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MARK SCHEME

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Generic Levels of Response

Level 5	**25–30**	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. 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. Towards the lower end of the level, responses might typically be analytical, consistent and balanced, but the argument might not be fully convincing.
Level 4	**19–24**	Responses show a good understanding of the question and contain a relevant argument based on a largely analytical approach. 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. 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.
Level 3	**13–18**	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. 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. 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.
Level 2	**7–12**	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. Towards the top of the level, responses might contain relevant commentaries which lack adequate factual support. The responses may contain some unsupported assertions. 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.
Level 1	**1–6**	Responses show limited understanding of the question. They may contain some description which is linked to the topic or only address part of the question. Towards the top of the level, responses show some awareness of relevant material but this may be presented as a list. Towards the lower end of the level, answers may provide a little relevant material but are likely to be characterised by irrelevance.
Level 0	**0**	No relevant, creditworthy content.

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Depth Study 1: Europe of the Dictators, 1918–1941

Indicative content

1 How successful was Lenin as a leader of Russia? [30]

There is scope for a good debate here. Consideration of what are the criteria for 'success', in this context, should be there and a case developed each way. The vast range of problems which faced Russia at the end of 1917, arising out of the war and the legacies of the Tsarist regime as well as the Provisional Government, would have posed huge challenges to any regime. Certainly there were real achievements there in the sense that Lenin got out of the war, overthrew the previous regime, established a new regime which had tremendous ideals, defeated the Whites and created a new system of government determined to improve the lot of the majority of the Russian people.

He brought in War Communism as a means of ensuring the survival of his regime, but then had the sense to realise that it was not working and the country was not ready for it. There was always the ability to compromise when needed. The NEP proved to be a good idea, again in the short term. His ability to manage the nationalities issue ensured that the USSR would become a vast nation. His ability to inspire loyalty amongst a very diverse group of key supporters like Trotsky and Stalin was exceptional, and he provided direction and inspiration, while at the same time taking practical steps to get an effective system of government going.

However, there is another side. A regime initially based on terror cannot shake off its earlier excesses that easily. Utilising the CHEKA to the extent that he did set a dangerous precedent. Kronstadt demonstrated a particularly ruthless side to the regime which was hardly likely to gain popularity. Neither War Communism nor the NEP looked like providing a long term solution to the nation's economic woes, and the absence of talent at the top when it came to economic management, or in fact any sort of management, was to prove critical. With no planning for the succession while at the same time aware of the lurking danger of Stalin and a regime hardly built on consent, success was varied. Arguably a regime based on such ideals could never really be successful, particularly given the conditions surrounding its birth.

2 'The impact of the First World War was the main reason for Mussolini's rise to power.' How far do you agree? [30]

It certainly was a factor. Having been promised success, territory and glory, the Italian people felt bitterly let down by their leadership and the results of the Versailles peace settlement. There had been humiliation at the rapid Austrian advance and the need to be rescued by their Allies. There were huge losses in manpower and great economic dislocation, and parts of the North were devastated by war. The whole Trieste/D'Annunzio affair showed how strongly many Italians felt about the war.

Faith in the ruling elite was never strong in the recently united Italy, and its management of foreign policy before the war as well as the war itself further undermined their credibility as leaders. There were too many examples of their incompetence and self-interest. There was an electoral system which reflected very well the huge divisions in Italian opinion. All this was to give Mussolini many issues to build on and grounds to attack the political elite which had led the Italian people to disaster and humiliation. There was profound dissatisfaction for men like Orlando and Giolitti.

However, there were many other factors which played a part. Mussolini's own ideas and sheer opportunism as well as his communication skills were important. The remarkable confidence he had in himself as well as his ability to be as ideologically flexible as the circumstances dictated

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were vital. The relatively neutral attitude of the Church, while never welcoming, was not too hostile. There was a genuine fear of a communist revolution along Russian lines and Mussolini seemed to be a barrier to it. There was severe and often violent industrial unrest in many parts of Northern Italy; this further fuelled fear and Mussolini really stressed his newly found anti-communist credentials. Industrial leaders gave him support, or at least did not oppose him. The army, as far as it played any role, was supportive. The role of the Squadristi was also important. There was an incompetent King, prone to panic, as the 'March' was to show. Possibly it was the overweening confidence and sheer bravura of the man that were the most important, taking full advantage of the opportunities provided to him.

3 Assess the limitations on Stalin's power over the Soviet Union. [30]

While the official records naturally show total support for all that Stalin did, there were areas of opposition. With a lack of a tradition of opposition in Russia other than the sort provided by the Bolsheviks themselves before 1917, there was little to start to build an opposition on. The nature of opposition differed from that normal in a democratic process. The 'kulaks' naturally resented losing the gains they had made under the NEP but were destroyed in the collectivisation process. Those deemed to be opponents of the regime often agreed with what the regime was trying to do, but disagreed on aspects like speed and extent. There was no medium through which any, even mild, dissent could be voiced. The Ban on Factions made it clear that discussion was not acceptable. The way in which the purges and the terror seemed to be accepted by both victims and those carrying it out without question indicated that there was little serious opposition and few limits and that it had more of a focus on details than on the principles underlying the regime.

