



MARKSCHEME

May 2013

HISTORY

Route 2

Higher Level

**Paper 3 – Aspects of the history
of Asia and Oceania**

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*Paper 3 markbands: The following bands provide a précis of the full markbands for paper 3 published in the History guide (2008) on pages 77–81. They are intended to assist marking, but must be used in conjunction with the full markbands found in the guide. **For the attention of all examiners: if you are uncertain about the content/accuracy of a candidate’s work please contact your team leader.***

0:	Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks.
1–2:	Answers do not meet the demands of the question and show little or no evidence of appropriate structure. There is little more than unsupported generalization.
3–4:	There is little understanding of the question. Historical knowledge is present but the detail is insufficient. Historical context or processes are barely understood and there are little more than poorly substantiated assertions.
5–6:	Answers indicate some understanding of the question, but historical knowledge is limited in quality and quantity. Understanding of historical processes may be present but underdeveloped. The question is only partially addressed.
7–8:	The demands of the question are generally understood. Relevant, historical knowledge is present but is unevenly applied. Knowledge is narrative or descriptive in nature. There may be limited argument that requires further substantiation. Critical commentary may be present. An attempt to place events in historical context and show an understanding of historical processes. An attempt at a structured approach, either chronological or thematic has been made.
9–11:	Answers indicate that the question is understood but not all implications considered. Knowledge is largely accurate. Critical commentary may be present. Events are generally placed in context, and historical processes, such as comparison and contrast, are understood. There is a clear attempt at a structured approach. Focus on AO1, AO2 and AO4. Responses that simply summarize the views of historians cannot reach the top of this markband.
12–14:	Answers are clearly focused on the demands of the question. Relevant in-depth knowledge is applied as evidence, and analysis or critical commentary are used to indicate some in-depth understanding but is not consistent throughout. Events are placed in context and there is sound understanding of historical processes and comparison and contrast. Evaluation of different approaches may be used to substantiate arguments presented. Synthesis is present but not always consistently integrated. Focus on AO3 and AO4.
15–17:	Answers are clearly structured and focused, have full awareness of the demands of the question, and if appropriate may challenge it. Accurate and detailed historical knowledge is used convincingly to support critical commentary. Historical processes such as comparison and contrast, placing events in context and evaluating different interpretations are used appropriately and effectively. Answers are well-structured and balanced and synthesis is well-developed and supported with knowledge and critical commentary.
18–20:	Answers are clearly focused with a high degree of the awareness of the question and may challenge it successfully. Knowledge is extensive, accurately applied and there may be a high level of conceptual ability. Evaluation of different approaches may be present as may be understanding of historical processes as well as comparison and contrast where relevant. Evaluation is integrated into the answer. The answer is well-structured and well-focused. Synthesis is highly developed.

Colonialism in South and Southeast Asia and Oceania — late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century

1. Assess the nature of the Dutch colonial system in Indonesia from the late eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century.

Candidates may initially discuss the reasons why the Dutch colonized Indonesia. The Dutch East India Company or *Vereenigide Ooste-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) traded in the East Indies from the early seventeenth century and was in competition with the British East India Company for the spice trade. Much of the VOC activity radiated from the island of Java where it founded the city of Batavia. Due to bankruptcy, the VOC was dissolved in 1800 and, after a power struggle with the British, the Dutch government took over all the VOC's East Indies possessions in 1816. Their colonial presence in the area was consolidated by the 1824 Anglo–Dutch Treaty and later expansion into Sumatra, Kalimantan and Bali. Candidates may then discuss the nature of the Dutch presence: the political structure; the type of rule; the structure of the bureaucracy; the economy, including land distribution and the effect on local agriculture; trade and commerce; the lifestyles of the colonial masters; the presence and activities of missionaries; and the attempt to replicate Dutch society and institutions. The official policies towards the indigenous people and the way the Dutch handled rebellions and resistance may also be examined. There was resistance to Dutch rule, the most notable rebellion was the Java or Diponegoro War of 1825–1830 which claimed many lives on both sides before it was successfully suppressed. The Culture System was introduced into Java in 1830 by the new Governor-General, Johannes van den Bosch (1830–1833), who became Minister for the Colonies on his return to the Netherlands. The aim was to contribute to paying off the East Indies government debt by making the East Indies profitable to the Netherlands and in this it proved very successful. The government of the East Indies paid off its debt and began remitting payments averaging 10 000 000 guilders a year to the Dutch government. 20% of cultivated land was set aside for government crops, replacing the land tax. Safeguards had been put in place to prevent exploitation but from 1840 these were ignored. The land tax was re-imposed, forced labour on public works and in processing crops increased, the amount of land allocated to cash crops increased and the time peasants devoted to them, rather than to the growing of rice, increased. Local authorities and officials received a percentage of all crops produced in their area and so pressured the peasants to plant cash crops. In 1843 rice was included as an export crop. The result was famine in various areas in the years 1843–1849, culminating in a major famine in Central Java in 1849–1859 in which 350 000 died. Money continued to be remitted to the Netherlands. Opposition to the Culture System grew in the Netherlands on humanitarian grounds and economic grounds. Constitutional changes in the Netherlands in 1848 increased the influence of the business community who resented the government monopoly in Indonesia and saw great hopes for business opportunities in the outer islands. Candidates may mention the novel *Max Havelaar* (1860) which roused humanitarian opposition to the system. Over the following years the Government began giving up its cultures to private enterprise. The Agrarian Law of 1874 is regarded as marking the official end of the Culture System and the introduction of what was known as the Liberal Policy.

