

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

GCE Advanced Subsidiary Level and GCE Advanced Level

MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2013 series

9697 HISTORY

9697/21

Paper 2, maximum raw mark 100

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.

Cambridge will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

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GENERIC MARK BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Band	Marks	Levels of Response
1	21–25	<i>The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument.</i>
2	18–20	<i>Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that that a good solid answer has been provided.</i>
3	16–17	<i>Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.</i>
4	14–15	<i>Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be more organised more effectively.</i>
5	11–13	<i>Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the requirements of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.</i>
6	8–10	<i>Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.</i>
7	0–7	<i>Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments that do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent.</i>

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Section A

1 Source-based question: How do sources A-E support the view that full self-government for Singapore was delayed because of British concerns about the spread of communism?

L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO VALID USE OF SOURCES [1–5]

These answers will write about the issue and might use the sources. However, candidates will not use the sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay-style answer to the question.

The answer will be about the formation of reasons for the delay and may offer some views about the issues and problems. However there may be little use of the sources OR merely paraphrase some of the sources to give an account of the formation or some of the problems.

L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [6–8]

These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence, i.e. sources are used at face value only with no evaluation/interpretation in context.

For example. Yes Source A shows there was unrest among the bus workers and that the streets were not safe.

Upper band answers will acknowledge both elements.

For example. No because Britain was worried about economic and strategic interests.

L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9–13]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and to disprove it. However, sources are still used only at face value.

For example There is evidence for and against the view. Source E suggests that there would be concerns about strategic and economic interests and that communism was only a concern where these interests were present, However Source B puts more stress on the ideological elements and the fears of communism. This suggests that it was not just fear of communism that delayed self-government

L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [14–16]

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at their face value.

For example I don't think that fear of communism and the context of the Cold War is a total explanation for British delays. Source B is corroborated by Source D to some extent, but both are anxious to see the Cold War as the key factor and Source D may be masking Britain's economic and strategic interests as expressed in Source E. Source A might support British fears, but the issue is also about cultural tensions and economic unrest.

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L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS

[17–21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

As Level 4 but, for example: *There is evidence to support this view in Sources B and D. In the context of the mid 1950s, with China a threat, with war in Korea a recent memory, the need to prevent the sort of communist insurgency that the British had fought in Malaya after the war might well have been uppermost in British thinking and encouraged by the US as Source B might indicate. However, it was not certain that the internal unrest was entirely due to communism as Source A does not mention this. Source E is firmly of the belief that economic and strategic interests predominate and Source C is less about communism than Britain defending her general colonial position.*

L6 AS L5, PLUS EITHER (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED, OR (b) RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED

[22–25]

For (a) the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing/disagreeing is better/preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement, i.e. not just why some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse.

For (b) include all L5 answers which use the evidence to **modify** the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it.

For example *Communism was certainly a major concern as Sources B and D indicate, not surprisingly given the internal problem indicated in Source A and the context of the revolt in Malaya, the influence of communism on the Chinese population in Singapore and the communist movements in other parts of Asia. However, communism has to be seen in the context of other developments in Singapore and other British concerns. The growth of political parties, the influx of Chinese, and the development of well-articulated pleas for democracy by David Marshall challenged traditional British ideas of colonial control as suggested in Sources C and E. Communism was all part of a wider challenge to British strategic interests and economic interests in the South East Asia.*

For highest level in both (a) and (b) the conclusion should be based on an overall assessment of the different opinions/perceptions shown in the sources or by establishing different criteria for support/contradiction.

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Section B

2 How important were economic motives in the establishment of colonial rule in Southeast Asia from 1870 to 1914?

Reference could be made to original motives of trade and raw materials and the growing industrial economies of the nineteenth century needing materials such as rubber and tin e.g. Malaya, sugar (Philippines), rice (e.g. Indo China, Burma) and access to markets. The globalisation after 1870 and the opening of the Panama and Suez canals, together with larger ships and better transport from ports encouraged more trade with Asia and the motive to secure investment, materials and markets by formal control. There could be pressure from companies operating locally on governments to prevent trade agreements being broken. Where economic stability and interests were threatened, then there was pressure for governments to establish control, for example in Burma and Tonkin. The tendency after 1870 for European states to extend formal control was sometimes from fear that rivals might gain a foothold, so there were economic manifestations of political rivalry, for example between France and Britain in Burma. There is the view that increased European protectionism was a motive for the development of colonial markets and for the securing of raw materials. Other factors might include the interaction of domestic developments and colonial expansion – France is an example here seeking to restore the prestige lost in the war of 1870. Where there was already political control, states often needed further annexation to ensure stability, for example the growth of control in Malaya from the Straits Settlement. Religious reasons were less prominent but France was anxious for the safety of its missionaries in IndoChina and while not religious as such, the US belief in its imperial destiny may have led it into the war with Spain and the acquisition of the Philippines. Some may argue that ideological, political and strategic motives and the popularity of imperialism at home were less important than the underlying economic reasons which had first promoted control. Better answers will attempt a balanced assessment and may draw distinction between the different colonial powers.

