

# Cambridge International AS & A Level

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**HISTORY**

**9489/04**

Paper 4 Depth Study

**For examination from 2027**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 60

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**Specimen**

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This document has **18** pages.

## Generic Marking Principles

All examiners must apply these general marking principles when marking candidate responses. Examiners must apply them alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptions for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme must also comply with these marking principles.

### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:

Marks must be awarded in line with:

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

### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:

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

### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

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

### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:

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

### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:

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

### GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:

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

**Guidance on using levels-based mark schemes**

Marking of work should be positive, rewarding achievement where possible, but clearly differentiating across the whole range of marks, where appropriate.

The marker should look at the work and then make a judgement about which level is the best fit. In practice, work does not always match one level precisely so a judgement may need to be made between two or more levels.

Once a best-fit level has been identified, use the following guidance to decide on a specific mark:

- If the candidate's work **convincingly** meets the level, award the highest mark.
- If the candidate's work **adequately** meets the level, award the most appropriate mark in the middle of the range (where middle marks are available).
- If the candidate's work **just** meets the level, award the lowest mark.

**Table A:****AO2 Historical explanation, analysis and judgement**

Candidates should be able to:

- Identify, explain and analyse the past using historical concepts:
  - cause and consequence
  - change and continuity
  - significance.
- Explain and analyse connections between different aspects of the past.
- Reach a judgement.

Use this table to give marks for candidate response for Questions 1–9.

Level	Description	Marks
<b>Level 5</b>	<p><b>Responses demonstrate a full understanding of the question, are balanced and analytical</b></p> <p>Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish valid and wide-ranging criteria for assessing the question.</li> <li>• Are consistently analytical of the key features and characteristics of the period.</li> <li>• Provide a focused, balanced argument with a sustained line of reasoning throughout.</li> <li>• Reach a clear, sustained and supported judgement.</li> </ul>	13–15
<b>Level 4</b>	<p><b>Responses demonstrate a good understanding of the question, and are mostly analytical</b></p> <p>Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish valid criteria for assessing the question.</li> <li>• Are analytical of the key features and characteristics of the period, but treatment of points may be uneven.</li> <li>• Attempt to provide a balanced argument but may lack coherence and precision in some places.</li> <li>• Reach a supported judgement, although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated.</li> </ul>	10–12
<b>Level 3</b>	<p><b>Responses demonstrate an understanding of the question and contain some analysis. Argument lacks balance</b></p> <p>Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Show attempts at establishing criteria for assessing the question.</li> <li>• Show some analysis of the key features and characteristics of the period but may also contain descriptive passages.</li> <li>• Provide an argument but lacks balance, coherence and precision.</li> <li>• Begin to form a judgement although with weak substantiation.</li> </ul>	7–9
<b>Level 2</b>	<p><b>Responses demonstrate some understanding of the question and are descriptive</b></p> <p>Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attempt to establish criteria for assessing the question but these may be implicit.</li> <li>• Show limited analysis of the key features and characteristics of the period and contain descriptive passages that are not always clearly related to the focus of the question.</li> <li>• Make an attempt at proving an argument, but this is done inconsistently and/or may be unrelated to the focus of the question.</li> <li>• Make an assertion rather than a judgement.</li> </ul>	4–6
<b>Level 1</b>	<p><b>Responses address the topic, but not the question</b></p> <p>Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus on the topic rather than the question.</li> <li>• Are descriptive and lack analysis or an argument.</li> <li>• Lack a relevant judgement.</li> </ul>	1–3
<b>Level 0</b>	<b>No creditable response</b>	0

**Table B:****AO1 Historical knowledge**

Candidates should be able to:

- Recall, select and use appropriate historical knowledge.

Use this table to give marks for candidate response for Questions 1–9.