Reward reasoned discussion based upon historical evidence. Better answers should come to a conclusion that assesses the nature of Dutch colonial system.

2. Identify the reasons why, and the ways in which, Britain became the dominant colonial power in the region from the late eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century.

Candidates may first identify and discuss what they consider to be the main reasons why Britain established its colonial power in the region. These may include: strategic reasons; trade and commerce; increasing industrialization in Europe and the desire for new markets as well as the search for raw materials; and emigration and settlement schemes. As trade competition grew in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the European powers competed for control of strategic ports and bases in order to exclude their rivals. Southeast Asia was on the trade route between Europe and China and India and China. Anglo–Dutch rivalry for the spice trade in the East Indies was resolved by the Anglo–Dutch Treaty of 1824 when the Dutch gained the British territories in the East Indies (Indonesia) in exchange for the Dutch possessions in Malaya and India. In India, the British East India Company expanded rapidly in the late eighteenth century and was in conflict with French trading interests. This resulted in a series of conflicts which were part of the wider struggle for empire between the French and the British, including the Seven Years War (1756–1763) and the Napoleonic Wars. As a result the British gained control over most of the sub-continent. By 1860, the British colonial control in the area included India, Burma, the Straits Settlements (Penang, Malacca and Singapore), Sarawak (under Rajah James Brooke), Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand and various Pacific Islands.

Candidates will also need to examine the ways in which Britain exercised control in its colonies. This may include an examination of the nature of the British presence in various colonies: the political structure; the type of rule, direct or indirect; the structure of the bureaucracy; the economy, including land distribution and the effect on local agriculture; trade and commerce; the lifestyles of the colonial masters; the presence and activities of missionaries; further immigration, particularly in the mid nineteenth century; and the attempt to replicate the society and institutions of the mother country. The official policies towards the indigenous/colonial people may be examined, but also how these were implemented: the way the Britain may have handled rebellions and resistance; and the level of violence used to control the colonized people. Answers may focus on the military strengths and the technological advancement of Britain. Candidates may identify the relative popularity of British rule in some sectors of the indigenous/colonial population. The British policies of divide and rule and the diversity of some societies such as religious and ethnic differences made unified resistance more difficult.

For India: British rule was initially the operations of the East India Company rather than a colonial settlement. The causes of the 1857 Great Revolt (Indian Mutiny) may well be considered, but the focus should be the nature of rule prior to this. Candidates may refer to differing policies of various Governor-Generals: Wellesley created subsidiary alliances with the princes; Bentinck's "reforms" included the abolition of *sati* and *thuggee*, marriage reform and the extension of education; Dalhousie introduced the Doctrine of Lapse which annexed the princely states without heirs. The economic changes such as the opening of India to free trade had a negative impact on native industry and production; land reform and land taxation also caused difficulties for Indian peasants. British policies could all be considered as being aimed at extending and consolidating British control and trade.

Australia and New Zealand were essentially British settler societies. For Australia: there were six colonies established, each for a different reason; South Australia was the only one free of convict transportation; there were no formal treaties with the indigenous people; Victoria was separated from New South Wales in 1851; the Victorian and New South Wales' constitutions were ratified by the British government in 1855; the Tasmanian and South Australian constitutions in 1856 and Queensland's in 1859; Western Australia did not get responsible government until much later in the nineteenth century. For New Zealand: it was initially considered part of New South Wales until 1841; the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was a formal treaty with Maoris; the British government ratified New Zealand's Constitution in 1852.

Do not expect all of the above, but candidates should discuss the reasons why, and the ways in which British exercised colonial power in more than one country to score highly.