3 Assess the importance of urban growth in Southeast Asia before 1941.

There were only two large cities in 1870, Manila and Mandalay with over 100,000 but by 1940 fifteen large urban centres had 100,000 or more inhabitants. This came about because of cheaper and faster shipping through the Suez and Panama canals, and greater global trade and demand for tin, rice, sugar, rubber, tea. The larger cities grew as a result of greater trade and were 'gateway', port cities. They played an important role in opening up the hinterland which in turn led to growth of trade and the growth of the key cities such as Rangoon, Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila, Surabaya, Singapore and Saigon – all associated with the export of raw materials and with the growth of commercial services. This led to labour diversity in mercantile, marketing, shipping and financial areas. It led to the immigration of Indian and Chinese workers and the dominance of these ethnic groups in economic life. It also led to the development of transport and social and economic improvements. The growth was unbalanced – there was a big gap between the dominant cities and the secondary cities and in Burma, for instance, there was limited urban growth outside the larger cities. In six countries, the third biggest city was half the size of the major two cities. Thus the growth of the big cities did not lead to a more general urbanisation and urban growth and diversification was concentrated and limited. In comparison with post-war economic growth there was limited internal migration and economic diversification within the larger cities. The significance could be the reversal of a long period of de-urbanisation. It could be the development of a range of commercial and financial activity, the growth of centres of literacy and urban improvement, but also an imbalanced urban sector dominated by western-looking export-dominated trading gateway cities. Responses could consider the impact of these cities on opening up hinterlands, in establishing a more diverse social structure in cities, in promoting the influence of economic elites and possibly laying the basis for a more educated and politically-aware urban elite.

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4 The impact of the Great Depression on Southeast Asia was surprisingly limited.’ How far do you agree?

The Great Depression had deep effects on the colonised states in Southeast Asia. Economic policies common to the colonial powers had made the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, and French Indochina dependent on the export of one or two commodities. Commodity prices plummeted during the Depression and Southeast Asian economies were deeply affected. Rubber was particularly hard hit in the early 1930s. However, regional studies suggest a more varied picture. In Malaya people who were able to diversify their activities were found a wider range of consumer goods cheaper. There was a boom in entertainment businesses and publishing houses and theatre and dance companies met with great success in their performances in the towns and on tours throughout the region. The European rearmament programmes helped to revive tin and rubber prices. In Singapore distress was lessened by immigration control, falling prices for consumers and a supportive family structure. The experience in the Philippines has been seen as ‘the geography of pain’ but while primary producers faced falling prices for raw materials, urban dwellers suffered less and those involved in the bureaucracy could take advantage of cheaper prices. Nevertheless, in the Dutch East Indies many were forced to return to their villages and faced hardships, as prices fell. The colonial powers increased the dependence of their colonies on homeland trade while protecting their own producers. Answers might challenge the question by reference to falling income of primary producers and an inability to sustain sales of key raw materials. However not all the countryside was dependent on export crops; where there was more diversity and where there had been more urban development, then results were more variable.

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5 How far was the rise of nationalism in Southeast Asia by 1941 ‘a reaction to the oppression of colonising powers’?

There was repression and some may consider the French in IndoChina particularly brutal. They consistently opposed nationalist movements. Initial revolts had to be suppressed until 1897. The French forced the Japanese to expel nationalists in 1910 and kidnapped Phan Boi Chau in 1925. Emperor Duy Tan was arrested and exiled for opposition in 1916 and nationalist unrest in 1930 was met with executions and concentration camps. The communists were infiltrated and suppressed and Ho Chi Minh was arrested in Hong Kong and narrowly escaped being returned for execution. The Dutch held Sumatra only after a lengthy war (1873–1908) and the construction of forts and blockhouses. Opposition leaders were arrested in the 1930s, including the Nationalist leader Sukhano. In Burma the British suppressed resistance by Saya San whom they hanged and arrested the Freedom Bloc’s leaders in 1940. This could be seen as encouraging resistance and providing heroes and martyrs. Oppression could also be seen in economic terms, imposing trade agreements and exploiting labour. However, there was a rise in nationalism in areas where there were concessions as well as repression and also areas where cooperation of the colonial power with local elites prevented much nationalist unrest. Other possible reasons for the rise of nationalism might be the strains of the depression on primary producers; the influence of western education and ideas (especially communism or the liberal ideas that Spanish immigrants and administrators brought before 1898 and US ideas of democracy); dislike of immigration at a time of economic hardship after 1930; the example of the 1911 Chinese Revolution and the rise of the Guomindang, and the influence of Gandhi and the campaigns in India against British rule. It could be argued that concessions like the Philippines Commonwealth of 1935 might have encouraged the desire for further change. Religion too may have played a part, for example in the formation of the Indonesian Sarakat Islam. Answers should deal with the key issue and consider its relative importance compared with alternative factors.

