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**HISTORY**

**9389/41**

Paper 4 Depth Study

**October/November 2019**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

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**Published**

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

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This document consists of **23** printed pages.

**Generic Marking Principles**

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

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:**

Marks must be awarded in line with:

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

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:**

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

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:**

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

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

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:**

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

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:**

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

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:**

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

## Generic Levels of Response

<b>Level 5</b>	<b>25–30</b>	<p>Responses show very good understanding of the question and contain a relevant, focused and balanced argument, fully supported by appropriate factual material and based on a consistently analytical approach.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses might be expected to be analytical, focused and balanced throughout. The candidate will be in full control of the argument and will reach a supported judgement in response to the question.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses might typically be analytical, consistent and balanced, but the argument might not be fully convincing.</p>
<b>Level 4</b>	<b>19–24</b>	<p>Responses show a good understanding of the question and contain a relevant argument based on a largely analytical approach.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses are likely to be analytical, balanced and effectively supported. There may be some attempt to reach a judgement but this may be partial or unsupported.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses are likely to contain detailed and accurate factual material with some focused analysis, but the argument is inconsistent or unbalanced.</p>
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>13–18</b>	<p>Responses show understanding of the question and contain appropriate factual material. The material may lack depth. Some analytical points may be made but these may not be highly developed or consistently supported.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses contain detailed and accurate factual material. However, attempts to argue relevantly are implicit or confined to introductions and conclusions. Alternatively, responses may offer an analytical framework which contains some supporting material.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses might offer narrative or description relating to the topic, but are less likely to address the terms of the question.</p>
<b>Level 2</b>	<b>7–12</b>	<p>Responses show some understanding of the demands of the question. They may be descriptive with few links to the question or may be analytical with limited relevant factual support.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses might contain relevant commentaries which lack adequate factual support. The responses may contain some unsupported assertions.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, responses are likely to contain some information which is relevant to the topic but may only offer partial coverage.</p>
<b>Level 1</b>	<b>1–6</b>	<p>Responses show limited understanding of the question. They may contain some description which is linked to the topic or only addresses part of the question.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses show some awareness of relevant material but this may be presented as a list.</p> <p>Towards the lower end of the level, answers may provide a little relevant material but are likely to be characterised by irrelevance.</p>
<b>Level 0</b>	<b>0</b>	No relevant, creditworthy content.