Russia had had an authoritarian and often ruthless ruler for centuries and the Russian people did not seem too concerned with what happened under Stalin. The size of Russia and geographical and economic factors posed limits, but given what was achieved, and at what cost, by 1941 would indicate that there were few limits. Collectivisation showed his power did not extend to actually increasing productivity; the mass slaughter of livestock and the resultant famine showed that. His power extended to building the White Sea Canal, but it could not make it commercially useful. While he could dictate what were, or were not, appropriate nursery rhymes, he could never control Russian humour. He could create a massive army and then kill most of its senior officers, but it could be almost destroyed by the invading Germans in 1941.

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4 How successful were Hitler's policies towards women and young people? [30]

There needs to be reflection on what 'success' might mean in the circumstances, and whether the response considers 'success' from the point of view of the Nazi state or the actual interests of women and young people themselves. While a return to some degree of prosperity and a reduction in unemployment would have benefitted both, there were real problems for both women and young people. Women were driven out of the workplace and into a purely domestic role, and while that may have made the employment figures look good, the Nazis deprived themselves of a much needed labour force at a later stage. War was to reveal the need for women's employment and Germany suffered as a result not only of the 'stay at home' tradition but also from a skills shortage which women could have fulfilled. However, women did remain strong supporters of the regime, even in its final stages, so there was popularity there, and by default, success. The evidence is that they voted for him when able to.

Youth was indoctrinated and while, on the one hand, that indoctrination played a vital part in ensuring loyalty to the regime and its practices till the bitter end of the regime, a huge number of those young people were killed in the process and saw their country destroyed and divided. The Hitler Youth and its female equivalent were largely popular and certainly effective in what they aimed to do. Goebbels' ability to convince many of the young people of Germany that Nazism provided them with a future and needed their unconditional loyalty was impressive. Evidence of youthful dissent before 1941 was very limited, and examples of dissent such as the White Rose movement and the Edelweiss Pirates are few and far between.

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Depth Study 2: The History of the USA, 1945–1990

Indicative content

5 'Totally dominated by Martin Luther King.' How far do you agree with this assessment of the civil rights movement in the 1950s? [30]

Martin Luther King was the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he helped establish in 1957. The aim of the SCLC was to coordinate non-violent direct action across the South, following the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–56. Martin Luther King had played a leading part in the Bus Boycott, the first major direct action campaign of the civil rights era. He was a young man in his mid-20s, little known and with little political experience. There were others who had been involved in the civil rights movement for much longer. The most obvious figure was the recently-appointed leader of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins. Together with other civil rights leaders, they met Eisenhower in the White House in June 1958 to lobby for more effective federal action.

However, it was Luther King who attracted the most publicity in the later 50s. This was because he was much more of a public figure than Wilkins and others like him; Luther King led demonstrations which Americans could watch on their new televisions. His oratorical skills were obvious. The movement which he led was also successful in advancing its cause. Though most of his better-known civil rights actions, most obviously the march to Selma and the march on Washington, came in the 1960s, it was clear before then that Luther King was a major figure in the civil rights movement. The nature of the civil rights movement also needs analysing, however. It was a mass movement, protean in form. The first sit-ins of the era began in 1958, encouraged by the NAACP, but outside the South, in Wichita, Kansas. Luther King played no part in this initiative, even though it was later copied in the South.

6 How valid is the judgement that the presidency of John Kennedy had few significant achievements? [30]

The question does not exclude foreign policy and so the one significant achievement everyone would agree on is the peaceful resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Often remembered is the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, the first limitation on nuclear testing. What else, though? In recent years, JFK has acquired something of a playboy image, which seems to imply that his policy record is not worth remembering, especially when contrasted with that of his successor, LBJ.

In fact, JFK did a great deal in domestic affairs, usually to benefit neglected groups such as the poor, African Americans and women. He reintroduced food stamps, if in a limited number of regions, made the first affirmative action initiatives and established a commission to advance the cause of women. He was a Progressive politician in the mould of FDR and Harry Truman. The Peace Corps, established in 1961 to provide volunteers to serve overseas, is still working to further its original, rather idealistic goals. In response to Soviet space successes, JFK announced the mission to put an American on the moon by the end of the decade. The economy continued to grow during these years, if with the occasional setback. JFK's relations with Congress were good, enabling the passage of most of the legislation he proposed. Given he was president for less than a full term, JFK did a great deal. Whether these initiatives count as significant achievements is another matter.

