MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2015 series

9389 HISTORY

| 9389/41 | Paper 4 (Depth Study), maximum raw mark 60 |

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

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

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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.

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

Indicative content

1. **To what extent does Lenin's use of terror explain the establishment of Bolshevik rule in Russia by 1924?** **[30]**

The issue for discussion here is the extent to which the establishment of the Bolshevik regime was dependent on the use of terror by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Certainly it was a major factor, although some might argue that it alienated as well as subduing. The use of the Cheka in eliminating opponents from the earliest days and other methods established by Dzerskyinsky were effective. The methods used by the Red Army against its opponents in the Civil war were effective both in dealing with enemies and silencing potential opposition. The use of force in the grain requisition programme, the methods used to quell industrial unrest and the Kronstadt Rising were all part of the same approach; penal camps in the North were set up in the early days. So terror was to play a large part. However, there are many other factors which need to be considered. The pragmatism of Lenin in the switch from War Communism to the NEP is a good example of this. The work of Trotsky and the Red Army was indispensable. Lenin's opportunism and leadership, as well as the support offered by many talented assistants such as Bukharin and Rykov played a role. Opposition was diverse and never united. There were Social Revolutionaries who could be easily outmanoeuvred and Whites who were incapable of unity. Foreign intervention added a nationalist element to the Bolsheviks. The slogans of Peace, Bread and Land were remembered, and while he may not have delivered much for the second, there were moves towards the first and third. No one offered a better alternative, and Lenin's propaganda was good at ensuring that he was seen to be offering something. Foreign intervention died out through war weariness and while recognition took some time to come, foreign indifference was also a factor.

2. **'He had limited aims and limited achievements.' Discuss this view of Mussolini's domestic policy.** **[30]**

There should be analysis of both aims and achievements but the coverage need not be equal. It is quite possible to have a different response to both, arguing that Mussolini's grandiose ideas came to little in the end – with Italy being invaded and his ending on a meat hook. His initial aims seemed to be little more than the acquisition of power, the restoration of some degree of political stability and elimination of the power of the Left. These were achieved. A dismantling of the democratic process was implicit in his system and that happened as well, although possibly not to the extent that he had wished. He left in being institutions which would overturn him, something that Hitler and Stalin were careful not to do. Further aims developed during his regime: the Corporate State, the pursuit of economic self-sufficiency and the various 'battles', none of which attained much success and arguably did more harm than good. The Italian economy was totally unprepared for the wars he got involved in and his use of the lira made Italy a laughing stock and radically reduced the living standards of the majority of the people. State controls led to monopolies and an unwieldy bureaucracy which did little beyond giving jobs to fascists. Autarky was unrealisable and industrial expansion was limited and funded by irresponsible borrowing. There was some industrial development, mainly in heavy industry and electrification, but he had no solutions to Italy's endemic agricultural problems, and what little development there was tended to be in spite of, and not because of, Mussolini.

3   Assess the effectiveness of Stalin's industrialisation policy.   **[30]**

Reflection of what an 'effective' industrial policy might be in this context is expected. Arguably Stalin may have had a policy which led to what Russia, in an international context, might need while not being exactly what the Russian people wanted. While collectivisation might be mentioned, it is not expected that it will be central to the response. It must be contrasted initially with the NEP, which of course was seen as purely a temporary measure. There were ideological motives which have to be considered, as, underlying the various plans was the need to create the industrial proletariat necessary for the arrival of proper socialism. A fear of war and the need to increase national status were also factors behind the drive for industrialisation. From the planning point of view there was limited success. Evidence from both the 1920s and the 1930s showed the many flaws in a purely command economy, particularly one which was commanded by men with primarily social and political objectives and little knowledge of either economics or industry. There were some successes in the late 1920s such as the Dnieper Hydro project and the Stalingrad Tractor Factory, but the fact that no one had thought about the need for spares for tractors was a typical flaw in the policy. The evidence is always incomplete, but it is clear that between 1928 and 1932 production of oil, coal and pig iron doubled, while the quality of the latter was poor and often the wrong type of coal was sent to industrial users. The massive increase took place in the middle to late 1930s. The problems were huge wastage, the lack of efficient planning and reliance on foreign technology, for example, the building of the massive Gorki automobile plant which ignored the fact that it might need an energy supply. Real wages dropped, living conditions were appalling and consumer goods were ignored in the dash for primary industrial growth. However, output was massively up by 1941 and while quality might be low, Russia was a major industrial power by then and in a position to take on the Wehrmacht.