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p><b>Evaluate the factors which led to the survival of the communist regime in the USSR by 1924.</b></p> <p>The failings of the Tsarist regime and also the provisional Government were very influential. Few people would have regarded either with much affection. With the killing of the Tsar and his family there was the lack of a legitimate figurehead for an alternative regime which played in to the hands of the communists. Equally beneficial was the lack of unity amongst Lenin's opponents and their diverse range of objectives. In contrast, Lenin's clever messages of 'Peace, Bread and Land' struck enough chords to ensure initial survival. There was also effective decision making on Lenin's part, ranging from the decision to overthrow the Constituent Assembly, through the peace making of Brest-Litovsk to War Communism and the NEP. In addition White incompetence played a major part in the Red victory in the Civil War. Lenin also had many able supporters, from the ruthlessness of Stalin, through ideologues like Bukharin to the charismatic and dynamic military leadership of Trotsky. The propaganda delivered by the communists was often highly effective and the ruthlessness of the CHEKA was also seen as vital. Finally the willingness to compromise when necessary, and have highly flexible means adapting to his ends, was perhaps one of the most important factors.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>‘The main reason Mussolini was able to consolidate his regime was his effective use of propaganda.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>To an extent it was the more violent elements in the fascist movement that pushed Mussolini towards a more totalitarian regime than he would have dared to go in the immediate aftermath of the accession to power. While the police and judiciary were largely sympathetic to his regime, there was little sign of a ruthless and tyrannical secret police, along the lines of the NKVD, in Italy, certainly in the 1920s. While the murder of Matteotti certainly played a part in discouraging opposition, the fact that Mussolini personally thought that it could lead to his downfall is indicative of how reluctant he was to use such methods. There was no ‘Night of the Long Knives’ in Italy. He was legally given dictatorial powers for a year on accession, similar to the Enabling Act. He made very clever use of his ability to get the Party closely identified with the State. All his early legislation, such as restricting Trade Unions, privatisation and liberalising rent controls, favoured rich supporters and potential opponents. The Acerbo Law ensured parliamentary majority until he effectively abolished it. The Aventine Secession played into his hands, the opposition abdicating and not really opposing.</p> <p>In support of the statement it could be suggested that Mussolini was a brilliant pioneer in the use of all the mass media. A popular foreign policy helped and it was successfully marketed. His management of the Roman Catholic Church was extremely clever and he took great care to get an ally there with his anti-communist propaganda, which ensured a lot of support from both the pulpit and the influential Catholic press. He abolished local government autonomy, slowly replacing locally elected mayors etc. with fascist loyalists who reported directly to Rome, while at the same time sending out a very clear pro-fascist message. He had a relatively easy task and there was little or no need of terror, although what happened to Matteotti, and the fact that Mussolini managed to get away with the killing, certainly played a part in the minds of some who were considering opposing him. There seemed to be very few of them. Pulpit, town halls, the radio and the press all sent out the same message about Mussolini. The ‘Battles’ were brilliantly publicised and the ‘dark’ side of the regime suppressed.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>To what extent had collectivisation achieved its aims by 1941?</b></p> <p>Collectivisation, potentially, could have brought many benefits to the Russian people. The ability of the state to direct agriculture and manage it so it could benefit all and not just a few rich 'kulaks' made some sense. The ability to provide a healthy diet for all and support a growing urban population as well as end rural poverty made collectivisation a sensible decision. Russia had highly fertile land; it needed the foreign currency that its grain could provide, it had a lot of hungry people, so a system that encouraged the economics of scale made a lot of sense. Mechanisation was possible and with it a greatly increased level of output. The State did dominate and Stalin's personal power certainly increased. The 'Kulaks' were eliminated, although how much of an actual threat they presented is arguable. The vast bulk of agricultural land in Russia was fully collectivised and mechanisation and farming for the benefit of all, as opposed to just making a personal profit, was possible. The USSR had become much more of a 'Marxist' state, at least in theory.</p> <p>Food production went down and famine killed millions. Some of the best agricultural land in the USSR was destroyed by incompetent management. Private plots produced more than the much greater state owned units. Black markets flourished. The USSR did not achieve pre-1913 levels of food output by 1941. A large potential labour force was decimated or used inefficiently as slave labour. Collectivisation, which many were prepared to accept, was so badly managed that it made the system more dependent on terror. It alienated support and was to prove one of the many factors which led to the downfall of the USSR. It was simply unable to feed its population well. As Khrushchev, (one of those who rose by assisting the in the mass murder of millions in the Ukraine) later said 'If a man cannot have a glass of milk when he wants it, then you will never convince him that communism is a good idea'.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>‘A period of limited social and economic change.’ Discuss this view of Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1939.