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7 Assess the reasons why the religious right grew in strength in the 1980s. [30]

The religious right was led by the Moral Majority, an organisation set up in 1979 to make sure evangelical Christians voted for its preferred presidential candidates, who were always Republican. The organisation aimed to change one consequence of the traditional separation of church and state, namely that many devout Christians took little part in politics. Moral Majority had some four million supporters by the mid-1980s, the majority in the South. It claimed it played a major part in the victories of Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984. By 1988, its influence was in decline. Thus the rise of the religious right was closely linked with the rise of Ronald Reagan.

His traditional right-wing values were extremely popular with evangelical Christians. They entered national politics in the late 1970s because they objected to many features of the new American society and law which had emerged in the '60s and '70s: the Supreme Court's banning of priest-led prayers in public (state) schools; the Supreme Court's decision in Roe vs. Wade in 1973, to grant women the right to an abortion; attempts to introduce the Equal Rights Amendment into the constitution; the growing public presence of homosexuals – or gays, as they came to be known; the growing use of illegal drugs. America had elected its first evangelical Christian in 1976 but Jimmy Carter, himself a Southerner, proved a great disappointment to those who had placed their religious faith in his secular leadership of the country. He was far too liberal for their liking. Ronald Reagan was their ideal replacement. Thus the rise of the religious right can be explained by combining the context of the late 1970s and early 1980s with the arrival on the national scene of Ronald Reagan. Deciding the exact proportion of each is to answer the question.

8 Analyse the reasons why, in the early 1970s, the USA started to establish diplomatic relations with Communist China. [30]

The question is worded as such because the two countries established full diplomatic relations only in 1979. The key years of the early 1970s were 1971–72. In April 1971, the US table tennis team went to Beijing in a move which inevitably was labelled 'ping pong diplomacy'; it seems, however, that this move was initiated by China, not the USA. In July 1971, Henry Kissinger, the president's National Security Adviser, made a secret trip to Beijing while on a visit to Pakistan. Then in February 1972, in the full glare of publicity, the US President, Richard Nixon, visited China and met its leader, Mao Zedong.

Nixon's visit was a dramatic event. Ever since the PRC had been founded in 1949, there had been no official contact between the two countries. In the 1950s, Nixon, as vice-president, had been strongly anti-communist. Ever since becoming president in 1969, Nixon had been keen to make contact with the PRC. In the early 1970s, Nixon's main focus in foreign affairs was on the war in Vietnam, which was not going well. China was the leading power in the region. Better relations with China might put pressure on North Vietnam to make peace, not war. Better relations with China would also affect the prime relationship of America's Cold War, that with the USSR. In the 1960s, the two major communist powers had fallen out in what became known as the Sino-Soviet split. Closer Sino-American relations would leave the USSR relatively isolated and, it was hoped, keener to negotiate on a range of Cold War issues. In addition, the local Cold War issue, the status of Taiwan, might also be resolved if the USA and the PRC were able to talk to each other. The possibility of trade between the two states, now so important, was not a key concern of US diplomats in the early 1970s. There were too many international problems which the PRC might help resolve.

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Depth Study 3: International History, 1945–1991

Indicative content

9 'The USA lost more than it gained from its involvement in the Korean War.' How far do you agree? [30]

Agree – The USA became involved in what was essentially a civil war about national unification because it wrongly assumed that North Korea's attack on the South was the result of Stalin's desire for Soviet expansionism. Taking advantage of the Soviet boycott, the USA exploited its advantageous position within the UN in an attempt to justify and support its involvement in Korea. This seriously undermined both the UN itself (referred to by the USSR as 'the tool of the capitalists') and the USA's own international prestige. Soviet propaganda was able to portray the USA as imperialist, supporting an undemocratic and unpopular pro-American government in South Korea and seeking to unify Korea in order to extend its power. The deployment of rollback was a failure; although the invasion of North Korea gained initial success, it alarmed China and led to the involvement of Chinese forces which drove the American advance back.

This split opinion amongst the USA's high command, MacArthur arguing that the best way to defeat communism was to attack China using atomic weapons, Truman fearing that this would lead to a large-scale war and preferring to settle for a restoration of the 38th parallel border. Many Republicans argued that Truman missed the opportunity to destroy the new communist government in China, leading to the subsequent excesses of McCarthyism. Instead, the PRC had shown itself to be a major world power; US relations were now strained with China as well as with the USSR.

The USA's determination to keep the PRC out of the UN now seemed even more unreasonable. The USA attempted to develop alliances in Asia designed to encircle China (e.g. SEATO); the fact that only three Asian countries agreed to join is indicative of their desire to avoid becoming entangled in the Cold War, together with the decline in American prestige. American involvement in Korea had greatly enhanced the scale of the war, creating devastating misery for its people.