If only reasons or ways are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

If only one country is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks]

Traditional East Asian societies — late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century

- 3. For what reasons, and with what results, were there a number of rebellions against the Qing (Ch'ing) imperial rule between the late eighteenth century and the mid nineteenth century?**

Candidates may initially identify some of the major rebellions against the Qing imperial rule that occurred between the late eighteenth century and mid nineteenth century. These include the White Lotus Rebellion (1796–1804); the Taiping (Taip'ing) Rebellion (1850–1864); the Nian (Nien) Rebellion (1853–1868); the Muslim Panthay and Dungan (Tungan) rebellions (1855–1873) and the Miao rebellions (1794–1806 and 1854–1873). These rebellions reflected the inadequacies and weaknesses of the Qing (Ch'ing) rule. The Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty is regarded as having reached its peak during the reign of Qianlong (Ch'ien-lung) between 1735 and 1796. By the end of that long reign there were unresolved issues: population increase put pressure on the land and was beginning to create discontent; the situation of the peasants and the entrenched feudal nature of land ownership; rising prices; increased taxation; official corruption and incompetence; secret society activity; religious and ethnic discrimination; the decline in military effectiveness; the effects of Western trade demands upon the economy. Subsequent emperors, Jiaqing (Chia-ch'ing), 1796–1820; Daoguang (Tao-kuang), 1820–1850; Xianfeng (Hsien-feng), 1850–1861, were unable to meet these challenges effectively. Natural disasters, the effects of the Opium Wars and the unequal treaties and national humiliation also contributed to the widespread discontent by the mid nineteenth century. The frequency of rebellions contributed to the further weakening of the Qing (Ch'ing) imperial rule and a belief that they had lost the mandate of heaven. Yet, candidates may note that one of the reasons why the Taiping and the other mid nineteenth century rebellions failed was due to the fact that they did not join together to overthrow the Qing. While specific local results are varied, general outcomes include: suppression and the Qing retaining power as the legitimate government of China; the emergence of new provincial Han leaders such as Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan) and Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang) and their provincial armies; the Tongzhi (T'ung-chih) Restoration (1861–1874) of Confucian government; the rise of the Self-Strengthening Movement and reforms. The provincial leaders who had emerged to defend the Qing (Ch'ing) from the Taiping and the other mid nineteenth century rebellions also played leading roles in China in the following years. The traditional system of control from the centre, whereby officials had been rotated in their terms of office, was largely discontinued, and powerful provincial leaders emerged who built up their own provincial administrations and military forces. This ultimately undermined any sense of national unity and sowed the seeds for later warlordism. Other consequences were hostility to foreigners after the Taiping (Taip'ing) links with Christianity and the decision by the Western powers to support the Qing (Ch'ing) rather than the Taiping (Taip'ing) rebels.

Do not expect answers to cover all of the rebellions listed above, but answers that only discuss one rebellion cannot score highly.

If only reasons or results are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

4. Why did the Tokugawa Shogunate lose power in 1868?

Candidates may initially discuss the nature of the isolation policy (*shakoku*) of the Tokugawa Shogunate and how, by the mid nineteenth century and after a long period of peace, internal changes in Japanese society challenged the Shogunate's authority. These social and economic changes had weakened the traditional feudal structures which supported the Tokugawa Shogunate. Dutch Learning (*rangaku*) amongst the *samurai* created an awareness that technological developments in the West posed a challenge to Japan and the National Learning (*kokgaku*) school of thought called for the restoration of the Emperor. Increasing pressure came from the Western powers for trade and some of the powerful *tozama* clans (Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen and Tosa) already had some limited trade with them. Some assessment of the extent to which the Shogunate's authority had already been undermined before the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 is needed. Candidates may then identify what they consider to be the reasons why Perry's arrival created a crisis for the Bakufu: the technological might of the US fleet; the indecision of the Shogun in the face of Perry's demands; the consultations with the Emperor and the daimyo which were seen as a sign of weakness; the Shogun's decision to agree to Perry's demands; opposition of many of the daimyo to this decision. Further consequences of the Bakumatsu crisis should be discussed: the unequal treaties, Treaty of Kanagawa 1854 and Treaty of Edo 1858 (Harris Treaty); the opening up of trade; the *Sonno Joi* movement, "Honour the Emperor and expel the barbarian"; the weakening of the alternative attendance rule and the other ways in which the Shogun had maintained control over the daimyo; the Satsuma and Choshu wars against the West 1860–1864; the meeting of the Shogun and the Emperor in Kyoto in 1863 when the Shogun was ordered to expel the Westerners; the inability of the Shogun to withstand Western demands; the legal power of the Emperor and the Western negotiations with him; the *tozama* clans' challenge to the Shogun's power; the deaths of the Shogun Iemochi in 1866 and Emperor Komei in 1867; the surrender of Shogun Keiki and the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867; the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Answers should make an assessment of why the Tokugawa Shogunate finally lost power in 1868 rather than just give a narrative of events.