</b></p> <p>As far as economic change was concerned, the desire for autarky, self-sufficiency, was stressed, and at times did influence economic policy, but it was not carefully followed through. The demands of a likely wartime economy overruled it. Public works were adopted on a large scale, initially, as a means of reducing unemployment. However, rearmament and conscription rapidly took over as the means of job creation. Keynesian policies were adopted as a means to an end and not as a deliberate policy. Furthermore, the Labour Front was part of a process designed to break up trade union power and pacify industrialists. The willingness of industrialists like the Krupp’s to support the regime and put leading Nazis on their boards, meant that the basic capitalist model did not change. Steps were taken to ensure that German farming did not change greatly, mortgages were written off and low interests loans allowed. German agricultural, never very efficient, was not reformed. It could be argued that what changes there were, were largely superficial.</p> <p>Regarding social change, Germany remained a deeply conservative nation and the Nazis did not change much. Care was taken to indoctrinate through education and organisations such as the Hitler Youth. Social Darwinism and profound anti-Semitism were advocated. Care was taken not to offend the old landed classes. A Concordat was concluding with the Roman Catholic Church and care was also taken not to offend the various Protestant denominations. A more focussed ‘women’ policy was seen which reflected the prejudices of the Nazi leadership, but many regretted it when an acute labour shortage emerged once war started.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>‘The growth of suburbs and exurbs caused deep divisions in US society in the 1950s.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>The rising demand for housing following the end of the Second World War accompanied by a population growth created the demand that fuelled the rapid growth of the suburbs and exurbs. The ‘white flight’ to the suburbs deepened the divisions in American society as it led to greater segregation of housing. In 1947 Abraham Levitt with his two sons, William and Alfred planned to create a community on Long Island by transforming farmland into a suburban community. They went on to create two further towns in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Bill Levitt only sold houses to white people and by 1953 all 70 000 residents of Levittown were white; it was stipulated that all residents had to be of the Caucasian race and even when this was declared unconstitutional in court, he continued to reject African-American buyers. A committee was set up with the aim of ending discrimination in Levittown and in 1955 the National Association for Advancement of Coloured People sued federal mortgage agencies who had help people buy houses in Levittown based on the fact that six veterans had been denied the right to purchase homes there. The case was dismissed on the grounds that federal agencies were not responsible for preventing housing discrimination. However, the Levitts could not prevent houses being resold to minorities. In 1957 an African-American couple bought a house in the town and faced threats of violence but ultimately succeeded in pressing criminal charges against the worst perpetrators. African American, Asian American, and Latino families battled to become part of suburbia; by 1960 they had received just 2% of FHA-insured mortgages. Recent studies suggest that acts of violence and intimidation against non-white neighbours numbered in the hundreds. White residents of places like Levittown referred to their ‘Americanism’ as justification for racial exclusivity and branded those who wanted to enforce integration as communist.</p> <p>However, a growing number of African-Americans did live in the suburbs amounting to 2.5 million by 1960 about 5% of the suburban population. There were regional variations; in the South developers built more than 200,000 new homes and apartments by 1960, e.g. Collier Heights in west Atlanta and Washington Shores near Orlando provided suburban-style homes for a growing African-American middle class. A new community, Concord Park, came into being as a dream of Morris Milgram, a developer. His dream was called, ‘America’s first community designed for integration.’ It was built in 1954 the motto ‘Democracy in Housing,’ and embraced diverse residents.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>‘The oil crises of 1973 and 1979 revealed the weaknesses of the US economy rather than caused them.’ How valid is this judgement?</b></p> <p>The 1970s was a time of great economic difficulty for the USA. When high rates of inflation and unemployment appeared simultaneously, the government seemed incapable of producing an effective solution. By the 1970s the United States had lost its economic, political, and military dominance over the capitalist world. Having encouraged the reconstruction of the economies of Western Europe and Japan to ensure support for capitalism, it now faced competition from these countries with the revival of manufacturing and the USA commitment to free trade via GATT. In particular it faced competition from the Japanese car industry and its ability to produce cars more economically. US imports were exceeding exports and US companies were also struggling to access cheap materials and energy resources. International confidence in the dollar also declined which led to US gold reserves being depleted. In August 1971 President Nixon took the US dollar off the international gold standard, introduced a wages and prices freeze and a 10% import duty in what became known as the ‘Nixon Shock’. Gerald Ford had attempted to focus on inflation with a ‘Whip Inflation Now’ campaign; this called on Americans to save money rather than spend it. He also reduced spending and interest rates were raised. On assuming office in 1977 Jimmy Carter was highly critical of Ford’s failure to control inflation and reduce unemployment but the situation worsened under him with the annual inflation rate reaching 11% in 1979 and about 8 million people were out of work.