Disagree – The USA's primary objective when becoming directly involved in the Korean War was to end the North Korean invasion of the South. This invasion was perceived as unwarranted and unprovoked aggression against an independent nation, the very thing which the UN had been created to deal with. To Truman, allowing the North Korean attack to go uncontested would be similar to the appeasement which had allowed Hitler to get away with so much before the outbreak of WWII.

By the time American and UN forces arrived, North Korean communist forces had taken the whole country with the exception of the south-east region around the port of Pusan. Under the leadership of MacArthur, the UN forces gained success very quickly, the North Koreans being forced to retreat beyond the 38th parallel. Although the subsequent attempt to rollback communism from North Korea failed, Truman could claim that the USA had succeeded in its primary objective – defending South Korea and containing communism at the 38th parallel. The USA had worked with the support of the UN and its success issued a warning designed to dissuade world communism from further aggression.

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10 'Détente in the 1970s simply prolonged the Cold War.' How far do you agree? [30]

Agree – One of the most significant elements of détente was Brandt's policy of Ostpolitik; this led to a series of treaties (the most significant of which was the Basic Treaty of 1972) under which West Germany for the first time accepted the existence of East Germany. Although designed to improve East-West relations, such agreements effectively meant legal recognition of Cold War divisions in Europe and the West's acceptance of Soviet control over East Germany and Eastern Europe in general. From the late 1970s onwards, American right-wingers claimed that the USSR was exploiting the USA's post-Vietnam political and economic weaknesses, suggesting that the USA was being too soft on communism. They argued that the USSR could not be trusted to keep to its promises, citing its poor record on human rights despite the Helsinki Accords as evidence.

This view gained credence when Reagan's hard-line policies towards the 'evil empire' were portrayed as the reason for the USSR's sudden willingness to negotiate under Gorbachev. The implication of this view is that the Cold War would have ended sooner if the USA had continued to put pressure on the USSR rather than seeking détente. Despite lengthy negotiations, the SALT Treaties had no real impact on the nuclear arms race, both superpowers continuing to develop new and more efficient systems of delivery. Throughout the period of détente, the USSR continued to extend its influence in the Third World (e.g. Iran, Angola, Mozambique), a factor which became even more evident with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Disagree – In the early 1970s, there seemed little prospect of an end to the Cold War. Détente was not seen as a way of bringing the Cold War to an end, but a method of stabilising relations within it. Both the USA and the USSR had political and economic reasons for seeking a reduction in tensions, while instability on both sides of the iron curtain in Europe highlighted the need for better East-West relations. It is significant that the main architects of détente in the USA were Nixon and Kissinger, both staunch anti-communists; they argued that American interests could best be upheld by negotiation rather than the type of military intervention which had proved costly, unpopular and, as in Vietnam, ineffective.

Ostpolitik brought stability to Europe, while the SALT Treaties, despite their limitations, were symbolic of the new accord between the superpowers. The Helsinki agreements brought concessions from both sides, not least the USA's recognition of the European borders as they had existed since 1945, together with closer trade and technology ties between the superpowers. The principle of negotiation, which was to lead to more effective subsequent agreements (e.g. START), had been established, while improved relations between the USA and China did much to reduce international tension. Détente was, therefore, perceived as a better way of dealing with the Cold War than outright confrontation. The notion that it failed to create stability only came about because of the resurgence of the American right wing (neo-conservatism) at a time when the USA felt stronger both politically and economically, and when its international prestige seemed threatened by issues such as Islamic fundamentalism.

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11 Compare and contrast the economic policies pursued by Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. [30]

Similarities – Mao and Deng faced the same basic problem: how to govern a large and heavily populated country so that it could feed itself and develop into a modern industrialised state. Both were committed to developing the economy in line with China's needs and strengths, an economy which was labour-intensive and which gave some decision-making powers to local organisations. However, both believed that overall control of the economy should remain with the CCP, arguing that a one-party state was the best way to ensure China's economic progress. Although both were initially prepared to allow open discussion regarding economic matters (e.g. Mao's Hundred Flowers Campaign, Deng's Democracy Wall), they quickly ended such freedoms when it became clear that they led to criticism of the government.

Differences – When Mao's CCP gained control of mainland China in 1949, it faced the problem of rebuilding a country scarred by long-term divisions, civil war and war against Japan. Following the Soviet model, Mao developed a system of agriculture based on cooperatives/collectives and instituted a Five Year plan to develop heavy industry. This enabled China to recover from the ravages of civil war, rebuild its infrastructure and get inflation under control. However, Mao subsequently adapted this, moving away from the Soviet model to one more appropriate to the situation in China. As a result of the Great Leap Forward, agriculture was based on communes, which were larger than collectives and allowed for an element of local government. Instead of focusing on heavy industry, the Great Leap Forward concentrated on the development of small-scale, labour intensive industries.