<b>Level</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>Level 5</b>	<b>Responses demonstrate a high level of relevant detail</b> Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is carefully selected.</li> <li>• Is fully focused on supporting the argument.</li> <li>• Is wide-ranging.</li> <li>• Is consistently precise and accurate.</li> </ul>	13–15
<b>Level 4</b>	<b>Responses demonstrate a good level of relevant supporting detail</b> Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is selected appropriately.</li> <li>• Is mostly focused on supporting the argument.</li> <li>• Covers a range of points but the depth may be uneven.</li> <li>• Is mostly precise and accurate.</li> </ul>	10–12
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Responses demonstrate an adequate level of supporting detail</b> Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is mostly appropriately selected.</li> <li>• May not fully support the points being made, may be descriptive in places.</li> <li>• Covers a narrow range of points.</li> <li>• Occasionally lacks precision and accuracy in places.</li> </ul>	7–9
<b>Level 2</b>	<b>Responses demonstrate some relevant supporting detail</b> Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is presented as a narrative.</li> <li>• Is not directly linked to the argument.</li> <li>• Is limited in range and depth.</li> <li>• Frequently lacks precision and accuracy.</li> </ul>	4–6
<b>Level 1</b>	<b>Responses demonstrate limited knowledge of the topic</b> Supporting material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has limited relevance to the argument.</li> <li>• Is inaccurate or vague.</li> </ul>	1–3
<b>Level 0</b>	<b>No creditable response</b>	0