</p> <p>However, the rise in oil prices certainly exacerbated the problem. The USA was also relying more on foreign oil imports, 30% of its oil consumption was imported in 1973. In that year, following the Yom Kippur war, OPEC placed an embargo on western buyers resulting in the price of oil rising four-fold. Stagflation began with a huge rise in oil prices, but then continued as central banks used monetary policy to counteract the resulting recession, causing a runaway wage-price spiral. This coincided with the ending of direct US military involvement in Vietnam followed by its ultimate defeat in 1975. The Vietnam War had placed great pressure on the economy; it was paid for by borrowing rather than taxation, putting the government budget into deficit and further weakening the dollar. The shock of the oil price rise combined with a stock market shock badly affected the lives of the Americans who realised how dependent their economy was on the Middle East. Gas stations ran dry, oil consumption dropped by 20%, the speed limit was reduced to 55 mph on highways. Nixon, ordered the department of defence to create a stockpile of oil in case the country needed the military to carry it through a time of chaos. Thus, the USA faced rising international competition and soaring energy prices alongside increasing inflation which was 10% in 1974 and unemployment which rose to 8% in 1975. There was a further oil crisis in 1979 at the time of the Iranian Revolution which sparked further price rises and caused panic among consumers.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>‘During the 1980s, the benefits of affirmative action to African Americans were minimal.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>Reagan campaigned vigorously against affirmative action in 1980, promising voters he would overturn policies that advocated quotas requiring sex, race and ethnicity to be the principal factor in hiring or education. Once in office, Reagan’s Justice Department backed cases that challenged affirmative action programmes hoping to eradicate them completely. President Reagan believed that the government promoted reverse discrimination and stated that it should relax its efforts to reach employment equality on behalf of minority groups. He cut funding for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the civil rights division of the Justice Department. He also believed that compensating African Americans and other minority groups for past discrimination with hiring quotas, numerical goals, and timetables, ought to be eliminated. As a result of those cuts, the EEOC filed 60 percent fewer cases by 1984 than it had at the beginning of the Reagan administration. On May 19, 1986 the Supreme Court in <i>Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education</i> invalidated an existing affirmative action programme. A school board policy stipulated that when layoffs were necessary, white teachers should be laid off before non-whites regardless of their seniority. The Court held that the policy’s benefits to minorities could not justify the injury it caused to whites. Reagan removed affirmative action supporters from their posts and re-staffed a significant portion of the Department of Justice and the Commission on Civil Rights with people who opposed existing civil rights law. The four Supreme Court justices he appointed, Sandra Day O’Connor, Chief Justice William Rehnquist, Antonin Scalia, and Anthony Kennedy, were appointed because of their apparently conservative beliefs.</p> <p>However, despite Reagan’s efforts, affirmative action continued throughout the 1980s. By the 1990s 30% percent of black men and nearly 60% of black women held white-collar jobs. The percentage of physicians increased from 2.2% to 4.5% The number of black college and university professors more than doubled between 1970 and 1990; the number of engineers almost quadrupled; and the number of attorneys increased more than six-fold. Even though Reagan appointed conservative justices to the Supreme Court, there is evidence to show that rulings were not always against affirmative action. In 1980, the Supreme Court ruled in <i>Fullilove v. Klutznick</i> that modest quotas were reasonable, upholding a federal law that 15% of public works funds be set-aside for qualified minority contractors. In <i>Connecticut v. Teal</i> in 1982 it was held that an employer is liable for race discrimination where any part of its selection process has a disparate impact on black applicants or employees, even if the ‘bottom line’ result of the employer’s hiring or promotional practice is racially balanced. This decision made clear that the fair employment laws protect the individual and therefore fair treatment of a group is no defence to an individual claim of discrimination. <i>Price Waterhouse v. Watkins</i> in 1989 held that if a plaintiff shows that discrimination played a ‘motivating part’ in an employment decision, the employer can avoid liability only by proving by a preponderance of the evidence that it would not have made the same decision in the absence of the discriminatory motive.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b>How far did the meetings between Reagan and Gorbachev in 1985–88 mark a fundamental change in US policy towards the USSR?</b></p> <p>With the appointment in March 1985 of Mikhail Gorbachev, Reagan realised that there was a prospect of changing relations with the USSR. Reagan and Gorbachev met in Geneva in November 1985 to discuss reducing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Although no significant agreements were made, the two leaders agreed to meet again and able to start the process that led to a thawing of Cold War tensions, and the eventual signing of the INF Treaty in 1987. Gorbachev wanted to demilitarize Soviet foreign policy so that he could divert resources to fixing a broken economy. In October 1986 the Reykjavik Summit was held; Reagan and Gorbachev in principle agreed on the need to reduce their nuclear arsenals. Gorbachev also recognized that Reagan would not negotiate SDI and within two months he was no longer insisting that SDI be linked to any arms control agreement. Visiting Berlin in June 1987, Reagan delivered a speech at the Berlin Wall in which he urged the Soviet leader, ‘Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall.’ Twenty-nine months later, the wall came down. Visiting Moscow in 1988, Reagan was asked by a Russian journalist whether if he still viewed the Soviet Union as an ‘evil empire’. ‘No’, Reagan replied. ‘I was talking about another time, another era. When the two leaders met again in Washington in December 1987, all they had to do were sign the documents agreeing to eliminate their intermediate range nuclear weapons, the most sweeping arms control reductions treaty ever signed by that time. It seemed that a transformation of the relations between the two countries had taken place.