4   'It was the use of propaganda that allowed Hitler's retention of power.' How far do you agree?   **[30]**

A wide range of issues need to be analysed: certainly propaganda was one important factor, although it can be argued that the extent to which it was used was unnecessary. The legality of the regime was vital in gaining much support; it was the legitimate 'establishment' figure of Hindenburg who offered Hitler the Chancellorship. The Enabling Law was a law passed by the Reichstag (although there was terror in the background.) This enabled him to remove much of the opposition 'legally' while at the same time giving him the opportunity to take over much of the media and areas like education. Terror, be it in the night of the Long Knives or the anti-Jewish pogroms was always there and played a part, but so did the more or less willing collaboration of a whole range of groups, ranging from the judges and the police, to the churches, the universities and the army. Propaganda was important, but so was solving unemployment and control of the media ensured that the economic implications of some of the job creation measures were not examined closely. Industry was won over with the anti-union legislation and massive orders for tanks and aircraft. The Nazis took great care not to offend German sensibilities, or take on groups, such as the army officer corps or the Catholic Church, which might damage them. Indoctrination was important, but so was delivering policies which appealed to German nationalism. Having convinced the Germans that Versailles was a massive attack on Germany, Hitler proceeded with policies which overturned it. His ability to disguise his true motives was masterly, and like Stalin's victims in the show trials, many realised what he was really about rather too late. Opposition was limited and divided, and never part of German culture. Carrots played a large part in his retention of power, as did his understanding of the psychology of the Germans, but there were ample sticks there as well. Clearly propaganda must be seen to have played a vital role and the way in which Goebbels used the radio and every other means at his disposal in a very effective way needs to be stressed.

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

Indicative content

5   'Important while it lasted but short-lived.' How far do you agree with this assessment of the impact of McCarthyism?   [30]

If McCarthyism is identified with Senator Joe McCarthy's rise and fall, then the period in question is 1950–54. So it is true to say that McCarthy's own impact was for a limited time but quite wide ranging, including as it did the Freeling Speech, February 1950, claiming to have identified a list of 250 subversives in the State Department; [a Senate Committee found against McCarthy] his chairmanship of the Senate Committee of Government Operations 1952–4 [NB not the House Un-American Activities Committee]; and continuing attacks on staff in various government agencies, including eventually the army, which led to his downfall in 1954.

Attacks on public officials and figures suspected of being Communists or Communist sympathisers began in 1947. Thus the Hollywood Ten in 1947, the trial of Alger Hiss 1948 and an official list of subversive organisations from the same year. However, action against potential 'subversives' lasted from 1947 to 1956.

Blacklists of arts figures alleged to be Communist sympathisers were drawn up in 1952 and dropped only in 1956. Even later, left wingers were regarded with suspicion, though the use of public smear tactics disappeared. McCarthy's impact can therefore be shown to have had some more lasting effects.

6   'By 1980 the battle to ensure the civil rights of ethnic minorities had been won.' How far do you agree?   [30]

It is possible to argue a case either way. There is substantial evidence available to support the assertion that the battle was won by 1980. Two important acts enshrined key concepts in law- the Civil Rights Act, and the 24th Amendment [both 1964], Voting Rights Act [1965].
There are also many examples of gains of affirmative action, e.g. Clarence Thomas and Colin Powell. The early 1970s saw a rise in awareness of issues affecting American Indians and Alaskan Natives and important concessions were made.

However, on the other side it might be argued that many social factors demonstrate that the battle was far from over. Very high levels of imprisonment for young black men, linked with… the war on drugs as declared by Reagan, especially against crack cocaine. In addition, limits on affirmative action imposed by the Supreme Court might be seen as evidence of the tide turning.