6 Assess the impact of the defeat of Japan in 1945 on nationalism in Southeast Asia.

In some ways the defeat of Japan accelerated nationalism. Resistance to Japan had enhanced prestige. The defeat left a vacuum of power as the Allies were not strong enough to step in and immediately resume control with full manpower. However, the defeat of an Asian power with superior western technology; and dogged heroic fighting, undermined the image of the decadent West promoted by Japan. Japan’s administration had been flawed and brutal and its defeat paved the way for a return of the West. However, the vacuum in Indonesia had been filled by local nationalists who had taken over the administration. In the war there had been cooperation between Japan and nationalist groups which gave them valuable experience. This made it more difficult for the Dutch to reassert control. In Burma, on the other hand, the cooperation between local leaders and Japan made the British see them as collaborators and delay the handing over of power. In Indochina, the French had played a part in the defeat of Japan which made them more determined to stay on, but the resistance by communist forces made this more difficult because of the prestige and military experience gained in the defeat of Japan. The US, strengthened in its Asian role by the successful defeat of Japan, offered support for the French, making nationalist victory more difficult. The British in Malaya faced a successful communist resistance movement against Japanese rule and this was to make a return to the status quo more difficult. The defeat of Japan left China powerful in the region. The focus should be about the defeat of Japan and not Japanese rule generally. If responses refer to other factors which impacted on nationalism, then this could be a valid approach, but there must be a sustained consideration of the key issue and other factors should be related to this.

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7 How successfully did newly-independent Southeast Asian states deal with their ethnic minorities?

In the colonial period boundaries were drawn which included substantial ethnic minorities and immigration from India and China added to ethnic tension. Nationalism encouraged awareness among ethnic groups. There were examples of successful integration and development of national identity which did not involve repression of minorities. Singapore might be seen as a success – the 75% of Chinese and 15% of Malays did clash in 1964 and 1969 but unrest was contained. The ‘organic state’ was encouraged by economic growth, by the use of English as a common language, by obligations to military service and by a unifying education system. In North Vietnam and Laos, the need to gain the support of ethnic groups resulted in a modernisation and unification which involved the cooperation and promoted literacy, an end to outdated customs and greater national awareness without persecuting minorities. However, the cooperation of some ethnic groups with anti-communist forces did bring repression after 1975. In other states, the imposition of right-wing military regimes led to repression and persecution of minorities associated with political dissent, such as Sarit Thanarat’s oppression of the Malay Muslims. Association of ethnic groups with religious discontent produced a long conflict in Mindanao with the prolonged struggle of the Bangsamoros against the Filipino state. A policy of repression failed but negotiations were also only intermittently successful after 1976 and even local autonomy did not end separatist violence. Racial violence emerged in Indonesia after the end of the New Order in 1998. The Indonesian state, led by ethnic Indonesians and Muslims continued colonial restrictions on the Chinese minority whose language, press, schools, religion and culture were restricted in the 1950s and 1960s. The central government of Myanmar fought various ethnic and political rebellions. The KNU fought to establish an independent Karen state in Lower Burma. Other ethnic rebellions broke out in the early 1960s after the government refused concessions and insisted on a central state. By the early 1980s, armed insurgencies had largely been repressed, at the cost of militarisation of the state, but ethnic-based rebel organisations could not be eliminated. Responses should consider the criteria for success and analyse whether national integration based on repression was as effective as greater integration brought about by cooperation and encouragement of a shared national culture.

8 What best explains tensions between newly-independent states in Southeast Asia?

It could be argued that traditional inter-state conflicts have given way to disputes relating to historical colonial claims. Indonesia’s invasion and occupation of East Timor (1975–1999), for instance. There have been conflicts between the Philippines and Malaysia over Sabah going back to the agreements of 1703 and 1878. Malaysia and Singapore have argued over Pulau Ban Puteh which Malaysia claimed in 1979 but Singapore insisted had been under its sovereign rule since the 1840s. Indonesia and Malaysia disputed ownership of Ligitan and Sepadam. Another element has been dispute over islands and rights in the South China Sea where energy issues were the motivation – involving Brunei, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines and Vietnam. There have also been incidents involving naval clashes. Other factors have involved refugees, for example the Muslim Thais seeking refuge in Malaysia and giving rise to claims of support for armed dissidents. Internal conflict has spilled over into inter-state conflict, for example the Vietnamese backing for the Pathet Lao in Laos 1975 and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979. Better answers will consider and assess the types of conflict rather than describing particular instances. Economic and political cooperation has reduced large scale conflict and tensions have generally been contained.