While the Great Leap Forward initially led to major social and economic problems, in the long-term it brought significant benefits, not least the fact that China was able to avoid the regular famines which it had experienced in the past. Mao's policies were, however, criticised by right-wingers within the Party (one of whom was Deng), who argued that production would only increase if there were greater incentives (such as piecework, bonuses, greater pay differentials). Mao saw these proposals as capitalist, revisionist and a threat to the revolution. It was for this reason that he began the Cultural Revolution, which had devastating effects on China.

By 1978, Deng had become leader of China and he began to institute the changes which he had advocated earlier. He believed that for China to develop into a modern industrialised country, it needed to adopt elements of capitalism, the very thing which Mao had so strongly opposed. Deng sought financial and technical assistance from the West, took China into the IMF and the World Bank, and instituted incentives such as piecework, bonuses, etc. He reduced state control of the economy; e.g. compulsory state purchase of crops was abandoned, allowing prices to fluctuate on the open market. In complete contrast to Mao's views, Deng argued that 'to get rich is not a crime'. Deng referred to this system as Market Socialism, allowing elements of capitalism but still under the strict control of a one-party state. When his economic reforms led to demands for political reforms, Deng clamped down in the same way as Mao had done.

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12 To what extent was the USA's attitude towards Saddam Hussein from 1980 to 1991 dictated by its need for oil? [30]

Yes – Already shocked by the oil crisis of 1973, the USA was desperately concerned about the security of its vital oil supplies from the Middle East. An Iranian victory in the Iran-Iraq War would have threatened American oil supplies, since it would have allowed the heavily anti-American government of Ayatollah Khomeini significant control over oil exports from the Middle East. As a result, the USA reversed its previous animosity towards Iraq, restoring diplomatic ties and supplying Saddam Hussein with weapons during the Iran-Iraq War. By 1990, however, the situation had changed. While still concerned about the threat posed by the Islamic fundamentalist government of Iran, Saddam Hussein himself now posed the biggest risk to American oil supplies from the Middle East.

Saddam had assumed that the USA would take no action against his occupation of Kuwait; it had supported him throughout the war with Iraq and he knew that the USA perceived him as a vital stabilising influence in the Middle East. However, Saddam's occupation of Kuwait gave him too much control over oil supplies from the Middle East, and it was for this reason that the USA joined the Gulf War against him. Having removed him from Kuwait, the USA made no effort to remove him from power in Iraq. The USA's sole interest lay in protecting its oil supplies; it did not want Iraq to disintegrate, which would have destabilised the Middle East and potentially encouraged the further development of Islamic fundamentalism. Therefore, the USA did little to prevent Saddam's attacks on Kurdish and Shia minorities in Iraq, only agreeing to no-fly zones when pressed to do so by international opinion and the UN.

No – In 1979, the Shah of Iran (an American ally) was deposed by a revolution which led to a new government under Ayatollah Khomeini. Referring to the USA as 'the Great Satan', it was clear that Khomeini's fundamentalist Islamic government posed a significant threat to American interests in the Middle East. This became even more apparent during the hostage crisis which began in November 1979. The USA described Iran as posing a significant threat to American national security. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88), the USA largely supported Saddam Hussein's Iraq, seeing it as a bulwark against the threat of fundamentalist Islam. While economic sanctions were imposed on Iran, the USA established full diplomatic relations with Iraq and removed it from its list of states which sponsored terrorism. The USA supplied Iraq with weapons, including dual-use items such as chemicals (which could be used to develop biological weapons).

Although the USA opposed Saddam Hussein's occupation of Kuwait, it did not wish to remove him from power in Iraq. At the end of the Gulf War, Saddam was left in control of Iraq, with sufficient weapons to deal with uprisings by Kurds in the north and Shia Muslims in the south. When Saddam ruthlessly crushed these rebellions, the USA initially took no action. This was because the USA did not want Iraq to fragment, believing that this would increase the regional power of Iran and create a bigger threat from Islamic fundamentalism. Although the USA eventually backed the UN decision to impose no-fly zones to prevent Saddam destroying the Kurd and Shia groups, it made no effort to remove Saddam from power. The USA's attitude towards Saddam Hussein from 1980 to 1991 was, therefore, based on political expediency.

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Depth Study 4: African History, 1945–1991

Indicative content

13 How far did the inclusion of Africans in the colonial legislative process enable a smooth transition to independence? [30]

In general, colonial authorities which accepted African participation in government sought to transfer power, by means of negotiation, to a pluralist democracy. Candidates should analyse their success or failure in doing this, and compare it with other significant factors. Some examples which could be used are provided, but no specific countries are expected to be analysed.