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p><b>‘Italian fascist policies towards the young failed to gain their support.’</b></p> <p><b>Evaluate this view.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should be based on the extent of success of the policies towards young people in Italy, principally education and youth groups. A clear judgement should be made.</p> <p>Attempts to indoctrinate young people through education might include the centralisation of the school system in the 1930s, the publication of standard textbooks and government control of the curriculum and the oath of loyalty required to be taken by teachers. There could also be reference made to the 1939 School Charter. The role of education, including universities, in promoting Mussolini’s cult of personality would also be relevant.</p> <p>Attention should also be paid to youth movements, for example, the Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB). Knowledge of activities, such as sports, propaganda lectures, marches and summer camps, is likely. Some specific references may be made to the activities available for different age groups and for girls and boys.</p> <p>Evaluation might involve judgements made about the impact of these policies on young people’s attitudes towards fascism. There may be a recognition that not all young people were fully indoctrinated as a result of the regime’s efforts. Judgement might consider the scale of attendance at ONB, with membership in the south being significantly lower than the north, and an estimated 30-40% not joining. The fact that membership became compulsory indicates that there was a high level of non-compliance. The impact of Catholicism in limiting the influence of fascism on children and young adults might also be considered.</p> <p>There may be a recognition that some indoctrination must have taken place, but also that there was a degree of conformity without enthusiastic support and even some outright opposition amongst the youth. Furthermore, the speed at which support for fascism dissipated could also be used as evidence at the lack of long-term impact.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>Assess the reasons which influenced Stalin to make the Great Turn in economic policy from 1928.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should be able to identify and explain a range of motivations, in order to reach a clear judgement on their relative significance.</p> <p>There might be some discussion of what the Great Turn involved, with reference to the end of the New Economic Policy and the twin policies of rapid industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture being introduced. The introduction of the Five Year Plans marked the beginning of the Command Economy.</p> <p>Responses might conclude that a crucial factor influencing Stalin's thinking was the need to protect the Soviet Union from external threats. Following the war scare of the late 1920s, Stalin was increasingly worried about an attack and knew that the nation's industrial base was insufficient to fight a modern war against a more advanced enemy. A greater degree of industrialisation was necessary to produce the requisite armaments.</p> <p>Furthermore, there was the need to make the Soviet Union self-sufficient in as many areas as possible and to avoid reliance on the West, particularly for manufactured products.</p> <p>Attention might also be paid to the extent to which Stalin's policies were motivated by socialist ideology. A proper socialist society required a much larger proletariat than existed in the Soviet Union at this time. The continued existence of the Nepmen and the free market ran contrary to socialist principles and the peasantry remained largely hostile to the government. The economic changes would be beneficial to the workers and would improve their living standards, tackling the problems of unemployment and low wages.</p> <p>It might also be argued that Stalin saw the opportunity to establish his leadership and to create a legacy which would prove him to be a worthy successor to Lenin and perhaps his equal.</p> <p>Responses may argue that the Great Turn was driven primarily by economic factors or may conclude that other explanations were more important.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>Evaluate the view that Hitler’s consolidation of power in the years 1933 and 1934 was a ‘legal revolution’.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should evaluate the extent to which the methods used by Hitler were legal, to reach a clear judgement.</p> <p>When Hitler was appointed chancellor in January 1933, he was one of only three Nazis in a coalition government and could be dismissed by President Hindenburg at any time. By the summer of 1934, there had been a revolution in government, as he was the head of a one party state and ended the Weimar Constitution. It could be argued that the events and policies carried out between 1933–34 combined a mixture of legality and violence.</p> <p>Following the Reichstag Fire, Hitler persuaded Hindenburg to pass the Decree for the Protection of People and the State, suspending constitutional civil rights in order to suppress the KPD.</p> <p>The Enabling Act followed, giving the government the right to issue law by decree, without Reichstag approval for four years. This was agreed by 441 votes to 94 (only the SPD voted against, with the KPD having already been banned).</p> <p>This led to the Law against the Formation of New Parties in July 1933, which made Germany a one-party state. The Concordat with the Catholic Church was passed in July 1933. In 1934, the Law for the Reconstruction of the State dissolved state assemblies and replaced them with Reich Governors.</p> <p>However, these, ostensibly legal methods, were combined with threats and the actual use of violence. SA violence against opponents began immediately. There were an estimated 500 murders by the SA in 1934. They were used to intimidate voters in the 1933 election and to get Reichstag members to agree to the Enabling Act. By the end of 1933 there had been some 100 000 arrests.</p> <p>Many state governments had been overthrown by SA violence in March 1933. The laws passed during the following year merely formalised the existing position. The Night of the Long Knives in July 1934 saw the purging of the SA leadership, as well as the murder of Schleicher, Kahr and Strasser.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>‘The economy depended on US consumers to drive its growth in the late 1940s and 1950s.’</b></p> <p><b>Assess this view.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should evaluate the extent to which consumerism was the main driver of growth, to reach a clear judgement.</p> <p>Different views could be taken on the extent of dependence. On one hand there was a reliance on mass-produced consumer goods, automobiles and household products. On the other hand, traditional heavy industry in the military-industrial complex and in urban growth, investment, the availability of capital, and domestic policy played a part and foreign trade also contributed.