</p> <p>Ronald Reagan believed in ‘peace through strength’. He felt that if the USSR realised the US had powerful deterrents, it would be prepared to negotiate. Reagan did not believe in being deliberately confrontational. He was horrified at the prospect of nuclear war; he initiated the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), aimed at neutralizing incoming Soviet missiles. In his 1985 State of the Union address, President Reagan called upon Congress and the American people to stand up to the Soviet Union. While Reagan was prepared to negotiate with Gorbachev, his policy of peace through strength was constant; he refused to negotiate on SDI and did not reach an agreement on START as it would mean giving up more than he was prepared to. Gorbachev went to Washington in December 1987 to sign the INF Treaty and to persuade President Reagan to agree to a START agreement. The starting point in negotiations was that that both sides would eliminate 50% of their offensive ballistic missiles. However, Gorbachev was insistent that Reagan delayed the deployment of SDI until both sides had eliminated their offensive weapons; Reagan refused. Reagan encouraged his advisers to continue to seek a START agreement, but would not make any agreement limiting SDI. Reagan met Gorbachev in Moscow in May 1988. Gorbachev hoped to use the Summit to agree to the START Treaty, Reagan was not interested in further arms control agreements.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b>How far did the threat of nuclear war reduce during the 1960s?</b></p> <p>The Cuban missile crisis had exposed the dangers of the brinkmanship fostered by the concept of massive retaliation. Both Kennedy and Khrushchev had been desperate to find a face-saving solution to the crisis in order to avoid nuclear war. The USA and the USSR both appreciated the need for better relations to avoid the threat of future nuclear confrontation. Accordingly, the notion of mutually assured destruction (MAD) emerged. A hot-line telephone link between the leaders of the USA and the USSR was established in 1963, with the aim of preventing future misunderstandings. The USA and the USSR signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963 – attempts to sign a similar treaty in 1961, prior to the Cuban missile crisis, had been unsuccessful due to its rejection by the USSR. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, designed to prevent the dangerous spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states, was signed in 1968.</p> <p>However, one of Khrushchev's motives for placing nuclear weapons in Cuba was his fear that the USSR lagged behind the USA in terms of nuclear weapons. MAD was based on the assumption that the USA and the USSR had sufficient nuclear weapons to ensure security. It relied on maintaining a balance of nuclear power and, therefore, any development by one side necessitated a similar or improved development by the other, thus intensifying the arms race. The USSR's determination to catch up with the USA led to the increased development of Soviet ICBMs and SLBMs. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was only a limited ban and did not completely prevent the testing of nuclear weapons. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty had significant limitations and did not prevent some countries developing their own nuclear capabilities. China tested its first nuclear weapon in 1964.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p><b>‘The Soviet Union collapsed because Gorbachev introduced too much reform too quickly.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>It could be argued that Gorbachev made a fundamental error in seeking to achieve economic and political reform at the same time through his policies of glasnost and perestroika. China was able to survive the crisis of communism by undertaking economic reform while maintaining strict one-party control of the state. Gorbachev was naïve to believe that economic reform was only possible if accompanied by political reform. In seeking political reform, Gorbachev undermined the power and authority of the Communist Party, which imploded as a result. In ending the Brezhnev Doctrine, Gorbachev encouraged nationalist movements both in Eastern Europe and within the Soviet Union itself.</p> <p>While Gorbachev’s reforms may have hastened the USSR’s collapse, they were not the fundamental cause of it. Long-term economic problems and political inertia under previous leaders meant that the USSR was in a very weak state when Gorbachev became leader. With its finances drained by the need to maintain the arms race with the USA, reliant on imports of American wheat, facing nationalist dissension and unable to sustain the financial commitment of maintaining its control of Eastern Europe, Gorbachev had little option but to seek improved relations with the west. This could only be achieved by showing a willingness to undertake political reform. Gorbachev was, therefore, seeking to address the problems which faced the USSR while, at the same time, developing improved relations with the USA. Comparisons with China are unfair because the circumstances facing the two countries were substantially different. Pressure imposed on the USSR by the USA was also a key factor.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p><b>‘Mao Zedong brought order to China.’ How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>It has been argued by historians that, by the time of Mao’s death in 1976, the people of China were better educated, healthier and better organised than ever before. Agricultural output had kept pace with the increase in population, so that China was famine-free. Industry had been developed to the point where steel production had tripled, the foundations had been laid for a significant petroleum industry, machine-building and light industry provided a flow of consumer goods far better than that of the Soviet Union. China was on the verge of becoming a nuclear power, its relations with the USA massively improved. While the Great Leap Forward did not bring immediate benefits to China, this was largely due to a series of poor harvest (1959–61) and the withdrawal of Soviet aid. By the mid-1960s, agricultural and industrial production was already increasing substantially, while the Communes had provided an efficient means of local development. Moreover, by adopting a strategy of small-scale local industry rather than following the Soviet model of Five Year Plans focused on heavy industry, Mao had developed a system suited to the particular needs of China, avoiding the problem of mass unemployment, demonstrating his flexibility. Mao’s approach of a one-party government was maintained by Deng.