Developing identities — mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century

5. Examine the role of the Indian National Congress in the struggle for independence in India between 1885 and 1939.

Candidates may initially start by discussing the early aims of the Indian National Congress which was formed in 1885. Its membership was made up of educated Indians whose aim was to influence British policy making. Congress was not opposed to the British Raj, but rather sought to gain concessions from the rulers such as the 1892 Indian Councils Act which increased the number of Indians on local councils. The organizing committee for Congress became the representatives of Congress and the nucleus of a lobby group and later a political party. The main demands concerned access to education and positions in the administration of India. The issues surrounding the partition of Bengal in 1905 led to some Muslims feeling that Congress did not represent their interests and thus the All India Muslim League was founded in 1906. By 1906–1907 there were more strident demands and Congress split between the moderates and the radicals about the methods of achieving home rule for India. The 1909 Morley-Minto Act disappointed the moderates in Congress who had hoped for more concessions. The overall impact was: an increase in numbers of representatives for the legislative councils although these still had little real power; the introduction of the electoral principle which laid the groundwork for a parliamentary system, even though this was not the intent of Morley; increasing political awareness amongst educated Indians and their awareness of the contradictory nature of British government. Congress supported Britain in the First World War, though there were increased demands for home rule to be granted after the conflict. In response, the 1917 Montagu Declaration appeared to promise eventual self-government. The 1916 Lucknow Pact was an agreement between Congress and the League over the goal of self-government. In 1919, the Rowlatt Act, the Amritsar massacre, the Hunter inquiry and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms all disillusioned the majority of Congress members. Candidates may discuss the relationship between Congress and Gandhi: the 1920 agreement to support the non-cooperation campaigns; division in Congress over support for Gandhi's methods; Congress support for the 1930 Salt March; Congress's approval of the 1931 Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Candidates may identify the roles of Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru in Congress. The relations between the British and Congress will need to be examined: 1929 Simon Commission; Nehru Report; Congress's 1929 declared goal of complete independence; Congress's refusal to attend the first Round Table Conference; Congress's reaction to the 1935 Government of India Act. Congress was the dominant political party in India and it won the majority of Hindu votes in the 1937 elections, but relations with Jinnah and the Muslim League had deteriorated. At the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 Britain declared India to be at war with Germany. This alienated many members of Congress.

The focus of this question is the Indian National Congress so answers that only discuss Gandhi's role in the struggle for independence cannot score highly.

6. Compare and contrast the factors that led to the development of nationalist movements in any two countries in Southeast Asia and Oceania between the mid nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

Popular choices in Southeast Asia may be Burma, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The starting point for the answer will depend on which nationalist movements are chosen. Nationalist movements tended to have their roots in cultural and religious movements, which were tolerated by the colonial powers. These either began to express sentiments which became nationalistic or took up particular causes which took on a nationalist perspective. Religion played a significant part, especially in the development of the Burmese and Indonesian nationalist movements. Another strand of nationalism developed from students educated in mission or state schools, some of whom went on to study in Europe or the United States, where they acquired political ideas ranging from liberal democracy to communism. The First World War brought disillusionment with Western culture and civilization and also, to differing degrees, a desire to bring democracy, socialism and independence to their homelands. The First World War may be seen as a watershed with the pre-war period of colonial rule where the nationalist movements developed and a distinction may be made between resistance movements of the nineteenth century, which were often aimed at foreign colonizers and the twentieth century goals to forge new nations. Candidates may refer to charismatic leaders: Aung San (Burma); Sukarno (Indonesia); Phan Boi Chau and Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam); or Rizal, Bonifacio and Aguinaldo (Philippines). The colonial powers responded in different ways, ranging from repression to making concessions, so that by the 1930s the different independence movements, themselves divided, were at different levels of development. Some parties participated in colonial legislatures with restricted powers; others fought for complete independence; some were completely suppressed. Many responses will focus on contrasts, but some comparisons should also be identified for answers to score the higher marks.

If Australia or New Zealand is chosen the issues will be different. Candidates may first identify what they consider to be the nationalist movement. This will be closely linked to emerging sense of national identity in Australia or New Zealand by the end of the nineteenth century. In Australia: the celebration of Australia's uniqueness with reference to the flora and fauna; the adoption of the bushman image despite the fact that most people lived in towns and cities; the art and writing of this period; the different strands of nationalism, radical republicanism and dual loyalty to both Australia and the British Empire. The achievement of Federation in 1901 was influenced by these sentiments and interlinked with other factors: trade, internal and external; customs and tariffs; communications; trade unionism and itinerant workers; the fear of Asia; the desire for uniform immigration laws; and national defence. Some candidates may also comment on the opposition to Federation; identify the role of individuals such as Henry Parkes and others; and discuss the various conferences and conventions in the 1880s and 1890s. In New Zealand a similar set of sentiments prevailed: involvement in the Boer War; the rugged and enterprising man alone against nature; egalitarianism; double patriotism; cultural nationalism. New Zealand made the decision not to ratify the Australian Constitution in 1901 and federate with the other British colonies. Independence in New Zealand came about as a result of her evolving constitutional status within the British Empire: gradually developing greater degrees of self-rule over the latter half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the granting of Dominion status in 1907. Candidates may go beyond the achievement of dominion status to discuss the impact of Australia's or New Zealand's involvement in the First World War on the continuing growth of national identity. For both: the initial enthusiasm for the war; the idea that Gallipoli was a defining moment in nationhood, for Australia "Baptism by fire" and for New Zealand "Baptism of blood"; the soldiers come to represent the typical Australian or New Zealander in uniform with his values of resourcefulness and mateship; war correspondents and cartoonists popularized this image.