7   Evaluate the reasons for the success of the New Right in the 1980s.   [30]

By the 1980s the New Right had evolved into the most influential wing of the Republican Party and could claim significant credit for its electoral success. Countless ordinary citizens–newly mobilized Christian conservatives, in particular–helped the Republican Party steer the country onto a rightward course. The New Right also attracted support from Reagan Democrats, blue-collar voters who had lost faith in the old liberal creed. The strengths of the Republicans in terms of their candidates, Reagan in the 1980s, but also Nixon in 1968, were helped by the rise of the religious right.

In some ways the success of the New Right was partly due to features of the Democratic Party. There were arguably weaknesses in the Democratic Candidates themselves and problems and issues associated with them-viz Humphrey, McGovern, Carter (in 1980), Mondale and Dukakis. There were also problems with the Party's supporters: the party was arguably perceived by electors as too close to the New Left, especially in 1968 & 1972. Thus, it could be argued that it became burdened with a primary system which gave too much weight to minority groups. While these groups failed to influence choice of candidates in 1984 and 1988, they caused many floating voters to see the Democratic Party as too extreme. In addition, the party's history could be seen as responsible for the failures in elections, in that it was associated with either setbacks, (e.g. Vietnam in 1968, stagflation in late 70s), or old, failed policies (e.g. Keynesianism by 1980s).

In many ways the rise of the right promised more than it delivered. Despite Republican vows of fiscal discipline, both the federal government and the national debt ballooned.

8   How far in the period 1950 to 1963 did the USA follow the policy towards Communism known as rollback?   [30]

Rollback was certainly talked of in the early 1950s, especially as hawks wanted to force Communism into retreat. Possible examples for answers to focus on in analysing the issue include the Invasion of North Korea September 1950- with discussion of the way in which attempts to overthrow North Korea led to pushback by Chinese forces.

A key flashpoint was the Bay of Pigs, Cuba April 1961. It should be noted that Castro's government, though left-wing, did not join the Communist bloc until after the Bay of Pigs. However, Cuba was socialist. There are examples of the USA resisting rollback arguments, such as the Division of Korea in 1953. After this event, the USA accepted that North Korea would remain Communist.

Hungary 1956 was a crucial turning point, it could be argued: the Soviet aggression and incipient Hungarian resistance was seen by some as an opportunity for action but supporting anti-communists in this instance was seen as too risky, especially as the Suez crisis took place at the same time.

Depth Study 3: International History, 1945–1991

Indicative content

9 **How far do you agree with the view that the Cuban missile crisis ended in victory for Kennedy?** [30]

In the immediate aftermath of the crisis, western writers generally argued the US had been highly successful. Khrushchev had been forced to back down and remove Soviet missiles from Cuba. Kennedy's imposition of the blockade around Cuba and effective use of brinkmanship diplomacy were seen as successful strategies in the face of Soviet aggression/expansionism. That Khrushchev's intentions had been defeated seemed to be confirmed by the criticism he received from China and from his own dismissal from office in the USSR.

However, subsequent historians have viewed the outcome of the crisis rather differently, arguing that Khrushchev's aims went deeper than merely seeking to test out a new and inexperienced US President. While Kennedy's agreement to remove US missiles from Turkey was not of great significance (since they were already scheduled for removal anyway), the USA's agreement not to attack Cuba in the future was an important concession. If Khrushchev's primary aims were to protect a new and vulnerable communist state and to create a greater sense of balance in the nuclear arms race, it could be argued that he succeeded in both. Evidence shows that both leaders were keen to avoid a nuclear engagement over Cuba; both made strenuous efforts to work closely with UN Secretary U Thant in seeking a peaceful solution.

10 **To what extent did the USA benefit from the period of détente during the 1970s?** [30]

For the USA, détente was a way of coming to terms with the realisation that there was a limit to its international power following humiliation in Vietnam. The Vietnam War had led to massive budget deficits, high inflation and a significant change in public opinion regarding the threat of communism. Détente allowed the USA to uphold its interests without the need for military intervention. Closer ties with China enabled American leaders to argue that the communist bloc was weakening. Détente enabled resources to be diverted from military expenditure to tackle vital domestic social and economic issues. Agreements such as SALT and the Helsinki Accords seemed to be reducing the threat of war between the superpowers.