Ghana:

- Nkrumah began his 'Positive Action' campaign; he was arrested for allowing a general strike. In February 1951, the CPP won an election while Nkrumah was in jail; the overwhelming majority of votes was in the cities; Nkrumah went directly from jail to being 'Leader of Government Business'.
- Britain accepted Nkrumah as 'moderate' and suitable to lead after a gradual transfer of power. As there was no communist threat, he seemed to offer the best chance of the Gold Coast achieving self-determination by orderly means.
- Nkrumah became head of an African-majority cabinet serving under a British governor.
- The CPP won elections in 1954 and 1956 despite opposition from NLM. Rival chiefs were stripped of power, unions kept in check, and those not supporting the CPP were marginalised. Nkrumah was able to do this because of his own charisma and political leadership skills.

Nigeria:

- Council meetings were held in Kaduna as a symbol of northern inclusion; Azikiwe was appointed to a commission committed to the Nigerianisation of public services and the University of Ibadan was opened.
- Nigerian members of the Legislative Council were persuaded to bring in change by village meetings.
- Zikist radical outbreaks and communist influence were overcome by Britain establishing firm control in favour of traditional policies with the three regional parties – NCNC (East; Azikiwe), AG (Action Group) (West; Awolowo), and NPC (North; Abubakr Tafawa Balewa) – who were encouraged to take over regional self-government from 1956.
- Regions were therefore polarised, promotion was linked to patronage and a separatist challenge emerged in each of the regions. The devolving of local government made Nigeria more democratic but greater African participation made unity of the whole country more fragile.

Zimbabwe:

- In the 1970s, revolution was predominantly rural; nationalists had been forced into bases in neighbouring Zambia and Mozambique and therefore launched attacks on rural border areas; cities were controlled by whites who prevented African participation in political development. Strikes and urban riots were not possible due to settler control.
- Joshua Nkomo and ZAPU came from TU base, having strong support in the Ndebele region and using religious cults to increase their power.
- 1963 – ZANU/ZAPU split. 1964 – ZANU and ZAPU were both banned.
- 1965 Ian Smith declared UDI which was possible because whites controlled the army and the bureaucracy.
- ZAPU guerrilla bases in Zambia, ZANU's in Mozambique.
- Independence was eventually achieved after elections led to the creation of a weak black majority state under Muzorewa; Zimbabwe was then led by Mugabe in 1980.

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There was very little African participation in government before independence. The struggle was based on:

- Nationalist commitment to anti-colonialism, anti-racism and national self-determination.
- An active urban proletariat, rural peasants and progressive intellectuals.
- Prolonged military struggle by guerrilla warfare.
- Support from OAU, USSR and China, and humanitarian groups in the Western world.
- Training bases in Mozambique were offered to ZANU and ZAPU after 1975.
- Britain applied economic sanctions and persuaded the UN to do the same.

14 How successful were military governments in solving the problems within their states? [30]

General aims of military coups (could be used as criteria for evaluating success):

- Military groups usually intervene to restore order or to take advantage of the situation. Power is seized and the subsequent rule is illegitimate.
- The political process is often abandoned altogether and violence becomes a substitute if the state no longer deserves respect from its citizens.
- Sometimes the state needs to coerce people to support it; fear is used instead of persuasion.
- Every state needs armed forces either to preserve their authority or to act as a deterrent.
- Once in power, the military find it hard to establish stable political order and give up power.
- There were 71 military coups in Africa between 1952 and 1990, affecting 60% of countries; some states have experienced several coups and been under long periods of military rule, e.g. Benin, Burkino Faso, Ghana and Nigeria, but 40% of African countries have not experienced coups, e.g. Kenya, Tanzania and southern African states.
- A military coup could result in less violence than a civil war or rule by a ruthless dictator.

In addition to specific examples, candidates could discuss the results of military rule in general:

- Increased public spending on the military (Ghana's defence spending increased by 22% after 1966). It might have brought strong government, but did not reduce spending or bureaucracy.
- If the military hand back power to civilian rule, they remain in the background as self-appointed political referees so coups could easily recur (this happened in Ghana in 1969 and 1979 and in Nigeria in 1979). This means only limited freedoms for people and threat of countercoup.
- Failure to involve the masses in the political process. This was the hope of independence, so people were disappointed.
- Corruption and inefficiency characterised African society under military rule until the 1990s when, through restored multi-party systems, African states became more accountable to their people. This could be seen as a success, that multi-party was government restored. On the other hand, this could be due to changed economic conditions, greater stability in Africa, the end of the Cold War, i.e. factors not related to the military.

15 Assess the impact of independence on the role of religion in African society. [30]

Leaders of newly independent African states recognised that religion was an important factor in people's lives, that it could be used effectively to create nationhood and that if religious sensitivities were not accommodated in the new state, a high price would be paid. During the colonial period, Islam and Christianity between them claimed 80% of African people as converts. However, African traditional religion was still a large part of the lives of many of these converts and has become increasingly valued since independence as part of their African heritage.

