to external pressures.

21. Explain the hostile Arab reaction to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and account for Israel's survival up to 1967.

Hostile Arab reaction could be accounted for by reference to inter-war hostility between Arabs and Jews in the Palestine Mandate, possible misinterpretation of British support for the Arab League (mainly in pursuit of British interests and not greater Arab unity).

Jewish terrorist activities in post-war period increased Arab intransigence and fears for Palestinian Arabs. Increased European–Jewish immigration perceived by Arabs as agents of British and US imperialism.

Israeli survival up to and including 1967 war could be accounted for by Arab military weakness and disunity compared to Israeli determination to survive. Additionally, Israel could count on US support for a number of reasons (Cold War issues, Jewish lobby, *etc.*). Between 1956 and 1963 changes within Arab states left Israel relatively secure. Tensions began to rise again with the establishment of the PLO. Israeli survival in 1967 once again a consequence of military superiority and morale.

[0 to 7 marks] Narrative of hostilities between Israel and the Arab States 1948–1967.

[8 to 10 marks] As above but including background events from Mandate and immediate post-second world war period.

[11 to 13 marks] Thorough, detailed accounts with analytical comment. May be unbalanced with more comments on reasons for Israeli survival.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed analytical answers with perceptive insights into both causes of hostility and Israel's survival.

[17+ marks] As above with possibility of comments on cultural differences, resentments of what was seen as foreign imposition of a Jewish state in the region.

22. Examine the circumstances leading to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 and the resulting impact on superpower relationships.

Marxists seized power in 1978 but by 1979 had lost control of 80 % of the country. The Afghan Government requested Soviet support and, on Christmas Day 1979, 80 000 Soviet troops occupied the country. Brezhnev's action could be seen as a response to a request from a friendly government or could be seen in a wider context – the desire to maintain a friendly state on his southern border, fear that the Mujaheddin (with Pakistani and ultimately US support) would establish an Islamic state next to Soviet Islamic republics, the need to demonstrate Soviet support for allies around the world. Brezhnev may have miscalculated the US response, believing Afghanistan was accepted as a “zone of Soviet interest”.

The consequences were damaging for détente, followed by the US grain embargo and the boycotting of the Moscow Olympics – signalling start of the Second Cold War, failure to ratify SALT 2, US and China grew closer and US also supported Pakistan in the guerrilla conflict which followed. For the Soviet Union – occupation of Afghanistan could be interpreted as her Vietnam and a contributory factor to economic weakness which led ultimately to collapse of Soviet system.

[0 to 7 marks] Simple narrative of events in 1979.

[8 to 10 marks] Some background detail plus events of 1979, including US response.

[11 to 13 marks] More detail than above and possible attempt to put Soviet action in wider context. Limited analysis of events.

[14 to 16 marks] Developed answer with balanced analysis of circumstances and consequences.

[17+ marks] Answer which addresses all aspects of the question, may comment on regional impact as well as Superpower relations. May see long-term consequences for Soviet Union.

23. Compare and contrast the policies of the USSR and the USA in the Middle East, 1950–1990.

Comparisons may be that both Superpowers sought allies in the region for strategic reasons as well as domestic pressures. US worried about oil, survival of Israel. USSR worried about southern defenses, especially after Truman Doctrine preserved pro-western regimes in Iran and Turkey. Soviet Union also seeking warm-water ports – successful in the 70s with Egypt and some Arab states. Both would exert pressure to resolve a major crisis.

Contrasts: Soviet support for its allies always limited by her own foreign policy objectives, e.g. would not support Sadat's desire to forcibly regain territory lost in the Six day War as the USSR wished to pursue Détente.

US on the other hand consistent supporter of Israel (although sometimes restraining) often with the consequences of tensions with other Middle Eastern states.

[0 to 7 marks] For simple narrative and identification of some Cold War alignments.

[8 to 10 marks] More detailed narrative which illustrates shifting situation.

[11 to 13 marks] Reasonable detail of a complex period – may see comparisons more clearly that contrasts.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed, balanced analytical answers. Can clearly see shifting alignments and account for change.

[17+ marks] As above but additionally may comment that at times Superpower intervention beneficial in preventing escalation of regional conflict.

24. Examine the causes and consequences of the Iran–Iraq war 1980–1988.

Candidates will generally agree that the key cause was Saddam Hussein’s invasion and no doubt many answers will then launch into a description of the war. However, underlying causes plus critical comment of consequences need to be examined to reach more than **[12 marks]**.

Causes could include: Saddam’s fear of militant Islam, border disputes over Khuzestan, conflict over Shatt-el-Arab waterway, confidence of easy victory which would enhance support at home.

Consequences: eight years of war which was extremely costly for both countries, lack of clear victory may have influenced his decision to launch Gulf War, thousands of deaths and increased instability in the region.

[0 to 7 marks] For very general answers.

[8 to 10 marks] For more detailed narrative, may be drawn into accounts of the war. May be unbalanced.

[11 to 13 marks] More balanced answers dealing with both causes and consequences, however, analysis may not be fully developed.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed perceptive answers, well balanced and developed analysis.

[17+ marks] As above but may also consider whether domestic issues pushed Saddam, Iran’s motives and willingness to enter into the conflict, *etc.*.

25. With reference to *one* state in the region, analyse the social tensions caused by the meeting of traditional culture and westernization.

This is a very open question and will enable candidates to apply their own knowledge. There is no date boundary and it would therefore be perfectly legitimate to refer to problems in India in the early to mid nineteenth century, as well as tensions with regard to Western influences in countries such as Iran in the 1970s. **However** since there is an instruction to refer to one country, specific detail is required.

[0 to 7 marks] For unsubstantiated generalizations and vague, inaccurate comments.

[8 to 10 marks] Narrative descriptive accounts, perhaps with more detail.

[11 to 13 marks] Clearer reference to question; can outline with substantiation why tensions arose.

[14 to 16 marks] Detailed analytical answers, perceptive comments.

[17+ marks] May challenge assumption in the question that there must necessarily be tensions. May be able to identify benefits as well as problems.