However, many Americans argued that the USA gained little from détente – the USA's 'soft' approach towards the USSR enabled it to ignore its Helsinki agreements and continue to spread communism across the world (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia). Negotiations with the USSR were held back by Brezhnev's failing health. Right-wing Americans blamed the USA's weak approach towards its enemies for the actions of Islamic militants in Teheran (1979). They argued that détente had merely extended the Cold War – a more aggressive stance towards the USSR would, they argued, have ended the Cold War earlier.

11 **'The Cultural Revolution was simply Mao's attempt to preserve his own political power.'** **How far do you agree?** **[30]**

The Cultural Revolution brought chaos to China and, in the view of many historians, held up China's economic development by ten years. In support of the statement, it could be argued that Mao was concerned by growing opposition from right-wing members of the CCP (e.g. Liu Shao-qui and Deng Xiaoping) who were critical of Mao's Great Leap Forward. They wanted to bring in 'capitalist-type' incentives (such as piecework, wage differentials and an expert managerial class) to enhance China's economy, along similar lines to those used in the USSR. Mao used his position as Chairman of the Party to launch a propaganda exercise to ensure that this did not happen, using the Red Guard and his supporters to target those who disagreed. Mao ensured that, when the Cultural Revolution was formally ended in 1969, he was declared free of any blame for the chaos which ensued. Mao blamed Defence Minister Lin Biao, accusing him of plotting an assassination. As a result, Mao retained his full political power.

In challenging the view, it could be argued that Mao's intentions related less to the preservation of his own political power and more to his desire to maintain the revolution, avoiding the type of 'revisionism' of which he accused the USSR. He feared that a new privileged class would exploit the workers and undermine the essence of the revolution itself. This is why he referred to the Cultural Revolution as 'The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution'. As such, he had the well-being of the people of China at heart.

12 **'A dangerous fanatic.' How fair is this assessment of Colonel Nasser of Egypt?** **[30]**

This British view of Nasser, leader of Egypt 1954–1970, was shared by France, Israel and the USA. They perceived Nasser as a Hitler-like character who must not be appeased. This was because of Nasser's aggressive support for Arab unity and independence, including the liberation of Palestine from Israel. Evidence in support of the view might include: Nasser's organisation of the 'fedayeen' to carry out sabotage and murder inside Israel; his refusal to allow British troops to remain at Suez; his support for Algerian Arabs against France; his opposition to the British proposals for a Baghdad Pact; his arms deals with Czechoslovakia and his use of Soviet military advisors; his nationalisation of the Suez Canal, which was seen as a threat to Europe's oil supplies and the cause of the Suez War of 1956; his close ties with the USSR; his leading role in the build up to the Six Day War of 1967 (e.g. forcing UN troops to leave, closing the Gulf of Aqaba.)

In challenging the view, it could be argued that it merely reflects the narrow self-interest of Israel and the West. Nasser realised that it was the lack of unity amongst Arab states which had led to foreign interference in the Middle East and the success of Israel in 1948–9. He nationalised the Suez Canal because the USA cancelled its grant towards the building of the Aswan Dam, fearing that the USSR was aiming to make Egypt and the other Arab states a communist enclave. The West ignored the fact that Nasser had offered compensation to shareholders and promised to allow ships of all nations to use the canal. The Suez War was initiated by Britain, France and Israel, which hoped to remove Nasser from power. Although Israel gained success, the war led to an increase in Nasser's prestige as the leader of Arab nationalism. Nasser's socialist policies had a positive impact within Egypt. Although Nasser made provocative moves in the build up to the Six Day War, it was Israel which struck first. Nasser felt let down by the USSR, whose promised support had failed to materialise during the war.

Depth Study 4: African History, 1945–1991

Indicative content

13 **'Co-operation with the colonial power was more effective than resistance in the achieving of independence'. How far do you agree with this statement?** **[30]**

Answers need to focus on analysis of contrasting African attitudes towards colonial rule; knowledge of specific colonial policies which invited co-operation or resistance; factors within and outside colonies which led to co-operation or resistance; choosing criteria to assess effectiveness of co-operation/resistance.