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The work of Christian missionaries in the colonial period had been both a resource and a problem. On the plus side had been the promotion of Western education, which trained nationalists, provided secondary and tertiary education, technical skills and teacher training; also the study of African languages with the purpose of bible translation, but this allowed better communication, deeper understanding of African culture and tribal societies, created a literary society and extended printing, publishing and libraries to Africa. Missionaries were also the providers of health care, hospitals and clinics which any new state would have been foolish to disregard. However, Christian missionaries were identified inescapably with colonialism, Western education had destroyed many links with African roots and new states recognised the need for speedy transfer of mission churches to African leadership. Independent churches are now seen as more than a protest movement against the ruling authority, but rather as a natural form of African expression, a way of coping with momentous changes in society and the African response to synthesising and adapting African spiritual values with the inspiration of the Christian Bible.

In 1967, there were claimed to be over 15 million members of independent churches and sects in Africa. By 1987, there were about 10 000 independent churches with 33 million members. In tropical Africa, the greatest proliferation of sects was in Nigeria, Zaire, Ghana and Kenya. These range from the numerous born-again Pentecostalist churches in southern Africa to the remnants of cults such as Kimbanguism in the Congo. Only when these groups seemed to threaten the political stability of a new state were they crushed. Followers of Alice Lenshina in Northern Rhodesia, the Lumpa cult with 65 000 members claiming to build an instant millennium on earth, seemed to threaten the stability of independent Zambia in 1964; 700 were killed in clashes with Kaunda's UNIP and Lenshina was imprisoned for over a decade. Kaunda himself was a strong Christian, but for him, the stability of Zambian society was more important. African sects offered members security against traditional forces of evil, sorcery and witchcraft; in the urban areas they offered a framework of solidarity,

Nkrumah philosophised about the role of religion in the new Africa, claiming that his ideology combined the African experience of Islam and Euro-Christianity as well as traditional society. He saw religion as a resource to be utilised as well as a problem to be contained. Houphouet-Boigny used the Catholic Church to prop up his personal rule in Cote d'Ivoire and built (and personally paid for) the largest basilica in the Western world in his birthplace. At other times, religion could criticise leadership – in 1980s Kenya, the regime of Daniel Moi was condemned by the National Council of Churches and in the 1990s, Hastings Banda was removed after being denounced from all Christian pulpits for authoritarianism.

Islam resisted colonialism but benefited from colonial stability, urbanisation, infrastructure and general non-interference with Muslim practices. The Mourides and the Wahhabis in French Africa were encouraged as they were thought to encourage democracy and social welfare without disturbing the colonial system. Islam claimed that Mohammed and the first four caliphs promoted socialism and this fitted in with the thinking of left-leaning African leaders. The problems have come later with Islamists in Africa wanting to live under shari'a law when the whole of the country does not wish this. Christian/Muslim balance is a challenge where the two religions meet in different regions of the same country, especially in Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon and Tanzania.

Candidates could develop any of these themes using examples from the independent countries they have studied.

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16 Evaluate the contribution of the Organisation of African Unity in assisting national liberation movements in Africa after 1963. [30]

Answers should focus on the independence struggles of Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Candidates should give some detail of the help given to two or more of these states, as well as more general assessment of the OAU's work.

The OAU definitely assisted and even accelerated the pace of independence.
The resolutions of the 1963 meeting were:

- Continuation of colonial rule condemned as a flagrant violation of human rights.
- Granting of independence to white Rhodesia by Britain also condemned; OAU members would work against this in every possible way.
- Portugal accused of genocide and Western countries asked to choose between past friendship with Portugal or supporting colonial suppression and exploitation.
- OAU also sent a strong delegation to the UN asking for the breaking off of diplomatic relations and the imposing of economic sanctions on countries pursuing colonial oppression. The resultant boycott of Portugal (and South Africa) was one of the successes of the OAU.

Internationally, the OAU mobilised worldwide condemnation of colonialism and apartheid.

- UN resolution gave material aid to liberation movements; the UN specifically did not recognise UDI in Southern Rhodesia.
- The OAU also conferred legitimacy on Frelimo in Mozambique and the MPLA in Angola.
- It managed to unite ZANU and ZAPU in Rhodesia into a Patriotic Front to co-operate in working for independence and the Smith-Muzorewa government in Zimbabwe was officially boycotted.

The OAU's most fruitful period was from 1973–80:

- Independence of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe achieved.
- Material help given to nationalists enabled them to carry on the armed liberation struggle against Portugal and the white government in Rhodesia.
- Some civic training and help with social arrangements prepared black Africans to take over leadership.

An assessment of this contribution could be made by comparing with other factors bringing about independence in central and southern Africa such as:

- Civil and guerrilla warfare
- Help given to nationalist movements in Angola by different sides in the Cold War
- The immediate factor of the army coup in Portugal
- Electoral success for black majority in Zimbabwe

Or:
By comparing OAU support of independence movements with its other aims such as Nkrumah's ideology of a United States of Africa.