</p> <p>Some historians argue that the original redistribution of land in the 1950s contributed to some 2 million deaths. The presence of popular opposition to communism in China became apparent during the Hundred Flowers Campaign (1957). Mao’s adoption of the Great Leap Forward played no small part in the development of the Sino-Soviet split. The resultant loss of Soviet aid, coupled with the series of bad harvests between 1959 and 1961, meant that as many as 20 million died in the early years of the Great Leap Forward. Mao’s approach of pursuing a rigid Marxist-Leninist policy split opinion within the CCP, right-wingers arguing for more incentives, such as piecework and wage differentials. Mao felt that this was revisionism of the type for which he had been so critical of the USSR. In order to preserve the ‘revolution’ and to maintain his own power, Mao began the Cultural Revolution in 1966. This led to excesses which brought China to the brink of civil war. The effects of Mao’s policies on the people and the slow economic growth resulted in Mao being later criticised by his successors.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p><b>How far was the USA responsible for the problems facing Palestine in 1948–49?</b></p> <p>At the time, Britain was generally held responsible for the problems facing Palestine in 1948–9, and was soundly criticised from all sides. Palestine became a British mandate in 1919. Britain declared that it supported the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine, but also stated that there would be no interference with the rights of Palestinian Arabs. Britain failed to understand the deep gulf between the Jewish and Arab communities, and continued to allow Jewish immigration into Palestine. Britain’s attempts to negotiate two separate states within Palestine simply led to hostility from both Jewish and Arab communities. Arab protests were brutally crushed in 1936, while Britain’s refusal to allow 100 000 Jews into Palestine led to a Jewish terrorist campaign. By 1945, weakened by the impact of the Second World War, Britain felt unable to cope, and asked the UN to deal with the Palestinian problem. The UN decided to divide Palestine (1947). In 1948, despite ongoing fighting between the two communities, Britain withdrew all its troops from Palestine. When Ben Gurion declared the independence of the new state of Israel, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon immediately attacked. Israel, many of whose troops had gained experience fighting in the British army in the Second World War, was victorious, creating the problem of Palestinian refugees. Most of the world blamed Britain, arguing that British troops should have remained to ensure that the partition of Palestine went smoothly. Arab activists accused Britain of being pro-Jewish for allowing too much Jewish immigration in the first place. Jewish activists accused Britain of being pro-Arab for trying to limit Jewish immigration. Even the right-wing press in Britain blamed the British Labour government for its handling of the partition.</p> <p>Some argue that Britain had made a genuine effort to be fair to both sides. Britain had spent large sums of money trying to maintain peace and, in 1945, it could ill-afford to maintain such expenditure. It made sense for Britain to withdraw and let the UN take responsibility for carrying out its decision to partition Palestine. The British government blamed the USA for the chaos in Palestine. It was President Truman who had pressed Britain to allow an extra 100 000 Jewish people into Palestine in 1946, something which would have inflamed the situation still more. Moreover, Truman refused to provide any American troops to keep the peace in Palestine. It was the USA which pressed the UN to partition Palestine, even though all of the Arab states voted against it. It was the USA which rejected the British Morrison Plan (1946), which would have established separate Jewish and Arab states under British supervision.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p><b>How important was the use of media by political leaders in gaining support for independence?</b></p> <p>The media means the press. Radio was under the control of the colonial governments or white settlers, and television was first introduced into Nigeria in 1959. The press was most important in British West Africa where there were higher rates of literacy due to the education provided by missions from the 19th century. Here there was an educated elite and a growing professional class. A range of African newspapers in English had been produced from the mid nineteenth century. They had considerable freedom and frequently criticised aspects of colonial administration. From the 1930s they pushed for greater African political control and laid the foundation for independence. This was seen especially in Ghana in Danquah's 'West Africa Times' and Nigeria where Azikiwe's 'West African Pilot' influenced the Igbo and the 'Daily News' influenced the Yoruba. Nkrumah produced the 'Accra Evening News' in the 1950s presenting himself in extravagant terms. In Ghana, the political elite and established nationalists were overtaken by Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party which suggests that other tactics like the use of strikes, rallies, youth organisations, symbols, vans with loudspeakers and charismatic personalities were more important than the press at a popular level. In Nigeria, Azikiwe became the first president showing the educated elite inherited power. The new federation reflected the ethnic divisions seen in the press. The power of the press was recognised by new political leaders who quickly brought newspapers under the control of the ruling party. In French West Africa, there was a press in French, but it was heavily censored by the colonial government. In East and Central Africa, the English press was in settler hands, but after 1945 a growing Swahili press became more influential in Tanganyika and Kenya.