If only one country is dealt with, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

Early modernization and imperial decline in East Asia — mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century

7. Discuss the reasons for, and the consequences of, the Hundred Days Reform (1898) in China.

Guangxu (Kuang-hsu) became emperor in his own right in 1889, though initially he was still heavily influenced by the Empress Dowager, Cixi (Tz'u-hsi). The humiliating defeats of the 1884–1885 Sino–French War and the 1894–1895 Sino–Japanese War and the subsequent scramble for concessions by the European powers indicated that the limited modernization of the Self-Strengthening Movement had failed. Various scholars and intellectuals advocated more progressive reform. The radical reformers, who believed in constitutional monarchy and institutional reform from the top, similar to the Meiji reforms in Japan, gained support from the Emperor. The main proponents of these changes were Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei) and Liang Qichao (Liang Ch'i-ch'ao). By 1898 the Empress Dowager had removed herself from active participation in government and the Emperor was thus able to introduce the reforms by decree over a period of 103 days. The reforms covered the modernization of education, including the abolition of the traditional examination; political administration; industry; improvement and simplification of the legal codes; the preparation of a budget; and other matters. The conservatives opposed the changes in administration, education and the examination system, which would have weakened their influence. The Empress Dowager became alarmed at the extent of the reform programme and brought it to an end. Candidates may use Hsu's analysis for the reasons why the Hundred Days Reform Movement failed: the reformers' inexperience and naivety; the power of Cixi (Tz'u-hsi); the strength of the conservative opposition. The immediate consequences were the placing of Guangxu (Kuang-hsu) under house arrest and Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) taking over the regency again; the reversal of most of the reform measures; the execution of key reformers and persecution of others. The long term consequences included: progressive reform from the top was no longer a viable option for China; the return of Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) and the conservatives to power and hence a rigidity in approach to government; anti-foreign sentiments grew and influenced the 1900–01 Boxer Rebellion; the punishment of the reformers widened the division between Manchu and Han; repercussions with regard to the loyalties of some Han provincial leaders; disillusionment amongst the middle class in the treaty ports; many Chinese intellectuals fled into exile; reformist and revolutionary groups flourished in exile; a growth in the belief that the violent overthrow of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty was the only option; support for the ideas of Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) and his Revive China Society and later the 1905 Tongmenghui (T'ung-meng hui) or Revolutionary Alliance.

If only reasons or consequences are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

8. **“Japan’s self-strengthening reform during the Meiji period was successful because it was directed from the top, but the Self-Strengthening Movement in China failed because it was not.” To what extent do you agree with this statement up to 1895?**

This question requires candidates to analyse the process of reform in both Japan and China during the respective periods and assess the success of these reform movements with reference to the degree of political, social, cultural, economic and military modernization that was achieved. Both movements were rooted in the concept of self-strengthening in order to withstand the demands and aggression of the West. Themes that may be used to compare and contrast could be: the philosophical aims of both reform movements; the different systems of government; the underlying religious and cultural attitudes that influenced the impact of modernization upon each society; geographic and demographic factors; the roles of individuals or groups in each society; and the nature of the actual reforms. Candidates may note that in Japan a political revolution occurred producing a new and dynamic leadership capable of sweeping reform on a national level, whereas China’s government was reluctant to embrace change and unable to promote a sense of national unity. For Japan candidates may discuss: the Meiji Restoration, the Regency and Imperial rule; “Western science and Eastern ethics”; Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism; the readiness for reform; the Constitutions of 1868 and 1889; the extent of the political, cultural, economic, military and social changes. For China candidates may discuss: the Tongzhi (T’ung-chih) Restoration of Confucian government; the concept of self-strengthening; the weakness and conservatism of the central government; the Regency and the extent of Cixi’s (Tz’u-hsi’s) power; the aims of Prince Gong (Kung) and his conflict with Cixi (Tz’u-hsi); the choice of another boy Emperor, Guangxu (Kuang-hsu) in 1875; the roles of Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan), Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang), Zuo Zongtang (Tso Tsung-t’ang); the localized nature of many of China’s reforms; the success or failure of the various reforms undertaken. Candidates may cite the Sino–Japanese War (1894–1895) as evidence of Japanese success and Chinese failure. Better answers may challenge the assumption in the quotation and identify a number of successful ventures in China and that resistance to change also existed in Japan. Many answers will focus on contrasts, but comparisons should also be identified.