There are many examples of co-operation and resistance. Answers may focus on whichever countries they have studied in depth, but the aim should be to analyse whether the transition was more effective when it was brought about by peaceful co-operation or violent struggle. Suitable examples of co-operation would be Gold Coast/Ghana, some French West African colonies, Uganda or Zambia; Congo could be allowed even though violence came after independence, and Kenya or Zimbabwe would be examples of less co-operative transfer of power.
Analysis of different components of colonial rule might include– direct/indirect rule, settlers, educated elite, urban development, trade unions, authoritarian rule, mistreatment or suppression of Africans.

Internal factors such as whether were leaders prepared to co-operate, how significant was majority ethnic group, strength of nationalist parties also determined whether the response was peaceful or violent. Outside influences should also be considered such as: such as World War II, economic pressures on European powers 1945 onwards, ideological progress fostered by the United Nations, or ideological conflict stemming from the Cold War – resulting in nationalist success or failure at different times.

A strong answer could choose own measures of 'effectiveness' – speed of transition, success or stability of new country, number of lives lost in the struggle for independence, retaining of links with colonial power, status as world power, improved lives of people, achievement of stated aims.

14 **Why were western models of democracy abandoned so quickly after independence in many African countries?** **[30]**

Analysis should focus on why democracy suited some African countries more than others; African interpretations of democracy; analysis of factors which made democracy not suitable in Africa and invited change; inadequacy of Westminster and Paris models of democracy for Africa; internal factors working against democracy; outside influences.

Answers may need to establish an explicit or implicit explanation of the term 'democratic' with possible references to the Westminster and Paris models. They may also cover an analysis of different types of democracy, showing the involvement of individuals/political parties, freedom of speech, amount of corruption, etc.

The suitability of the Western democratic model for Africa may be arguable-, answers might consider why some countries adapted to it more easily than others, why some multi-party systems failed, or why a one party state proved more acceptable. Other factors to be considered include governmental structures and policies, the treatment of minorities, fluctuation of popular support for political parties, how democratic new governments really were, and whether socialism in Africa was more democratic in theory/practice.

Answers may show how the chosen countries were more or less democratic at different times and due to particular circumstances. Suggested examples are Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, any of the old French West African colonies e.g. Dahomey or Guinea, Kenya or Tanzania.

15 **How similar were the approaches adopted in independent African states to promoting economic development?** **[30]**

Answers should focus on a comparison of different models used to achieve economic development in independent African states; showing understanding of factors influencing economic success or failure such as colonial legacy, available natural resources and world market fluctuations; links between politics and economic management.

Suitable examples of economic development models would be Botswana, Zaire, Zambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe.

Analysis will cover the ways in which independent African states managed their economic resources and developed their industries. Colonial economic structures could be usefully compared with new policies or a comparison drawn between systems adopted by newly independent states. A comparison of capitalist and socialist approaches to economic management could be used effectively.

A useful comparison could also be drawn between states rich in natural resources and those with very little potential to develop – different economic potential/similar methods, similar economic potential/different methods chosen for development. Answers should evaluate the successes or failures of these different approaches at different times showing the effects of different factors such as leadership, a skilled work force, infrastructure, investment, world market fluctuations, etc.

16 Assess the role of the United Nations in the stabilising of newly independent African states.
[30]

The role of the United Nations has varied according to specific situations of tension and instability in Africa. Answers will use examples of flashpoint situations such as The Congo, Togo, Cameroon, Eritrea and Biafra/Nigeria. Discussion of The UN's involvement in these areas will involve some consideration of the background to conflict situations, and analysis of the role of the UN examined within this framework.

Comparative analysis of other factors both within and outside the chosen examples will contribute to an evaluation of how far the UN was successful in resolving conflict in different cases
Some understanding of the part played by attempts to create 'African blocs' in the UN could be developed.
Other factors influencing the stability of newly independent states will be needed for an evaluation – e.g. the quality of leadership, support for rebels from within or outside the country.

Answers may weigh up a variety of factors influencing stability, both generally and specifically to the countries chosen.