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p><b>How far were military regimes in post-independent Africa reformist in nature?</b></p> <p>One-party states were established in much of post-independence Africa. Rival political parties were banned and the trade unions, youth groups and media were integrated into the ruling party. Only the army had the manpower and means to remove failing and unpopular governments and bring in change. There were 71 successful coups between 1952 and 1990 affecting 60% of countries. The justifications for military rule were very similar: political abuses and oppression, economic decline, corruption and nepotism. Frequently coups also reflected tensions in the army due to ethnic rivalry, jealousy over promotion and government interference. However, the types of regime established varied considerably. ‘Caretaker’ regimes aimed to remove specific governments, but did not intend to take over permanently. When Nkrumah was overthrown in Ghana, power was returned to the politicians within 3 years. ‘Reformist’ regimes intended to address and change existing problems and lasted longer. An example of this is when General Ironsi abolished the Federal constitution in Nigeria. ‘Usurpers’ were military regimes where an individual managed to establish a personal dictatorship. These were frequently very brutal such as Idi Amin in Uganda and Bokassa in the Central African Republic. Mobutu in Zaire was a military usurper though he was more subtle and developed a philosophy to justify his rule. Some military regimes have been described as ‘radical’ because they were ideologically driven. Examples of this are Congo-Brazzaville and Benin, but the most significant example was Marxist Ethiopia under General Mengistu. Criteria could be identified to identify the nature of the military rule discussed. In Ghana and Nigeria there were successive coups and long periods of military rule.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p><b>Assess the impact of independence on social and family conditions in Africa. Answer with reference to any ONE country.</b></p> <p>Criteria for social and family change could be identified and the development and limitations of these themes examined with accurate, supporting detail. Themes could involve: education; employment; religion; the urban/rural divide; living and working conditions or similar factors. At the time of independence, all leaders intended to improve the lives of their people and there were ambitious expectations for development. However, this proved difficult to achieve. The colonial economies inherited were based on the export of agricultural raw materials, with limited industry or manufacture. The infrastructure was undeveloped and uneven. Minerals were frequently controlled by foreign companies. Few countries were economically viable at the time of independence. Literacy and numeracy were limited and there was a serious shortage of skilled labour. The new governments focused primarily on maintaining political power. They faced challenges especially from ethnic diversity, and an extensive system of patronage developed. This diverted resources from development. Early improvements were later limited by external factors like drought, falling commodity prices, and the oil crisis. Internal factors like coups and civil war disrupted development. The pattern of change within factors should be identified.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p><b>How far was cooperation between independent African states limited by fears of loss of sovereignty?</b></p> <p>Independent African states wanted to distance themselves from colonialism and create an identity of their own. The idea of Pan-Africanism was increasingly popular because it would not only create an identity, but also lead to effective political and economic development. Nkrumah of Ghana was an enthusiastic promoter of the concept of a united Africa. In 1958 the All Africa Peoples Conference in Accra was attended by many current and future African leaders. In 1963, the OAU was finally established in Addis Ababa. However, there were problems from the start. Countries like Nigeria disliked Nkrumah's perceived arrogance and his assumption of leadership. It had taken over 2 years of negotiation to agree a constitution for the OAU. There were significant philosophical differences between the radical Casablanca Group, who were more militant and socialist, and the more conservative Monrovia group, who favoured a loose confederation, with voluntary participation in economic and cultural exchanges. These differences were important in the context of the Cold War. The former French colonies in particular wished to preserve close economic links with France. The OAU constitution reflected the views of the Monrovia group. There was agreement on ending colonialism, economic cooperation and Non-alignment, but there was no intervention in the internal affairs of member states and no union. The new states were a fragile mix of different ethnic groups, languages and religions. New leaders found them hard to govern and soon established one party states. Remaining in power was their primary concern.</p> <p>Although all states were keen to achieve economic development and recognised it would be best achieved through cooperation, especially at a regional level, little was achieved. Many schemes were launched, but most failed. This was partly because states were reluctant to put the interests of other states before their own, but it was also because of the enormity of the problems. Poor infrastructure, vast distances, uneven development, lack of skilled manpower and lack of capital were hard to overcome. Some states joined several schemes, but were unwilling to contribute to them. Corruption and political instability, ignorance and inefficiency led to their failure.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p><b>Assess the economic effects of Japanese rule on Southeast Asia during the Second World War.