If only Japan or China is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

Impact of the World Wars on South and Southeast Asia to the mid twentieth century

9. Analyse the causes and effects of the 1942 Quit India campaign.

Most candidates may initially analyse the causes of the 1942 Quit India campaign in the context of the Indian nationalist movement and the various demands that had occurred immediately prior to the Second World War. At the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 Britain declared India to be at war with Germany. This alienated many members of Congress and caused division. Yet, the majority backed Nehru's demands for a British assurance of complete independence after the war in return for Indian support. Churchill and the British government would not agree to Congress's proposals and suggested that there may be a limited post-war constitutional settlement. This caused widespread unrest. The 1941 Atlantic Charter, which supported the principle of self-determination of peoples, raised Indian hopes. However Churchill made it clear he did not intend it to apply to India. With the entry of Japan into the war some radical Congress members, such as Bose, advocated action against the British Empire and support for the Japanese. In 1942 the British sent the Cripps Mission to negotiate with Congress and secure Indian support for the war. Congress was not satisfied with Cripps' proposals and did not like the idea of continued British control during the war or the offer of secession to any part of the country afterwards. Gandhi and Congress supported the Quit India civil disobedience campaign demanding that Britain should leave India immediately. Candidates also need to address the effects of the campaign: the British responded with mass detentions of Congress members; the use of emergency powers to control unrest; civil disobedience continued well into 1943; political kudos was gained by Jinnah and the Muslim League who continued to back the British war effort; support for other smaller political parties grew. Better answers may discuss the different opinions about the effectiveness of the Quit India Campaign. Some may argue that it paved the way for Wavell's actions and the progression towards independence. Others may say that it achieved very little and that it exacerbated the divide between Congress and the League and this ultimately led to the partition of India.

If only causes or effects are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

- 10. “The Second World War was a turning point for nationalist movements in Southeast Asia.” With reference to *one* country in Southeast Asia, examine the extent to which you agree with this statement.**

Candidates will probably choose from one of the following: Indonesia, Vietnam, Burma, Malaya or the Philippines. This question requires a detailed analysis of one country rather than vague generalizations about many countries in Southeast Asia. The Second World War and Japanese occupation may be seen as a turning point from the pre-war period of colonial rule when the nationalist movements initially developed. Although nationalist movements in Southeast Asian countries did not all follow exactly the same path there are some common themes. There may be some discussion of the pre-war situation in the chosen country in order to later assess the impact of the Second World War. The Japanese expansion into the country and the nature of the occupation will need to be examined. This may include: Japanese atrocities; resistance to Japanese rule; the way the Japanese restructured the government (Burma, Philippines); the way the Japanese used the colonial administration of the European country occupied by the Nazis (Indonesia, Vietnam); the opportunities for nationalists to acquire experience in administration and in the military; the impact of Japanese ideas such as “Asia for the Asians”; Japanese support for independence from Western colonial rule; the immediate declaration of independence after the defeat of the Japanese in an attempt to pre-empt the return of the colonial power (Indonesia, Vietnam). The immediate post war situation with the colonial power could also be examined: the weakening of its authority; the financial problems; the subsequent struggle with the colonial power until the final achievement of independence; the development of internal factional fighting and the need for the colonial power to unite the country again (Malaya). Candidates may also discuss the roles of charismatic nationalist leaders: Sukarno (Indonesia); Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam); Aung San (Burma); Datuk Onn and Tunku Abdul Rahman (Malaya); Quezon and Osmeña (Philippines).

Some assessment of the extent to which the Second World War was a turning point for the nationalist movement in the chosen country needs to be made.

The Republic of China 1912–1949 and the rise of Communism

11. To what extent was the New Culture Movement (1915–1924), which included the 1919 May Fourth Movement, an intellectual revolution that changed the course of Chinese politics?