</p> <p>Consumerism encouraged growth of the home market, advertising, and services. It encouraged a more diverse home market and affected the balance of trade. However, impact might be compared with larger scale economic factors and impact of military spending and export industries. Consumer industries based on the home were boosted by the expansion of credit – the first credit card arrived in 1950. With the post-war prosperity and full employment together with pent-up demand for domestic goods after the war, there was money available and the home market expanded. This was accompanied by a growth in population and the expansion of suburbs.</p> <p>There was increasing confidence both socially and economically which helped to fuel the home market and there were also technological developments which brought about a wider range of consumer goods. Investment was available and the consumer boom was helped by the growth of advertising. The effects of consumerism might be seen in terms of the expansion of employment in the consumer industries and the knock on effect of spending as goods were no longer expected to last for years but consumers, happy in the post-war euphoria, were eager to buy the latest products. The effect on services could be considered as there was an allied expansion of the tertiary sector – retail, advertising, credit, entertainment.</p> <p>The impact of this factor could be set against strong US overseas trade and the dollar’s position as a reserve currency. This, unlike domestic demand, was directly influenced by US loans and grants such as Marshall Aid. The impact of defense spending as a stimulus for economic growth might be considered, especially with the Korean War and the arms race and there was also the development of the infrastructure – roads, for instance.</p> <p>The question asks for answers to assess the impact so there is scope for comparison with other developments: government spending, technology, infrastructure and overseas trade and there could be a discussion about whether consumerism was more of a consequence than a cause of economic growth.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>Assess the reasons for the growth of feminism in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should make a judgement about the relative importance of different explanations.</p> <p>Answers could weigh the role of individual activists and theories against context of social and economic change. Given the more rapid change of the war years, the reaction of the 1940s and 1950s gave rise to discontent.</p> <p>As education expanded, as more women worked in the professions, as there was more ability to use birth control and more interest in civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s, so there was more interest in feminism and in extending women's rights and opportunities.</p> <p>A key element was the emergence of a distinct philosophy and writers like Betty Friedan (<i>The Feminine Mystique</i> 1963) established and articulated aims. A report of 1963 on American Women revealed the extent of inequality of pay, opportunities, political representation and status. This provided a stimulus for the growth of demands for greater equality particularly among the US elites and there was a revival of women's organisations not seen since the suffrage movement. The National Organization of Women was formed in 1966; and, even if the campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment was unsuccessful, it led to greater awareness among women. By the 1970s there were 80–100 000 women active in groups and there were a variety of demands for reform of different elements in US life.</p> <p>Feminism developed from a greater awareness of inequality. Kate Millett's influential <i>Sexual Politics</i> of 1970 made the point that men controlled 'every avenue of power' fifty years after female emancipation. Middle class leadership, like that shown by a leading female member of Congress, Martha Griffiths, who tried to get the Equal Rights Amendment passed and the organisers of a strike of 20 000 women in 1972, was a key element.</p> <p>However, there was also the changing context of the time. The Kennedy administration promised change, and Johnson's Great Society saw a variety of reforms. The Civil Rights movement was active in the early 1960s and saw success, at least politically, in legislation in 1964 and 1965, so establishing a climate of reform and change which affected support for feminism. The growth of protest movements among the young, among radical African Americans and among opponents of the war in Vietnam, added to a climate of challenging accepted authority.</p> <p>The Equal Pay Act (1963) encouraged greater self-belief and a demand for equality not only in pay but opportunities. The key decision on abortion, <i>Roe v Wade</i>, was seen as revolutionising women's rights over their own bodies and encouraged different attitudes to relations with men. It could also be argued that the conservative backlash against women's rights encouraged a more vigorous and determined feminism. A useful debate might be the relative importance of key leaders and individuals and the changing context.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>‘Reagan owed his success in the presidential election of 1980 to his personality.’</b></p> <p><b>Evaluate this view.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should make a judgement about the relative importance of different explanations.</p> <p>In 1980 Reagan won 489 Electoral College votes while Carter won only 49.</p> <p>In terms of his personality, he was confident, charming and articulate while Carter seemed troubled and downbeat, perhaps because he was conscious of the realities and less able to produce simplified rhetoric. Reagan’s acting background in Hollywood gave him an ease of manner and an ability to communicate. The timing of his jokes and his well-groomed appearance were helpful in establishing a rapport with voters.</p> <p>A possible discussion is the importance of Reagan’s personality compared with voter concerns about Carter’s handlings of the problems which had emerged by the late 1970s. The policies which Reagan advocated and his appeal in ideological terms to the New Right, included increased defence spending, supply-side economics and a balanced budget with promises to reduce the scope of the Federal Government.</p> <p>Explanations which look at the wider context could centre on Carter’s failure to deal with pressing economic problems of stagflation and his handling of the Iran hostage crisis. There was also some inconsistency in his policies which were fundamentally conservative but also included liberal elements to please traditional Democrat constituencies.</p> <p>Reagan was able to capitalise on the concerns about the economic problems stemming from the oil crisis of 1973–74, he was able to offer a clear alternative to the prevailing and seemingly unsuccessful liberal consensus. He offered more conservative solutions to high inflation, high taxes, government bureaucracy and the threat of Soviet expansionism. He promoted ‘less government’ and a ‘strong US’ and seemed more of a decisive leader than Carter.