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Depth Study 5: Southeast Asian History, 1945–1990s

Indicative content

17 'Japanese occupation was the most important factor in the development of nationalism in Southeast Asia.' How far do you agree? [30]

The Japanese occupation has been seen as important in showing the vulnerability of the colonial powers and in reducing the strength of the older elites which collaborated with the colonisers. In Indonesia and Burma, for instance, nationalist leaders gained political experience under Japanese occupation. The Asian nationalism of the Co-Prosperity Zone has been said to have reached the mass of people in a way that pre-war nationalism did not. Even when there was greater repression and opposition to Japanese rule, this in itself strengthened nationalism, as in Vietnam. Against this there are views that existing elites returned after the occupation; that the failure of Asian nationalism under the onslaught of the USA and the return of colonising powers determined to restore the status quo as in the Netherlands' colonies and French Indo-China reduced the impact of the occupation and that pre-war developments together with the changing context of post-1945 were more significant. No set answer is required.

18 How important were political factors in causing the problems of integrating Singapore and Malaya into the Federation of Malaysia? [30]

Singapore became part of Malaysia in September 1963. The motives were partly economic – to create a mutually beneficial free trade area – and partly political – to assist with internal security. There was the potential political danger from Indonesia and the political dangers faced by Singapore as a small island vulnerable to attack and facing problems with unemployment and racial conflicts. The disputes were about the Malay policy of affirmative action which tried to boost the economic position of the Malay population in the federation. Nominally economic, the issue was really one of politics – the concern that the Chinese leadership in Singapore had for equality of treatment of all races and the impact on Singapore's race relations. The 1964 race riots showed that economic disagreements could have political consequence and threaten the balance in Singapore between different racial groups. The wealth and economic development in Singapore was a potential political threat to the dominance of the Malay regime in Kuala Lumpur. Concern about political domination by Malaya led to disagreements about loans from Singapore to underdeveloped parts of Malaya, while Malaya was reluctant to implement free trade policies.

19 How important was the USA in maintaining military rule in Thailand after the Second World War? [30]

The army had played a special part in the political history of Thailand and a law of 1914 gave it 'superior power' in time of crisis. Since 1947, there have been long periods of military rule and at least 20 military coups since 1932. The military rule has not been associated with general internal weakness, breakdown and civil war and the role of the monarchy has been constant. The coup led by Phibun Sonkhram in 1947 led to a protracted period of military rule until 1973. In 1976, there was more military rule. Despite a new constitution in 1978, the army again took over under General Prem Tinsulanondra in 1983 and another military leader replaced him in 1986. In 1991, the 17th military coup since 1932 took place. Throughout the period, relations with the USA were strong, with trade treaties and military cooperation. The military regimes were boosted by US economic aid and diplomatic and military support. Thailand was the third most important trading partner for the USA in Asia. Answers could set this support against Thai political traditions, the need for stronger central regimes to ensure internal unity, the lack of well supported political oppositions and the special tradition of the Thai army in political life.

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20 Assess the role of urbanisation in social development in Southeast Asia in this period. [30]

The creation of dense urban centres with diverse populations as a result of rural migration can lead to division of labour, technological innovation and economic growth. The opportunities for employment and more diverse economic activity expand. Health care and education facilities can develop. The city offers a break from rural restrictions, anonymity and opportunities for upward mobility. However, the downside is overcrowding, alienation, crime, pollution and anxiety.

The cities have led to some environmental problems. The rapid growth of urbanisation in Southeast Asia has led to over 40% of the 245 million people in the region living in urban areas as opposed to 15% in the later 1940s. Brunei, Malaya and Singapore have urban populations of over 65% while Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam have a lower level of under 40%. Within these countries, however, mega cities have developed with Ho Chi Minh having over 5 million people, giving rise to issues of disproportionate growth of major urban areas. However, though there have been large urban developments, the bulk of Southeast Asia urban dwellers live in smaller towns and cities which do not always have the facilities or transportation needed.

The growth of urbanisation has coincided with the development of services rather than manufacturing with the need for a more flexible and better educated work force. In this, there are winners and losers. Urban growth has also been accompanied by casual or informal labour and migrant workers. Urban poverty has increased and there is greater income inequality in the new cities. Slum dwelling is a particular feature of urban life in Indonesia and the Philippines, less so in Singapore and Malaya. The growth of tourism has been associated with urban growth and has important social outcomes. The gap between rural and urban culture and society has increased. The growth of urban consumerism has encouraged globalised cultural change. This has been accompanied by the destruction of older areas in cities, especially as traffic problems and pollution have increased. Analysis may well focus on social benefits and social harm, and better answers may distinguish between carefully planned and managed urban growth such as Singapore and more uncontrolled urban environments such as Manila and Djakarta.

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