The events following the 1911 Revolution saw the establishment of the Republic followed by its betrayal by Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai). This was a change of regime, but not a change in political or cultural attitudes. Candidates may first identify what they consider to be the events relating to the New Culture Movement. These could include: weak central government; Japan's 21 Demands in 1915; warlordism after the death of Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai) in 1916; China's relationship with the West during the First World War; the May Fourth Movement which began as an outburst by workers and students in response to China's treatment in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. However, once the context has been established candidates will need to analyse some of the ideas embodied in the New Culture Movement in order to fully answer the question. Intellectuals from Beijing University, such as Cai Yuanpei (T'sai Yuan-p'ei), Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), Li Dazhao (Li T-chao) and Lu Xun (Lu Hsun), were heavily involved in the New Culture Movement. It was an intellectual revolution and literary revival which promoted the publication of magazines in the everyday language and characters. Chen Duxiu's (Ch'en Tu-hsiu's) *New Youth* magazine and the other New Culture Movement publications favoured Western ideas such as an emphasis on youth, liberalism, democracy, socialism and Marxism. They criticized China's traditional society and Confucian values and promoted Western science and scholarship. The New Culture Movement aimed to develop a new cultural identity for China. The May Fourth Movement was a political response to the Treaty of Versailles that was anti-imperialist, patriotic, favoured student and worker involvement in politics and the establishment of unions. It was an urban political movement that was against the warlordism rife in China and favoured national unity. The May Fourth Movement arose in the context of the New Culture Movement, but the terms are often used interchangeably to mean the whole intellectual revolution. Some candidates may argue that the New Culture Movement/May Fourth Movement destroyed traditional Chinese values and society and that Western political and cultural ideas dominated without much constructive gain. Other candidates may argue that the course of China politics was changed by the New Culture Movement/May Fourth Movement in that this intellectual milieu gave rise to the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 and Sun Yixian's (Sun Yat-sen's) revamped Guomindang (Kuomintang) in 1924. Although, in 1924 the First United Front between these parties was created, the next twenty-five years was characterised by the conflict between them.

Answers that merely describe the 1919 May Fourth Movement without reference to the intellectual ideas embodied in the New Culture Movement cannot score highly.

12. “Jiang Jieshi’s (Chiang Kai-shek’s) rule in China between 1927 and 1937 betrayed the Guomintang’s (Kuomintang’s) ideals.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Candidates should look at the period of rule of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) from the end of the 1927 Northern Expedition until the beginning of the Second United Front and the start of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Candidates may initially define the Guomintang’s ideals as Sun Yixian’s (Sun Yat-sen’s) Three Principles of the People: 1. People’s Nationhood or nationalism which involved unifying the nation and getting rid of foreign domination; 2. People’s Authority or democracy which meant the establishment of a republican system based on Western constitutional ideas, but allowed for a period of tutelage under a dictatorship; 3. People’s Livelihood or socialism which proposed equalising landownership in China. Candidates may then analyse the features of Jiang Jieshi’s (Chiang Kai-shek’s) rule in the light of these ideals: his appeal to nationalism; the justification of his rule in terms of Sun Yixian’s (Sun Yat-sen’s) principles; the single-party/leader rule with no significant move towards democracy as the period of tutelage; reliance on the military; attempt to create a mass movement and ideological control. Some candidates may use the categories provided by Immanuel Hsu to assess the successes and failures of Jiang’s (Chiang’s) government: financial reform; tariff autonomy; the recovery of foreign concessions; communications; industrial development; education; the New Life Movement; literature; the neglect of social and economic reforms and the plight of the peasants; fiscal irresponsibility. Significant gains were made in the areas of foreign diplomacy, international recognition, the revision of the treaty system and the return of foreign concessions. There were developments in industry and communications and some attempt to reform aspects of life in China with the 1934 New Life Movement. The injustices of the peasants were not addressed and the government looked after the interests of industrialists and land-owners. Oppression was endemic and Jiang (Chiang) created the fascist-like organization, the Blue Shirts. He purged the Communists in the 1927 Shanghai Massacre and ended the First United Front. His aim was to unify China and thus the bandit extermination campaign against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) between 1930 and 1934. Jiang never controlled much more than one third of China or two thirds of her population because warlordism was never fully subdued. Jiang (Chiang) seemed more intent on eliminating challenges to his rule than dealing with the threat of Japanese invasion. This eventually led to the 1936 Xian (Sian) incident where his own officers kidnapped him and insisted on the creation of the Second United Front to fight the Japanese.

There is a wealth of material and much will depend on the candidate’s ability to order and analyse. Many candidates will argue that Jiang’s (Chiang’s) government failed to achieve any of the Guomintang’s (Kuomintang’s) ideals. Better candidates may agree with Hsu’s conclusion that the government made considerable progress in promoting nationalism, some advance towards democratic reconstruction, but failed to provide social and economic reform for the vast majority of China’s population.

Imperial Japan: empire and aftermath 1912–1952

13. **“The democratic two-party system of government attempted during the Taisho Democracy period did not last because internal and external economic pressures were too great.” To what extent do you agree with this statement about the situation in Japan between 1918 and 1931?**