</p> <p>The growth of the New Right could also be explored as a reason for the election of Reagan. This was partly a reaction to social changes in the US and what was perceived as an erosion of traditional values. On a more positive interpretation, there were new ideas on economic and social policy and a more coherent ideology which challenged the post-war consensus on federal responsibilities. This was also in the context of challenges in foreign policy and a desire to show that the US could be more assertive after the trauma of Vietnam.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p>Responses could make the judgement that it was Reagan's ability to exploit the problems which Carter had faced and to offer change and that personality was less important than the substance of what he was offering. Alternatively, it could be seen that he offered personal reassurance in a time of concern about the economic and political future of the US and personality was the most significant explanation.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>‘The Soviet Union formed the Warsaw Pact to keep control of the satellite states.’</b></p> <p><b>Assess this view.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should assess the relative importance of the reasons for the formation of the Warsaw Pact to reach a clear judgement.</p> <p>The satellite states regarded the Soviet Union as an oppressive rather than an emancipating force and were opposed to the communist regimes imposed on them when they were overrun by the Soviet Army during or after the Second World War. Soviet political and military dominance in the region enabled it to indirectly control most of the seven satellite nations. For example, the Soviets used massive repression against the East German uprising in 1953.</p> <p>Soviet leaders hoped a unified, multilateral political and military alliance would help them halt the growing civil unrest in Eastern European countries by strengthening the ties between the Eastern European capitals and Moscow. The Soviet Union also wanted to maintain control over military forces in Central and Eastern Europe. Ideologically, the Soviet Union assumed the right to define socialism and communism and act as the leader of the global socialist movement.</p> <p>However, it can be argued that the threat from the West prompted the formation of the Warsaw Pact. NATO was established in 1949, the year the Federal Republic of Germany was created, becoming the front line of the Cold War in Europe and hosting NATO troops to deter aggression from the East. At the Berlin Conference in 1954 Molotov proposed that Germany be reunified, demilitarised and allowed to select its own economic system. The West, however, demanded Germany be allowed to rearm and join a European defence organisation. The Soviets rejected this proposing a pan-European security apparatus, excluding the USA, which the West rejected. In March 1954, the Soviets proposed joining NATO. This would undermine the planned rearmament of West Germany and force the bulk of US forces and bases to leave Europe. NATO rejected the proposal as Soviet membership would not be compatible with democracy.</p> <p>West Germany was admitted to NATO on 9 May 1955. The danger of a new war was increased with its remilitarisation. The Warsaw Pact was a direct response to this threat. Along with the Soviet Union seven of its European satellites joined the pact. It called on the member states to come to the defence of any member attacked by an outside force and set up a unified military command. The Soviets hoped that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation could both contain West Germany and negotiate with NATO as an equal partner. It was a mutual defence organisation and relations were based upon mutual non-intervention in the internal affairs of the member countries, respect for national sovereignty and political independence.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b>Evaluate the reasons for the failure of Botha's Total Strategy in South Africa.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should evaluate the reasons for the failure of Botha's Total Strategy to reach a clear judgement on their relative significance. They are likely to consider the ineffectiveness of his reforms, the increasing resistance to apartheid and the severe repression used by the government.</p> <p>PK Botha served as the last prime minister of South Africa from 1978–84 and the first executive state president from 1984–89. His Total Strategy was intended to ensure the survival of apartheid. He believed that white South Africa was under threat from communist forces both within and outside South Africa. He called this threat the Total Onslaught and Total Strategy was his response. His approach in South Africa was to introduce reform while increasing repression.</p> <p>The promise of reforms, regarded by the government as major concessions, created expectations but they did not satisfy the Africans and served as a trigger for demands for more sweeping changes. Botha hoped that the creation of a black middle class as a buffer against the African National Congress (ANC) could stem internal unrest and external opposition. Other reforms included the recognition of African trade unions, the granting of independence to some homelands and the recognition of a permanent urban African population.</p> <p>The new tricameral constitution introduced in 1983 provided for three central houses of parliament, the House of Assembly for Whites, the House of Representatives for Coloureds and the House of Delegates for Indians, each house to be elected by its own register of voters. Power remained firmly in the hands of the white parliament and the president. The new constitutional arrangements were approved by about 66 per cent of voters in a referendum of whites only. Blacks were excluded from participation in the central government.</p> <p>The reforms had the opposite effect to what the apartheid regime intended; they gave renewed impetus to the resistance movements and the 1980s became a turning point in South African history. In 1983 hundreds of anti-apartheid groups joined together to form the United Democratic Front (UDF) which successfully called for a boycott of the elections for the new parliament and for Africans to boycott elections for the local community councils. Mass action campaigns swept through the country which included strikes, protests and rent boycotts. Harsh measures were used to quell the growing resistance.</p> <p>A partial State of Emergency was declared on 20 July 1985 and was the catalyst for more aggressive resistance against the state. International condemnation revived grass-roots resistance. Botha's Rubicon speech in August 1985, predicted to introduce new policies to end the political conflict, failed to deliver. The government declared a full emergency between June 1986 and 1990. The police were given wide powers making South Africa seem like a police state. The army occupied the townships which intensified the people's anger. By the end of the 1980s, the government had failed to crush the resistance. FW De Klerk would later enter into negotiations with</p>	30