</b></p> <p>Japanese propaganda stressed the co-prosperity zone and the end of western exploitation. However occupation saw a fall in GDP throughout the region which amounted in some areas, like the Philippines, in a drastic 50% decline. The occupied territories lost access to global markets and had to rely on Japan. Economic controls were in the interests of Japan and its war economy not the interests of the people of Southeast Asia. The policy of forcing occupied lands to meet their own occupation costs resulted in high levels of taxation and reduction of consumer spending and the anticipated supply of consumer goods from Japan did not materialise. Shortages, forced labour and in some cases, for example in the brutal treatment of Chinese in Singapore meant a total of 4.4 million premature deaths which had a major economic impact on the region. In some countries this was less marked for example in Thailand where there was some addition to the transport infrastructure, however in general it took until the late 1950s for per capita income to get back to the levels of the late 1930s. Where there was extended fighting, for example, in the Philippines, there was the direct damage caused by warfare. Some answers may draw a distinction between Indonesia and Thailand and other areas dominated by Japan. But the overall analysis may be more in terms of which aspects of rule were the most destructive rather than balancing benefits with damage.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p><b>How successfully were the principles of Pancasila implemented in Indonesia after independence?</b></p> <p>Pancasila was an attempt to establish unifying principles to bind together the different elements in post- independence Indonesia. Sukarno interpreted the philosophy in terms of nationalism’ justice and humanity’ representative democracy; an international outlook; social welfare and a state guided by religion but not one belief.</p> <p>The Indonesian state recognised six religions but these did not include non-believers, Judaism and indigenous beliefs and a criticism was that while toleration was implied it did not always manifest itself. Also, for militant Islamists, the principle was too secular and a post- independence civil war broke out in the late 1940s which lasted until the early 1960s. Islamic criticism was met with arrests and repression. However by the 1980s Indonesia had moved towards major promotion of Islamic institutions despite the emphasis on a more general religious basis in 1945. In political terms, Pancasila has been seen as a means by which the rulers maintained social and political control, for example by reducing the number of political parties in 1979. The democracy of 1945 became ‘Guided Democracy’ in 1956 and the constitution was abrogated in 1959. The New Order of Suharto was dominated by the military and there was a reliance on repression which could hardly be in line with Pancasila. In 1985 all organizations were required to adopt the principles of Pancasila and government supervision was established to ensure this was the case. The social reforms under Sukarno could be argued to have fulfilled the philosophy more than the political policies with improvements in health and education. Thus the principles were successfully implemented in a narrow sense, but the ideas behind them were subverted and the philosophy used to extend government political and social control.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p><b>'Economic change transformed Vietnam in the 1990s.'</b> How far do you agree?</p> <p>Vietnam experienced high levels of economic growth (on average 7.5%) in the period of liberalisation in the 1990s but there was not a transformation in terms of equality and economic mobility and there was also not a corresponding change in political development as despite the changes made in encouraging a market economy and economic links with other country, there was no corresponding move to political liberalisation. Poverty fell from 58% in the early 90s to 37% in the late 90s. However inequality rose. The top 20% saw a 54% growth in per capita consumption; the bottom 20% saw only a 29%. Thus social transformation was more limited than overall economic change. Social and economic mobility did not increase in such a way as to indicate a transformation in Vietnamese society. One transformation was in the change from a command economy to a free enterprise economy, recognised officially by the Constitutional change of 1992. Though the stock market did not open until 2000 and Vietnam did not join the WTO until 2007 the 1990s saw an important transitional phase towards greater links with the global economy with links made with other countries and this could be seen as a transformation into a modern entrepreneurial economy and society open to foreign investment, foreign tourism and part of the international trading economy. However there were elements of continuity in that through the 1990s 50% of output continued to come from older and inefficient state run enterprises. It could be argued that given elements of state control, lack of political development and inequality, transformation was partial; or because of the very important nature of the changes which did mark a considerable reversal of the command economy a more favourable view could be taken about the extent and importance of change.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p><b>How influential was religion in bringing about social change in independent Southeast Asia before the 1990s?</b></p> <p>Social change might be seen in terms of social mobility resulting from economic growth or urban development. It might be seen in terms of changes in the status of women. It might be seen as the decline of traditional values and the increasing influence of western values either in terms of socialism or communism or in terms of liberal capitalism. Religion might be seen in terms of inhibiting social change – for instance the increase in Islamic fundamentalism in opposing westernisation. It might be seen as laying the basis for economic and therefore social change. Some key religions such as Confucianism or Chinese magical animism and Islam have not inhibited the development of market economies and technological developments. However a common view is that religion has not driven social change or modernisation which has derived from Western influence. In some cases religion has driven a reaction to social change; there are examples of progressive religion promoting social change for example some elements of Catholicism; there are examples of religion allying with other forces in developing social change.</p>	30