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

Indicative content

17 **'The Japanese Co-prosperity zone was merely a propaganda device to gain support for Japanese rule in Southeast Asia.' How far do you agree with this view?** **[30]**

The idea of an economic zone in Southeast Asia went back to agreements in 1933, so could be seen as more than a wartime expedient, but the propaganda engendered by war linked purely economic factors with anti-colonialism and the idea that Japan was restoring Asia to the Asiatics. There was an element of idealism in this but the Zone did not operate outside wartime conditions and was administered by the military. Clashes between the army and navy led to the creation of a Greater East Asia ministry in November 1942 which was intended to promote the idea of genuine cooperation. Generally, the occupied territories saw more exploitation. Problems with shipping increased as did the need for Japan to control key resources such as oil and rubber. After initial cooperation with some nationalist leaders, resentment and resistance became the norm. One problem was inconsistency, for example between the rule in Thailand and Indonesia and rule in Singapore and the Philippines.

18 **Assess the view that regional divisions were the main problem facing supporters of democracy in Burma after independence.** **[30]**

Burma's minorities comprised about a third of her 48 million people. The largest groups, the Karen and Shan peoples were 10% of the population each and there were smaller minorities such as the Akha, Chin. Chinese, Danu, Indian, Kachin Karenni, Palaung, Pao, Rakhine, Tavoyan and Wa. This made Burma one of the most ethnically diverse of the independent states of Southeast Asia. After independence there was an attempt in the Panglong agreement to adopt a form of federalism to ensure equal rights. However regional conflict erupted in the late 1940s; but the military coup of 1962 brought more tensions with greater insurgency, worrying to the government because so many ethnic areas lie on Burma's frontiers. The minorities were controlled by initiatives like the Four Cuts campaign and by removal of communities to areas under military control. There were accusations of serious human rights violation in the attempts to maintain central and unified control. The problems were compounded by the artificial boundaries created by the colonial rule in Burma and the existence of religious as well as ethnic divisions. The fear of inroads by Thailand and China led to distrust of minorities by the dominant Burman elite. Economic decline, inflation, corruption and the rise of an ambitious and politically-minded army leadership were also problems. There was the dislike of the Chinese and Indian business class, the emergence of a black economy and illegal drug trading that gave rise to problems as well as ethnic conflict. Political unrest was not merely focused on the minorities, but was obvious linked to resentment about military rule and centralisation.

19 **How successfully did the successors of Marcos deal with the problems of the Philippines?** **[30]**

In 1986 Cory Aquino won a snap election called by Marcos and the intervention of army leaders led to the result being sustained and the end of Marcos's rule. Military support had allowed Marcos to reduce the power of the landed elite but corruption, nepotism economic decline and rural poverty remained. After 1986 there was a restoration of the constitution of the pre-1972 era and peaceful transitions of power, for example to Ramos in 1992. There was some economic growth in the 1980s under Aquino, but long term problems remained and there was limited land reform and large landowners retained their economic power. The world economic context of the early 1990s was unfavourable, but growth resumed in the mid-1990s and the Philippines did not suffer as greatly as other ASEAN countries from the crash of 1997.

President Estrada, elected in 1998, showed that problems of corruption remained and he was forced to step down after threats of impeachment in 2001. Issues of law and order and of the continuing insurgency by Islamic separatists remained a problem.

20 **In post-colonial Southeast Asia, how far was social development before 1991 brought about by educational changes?** **[30]**

In 1945 less than half the population of southeast Asia went to secondary school, though education was greater in some areas, for example in the Philippines than others. The expansion of education after independence was a dramatic change. It affected literacy and technical competence and there were examples of very rapid expansion, for example in Vietnam where one in four eligible children were attending secondary school in the 1980s and in Burma where education spending was 17% of all state spending. The state controlled education and was highly influential in shaping the ethos and curriculum and the social effects that resulted, for example in Communist Vietnam. Education was used to open up opportunities for different groups which were marginalised and in Malaysia which favoured ethnic Malays, redressing some imbalance in economic and social influence between social groups. The growth of education opened new economic opportunities, though the traditional occupations on the land were still dominant by the 1980s in most countries. Education may have created greater national and regional identity and underpinned economic growth in some countries. However, it has to be set against other developments, for example, in population, the growth of cities, the impact of migration and tourism, the growth in technology and communications. Thus there could be some discussion of whether the education boom was a cause or an effect of greater prosperity, national self-awareness and social expectations.