<b>Question</b>	<b>Answer</b>	<b>Marks</b>
8	the ANC and other groups, to discuss transitioning towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Ultimately, reform failed, and repression and resistance destroyed the Total Strategy.  Accept any other valid responses.	



Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b>Assess the extent of the growth of nationalism in Malaya under Japanese occupation.</b></p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>Responses should assess the extent to which the nature of the occupation encouraged the growth of nationalism as well as how far the Japanese promoted nationalism to make a clear judgement.</p> <p>Nationalism was slow in developing in Malaya primarily because the Malays were loyal to their feudal rulers who showed little interest in political change. However, the Japanese contributed to the growth of Malay nationalism as they destroyed the myth of European superiority by promoting the anti-colonial theme of 'Asia for the Asians'. The nature of Japanese occupation with its harsh rule also encouraged the growth of nationalism; politically, it marked a turning point in Malaya's history. Malays were given some administrative posts by the Japanese which encouraged their political awareness. They sought to assert their rights and identity in the face of foreign rule. The Malay-educated intelligentsia sought to use the Japanese to achieve their social and political goals. This surge in nationalism played a key role in the eventual push for independence from colonial rule.</p> <p>The Japanese occupation was the first break in the continuity of colonial rule leading to an awakening of Malayan politics. In 1938, Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) had been formed by Ibrahim Yaacob aiming to achieve independence from Britain. KMM was funded by the Japanese; it advocated Melayu Raya (Greater Indonesia). It collaborated with the occupiers on the understanding that Japan would unite the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Borneo and grant them independence. It did not have widespread support.</p> <p>However, in January 1942, the KMM were refused independence by the Japanese and disbanded. In 1943 the Japanese transferred the four northern states, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis, and Kelantan, to Thailand. They only encouraged Malay nationalism when the tide began to turn against them in mid-1943. The Malayan branch of the Pembela Tanah Air (PETA) with Ibrahim Yaacob as its Lieutenant-Colonel was set up. Yaacob hoped to use the Japanese to gain independence and sought alliances with the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA). His role in PETA deepened his exposure to the Indonesian anti-colonial struggle and the Japanese finally agreed to promote a Malay national movement in July 1945. Yaacob formed the Kesatuan Rakyat Indonesia Semenanjung (KRIS) promoting a political union of independent Malaya and Indonesia but the surrender of Japan on 15 August 1945 brought it to an end.</p> <p>In reality, the Japanese promoted a limited form of nationalism only to gain some degree of collaboration from the Malay civil service and intellectuals. They sought to foster an Asian nationalism, mobilise support for the war, promote discipline, secure obedience and cooperation, and instil the Japanese spirit in the population through the school system and propaganda spread through newspapers and radio broadcasts. People in Malaya saw much of this activity as specifically Japanese rather than Asian.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p>Under Japanese occupation, ethnic tensions between Malays and Chinese grew because Malays filled many administrative positions while the Chinese were treated harshly for their resistance activities. They widened the gap between Malays, Chinese and Indians and created racial tension which further complicated the process of national unity. By 1945, although nationalism had taken a greater hold in Malaya, it was not as advanced as other countries in the region and it was difficult to form a united anti-colonial front because of the divisions.</p> <p>Accept any other valid responses.</p>	