The Taisho Democracy period came immediately after the First World War, which was regarded as a victory for liberal democracies over autocracy. The Japanese benefited from being on the side of the victors. Japan became a member of the League of Nations and the balance of power in the region had shifted further in Japan's favour. In Japan, intellectuals and students began a campaign for universal suffrage and true parliamentary democracy. The 1920s saw more liberal internal policies, including the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1925 and the beginning of what appeared to be responsible party government. After the 1925 Manhood Suffrage Act, the number of voters rose from 3 000 000 to 14 000 000. The Seiyukai and the Kenseikai (renamed Minseito after 1927) were the two main political parties, but there was a proliferation of others, including socialist and communist parties. Political parties had to appeal to a broader electorate whose interests differed from those of the much smaller, propertied electorate prior to the reform. For Japan, the 1920s were a time of economic growth as Japanese manufacturers made inroads in world markets. Yet, there were internal economic pressures and candidates may discuss the problems that beset various governments. The 1918–1921 Hara government attempted to keep food prices low and provided loans to small businesses, but it was unable to control inflation, there was pressure from the Zaibatsu and many strikes. Hara was assassinated in 1921. The 1921–1922 Takahashi government could not remedy the internal economic situation and the Seiyukai Party split into factions. The 1923 Great Tokyo Earthquake created problems for subsequent governments. The 1924–1926 Kato government tried to cut government expenditure and the 1926–1927 Wakatsuki government faced a severe economic crisis when the bonds issued to finance the reconstruction of Tokyo were due and a banking collapse ensued. The 1927–1929 Tanaka government attempted to solve the banking crisis, but not without considerable losses to many people. Politicians were seen as serving business interests and as being corrupt, showing little concern for the difficulties of the peasantry and the labour force. The result was to be, by the end of the decade, the rise of a new militant nationalism which began to see the older institutions of the state and army as embodying the spirit of Japan, which partially helps to explain why Japan failed to establish a democratic system of parliamentary government in this period. External economic pressures impacted on the 1929–1931 Hamaguchi government because the 1929 Great Depression threatened Japanese industries and livelihoods as countries closed their markets to Japanese manufactures. At the same time, the establishment and consolidation of the Nationalist government in China threatened Japanese interests there. Hence the revived Japanese interest in Manchuria. The perceived failures of the political parties to handle the effects of the Depression and to withstand the extreme nationalists and militarists discredited democracy. Candidates will recognize that Japan in the 1930s faced severe economic and social problems for which militarism appeared to provide a solution, which weak and corrupt civilian politicians were unable to address. Assassinations of political leaders deterred the liberals and the military and naval ministers gained increasing influence in the cabinet. The rise of Fascism in Europe provided encouragement and nationalists turned to Japan's military traditions and to Shinto to provide an ideology.

This question is not just about the rise of militarism because candidates need to address the question and explain the reasons for the failure of democracy.

14. Why did Japan attack Pearl Harbor in December 1941?

Candidates may initially comment on the growth of Japanese power in the early part of the twentieth century. After the 1904–1905 Russo–Japanese War the balance of power in Northeast Asia had shifted to Japan, which continued to develop its military and imperialist ambitions. Although, Japan entered the First World War as an ally of Britain in August 1914, this was an opportunity to gain territories from the defeated German Empire and also to extend further control over parts of Asia. The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 was a disappointment for Japan because of the failure of the racial equality clause, but she did gain Shandong (Shantung) and Germany’s North Pacific possessions. In the aftermath, the Western powers were concerned about the undue influence Japan had over China and felt that Japan threatened their interests in the region, particularly the United States, with regard to the Pacific area. The Japanese resented the decisions made at the Washington (1921–1922) and the London (1930) Naval Conferences which limited the Japanese fleet. They also resented the United States’ restricted immigration laws. Japan suffered from the effects of the Great Depression and the failure of the rice crop in 1931. Both led to a desire for expansion into China and Southeast Asia for raw materials and markets to bolster its economy at home. The occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and the creation of Manchukuo in 1932 extended Japanese influence commercially and politically. Powerful military interests controlled the Japanese government and after the invasion of China in 1937 it announced in 1938 the New Order in East Asia which was to be a mutually beneficial political, cultural and economic union of Japan, Manchukuo and China. The United States, opposed to this expansion, imposed trade embargoes in July 1940 and this intensified Japan’s need for other sources of raw materials. In August 1940 the Japanese government announced that the New Order had been replaced by the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and this endorsed Japan’s expansion into Southeast Asia in 1940–1941. This put great pressure on the United States to act. President Roosevelt increased the US military presence in the Pacific and brought in the nation’s first peacetime draft. Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in September 1940. Despite talks between Japan and the US early in 1941 in an attempt to resolve the trade boycott, Japan refused to withdraw troops from China or cease to be a member of the Tripartite Pact. Therefore, both countries remained in dispute. By attacking Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Japanese aimed to cripple the American Pacific Fleet and thus consolidate Japan’s conquests in Asia and the Pacific.

Better answers may debate the issue of whether Japan was provoked to attack Pearl Harbor or whether the US government deliberately allowed the attack so that the US could enter the Second World War on the side of the allies.

Developments in Australia and New Zealand, and in the Pacific Islands 1941–2000**15. To what extent did trade and investment between Australia *or* New Zealand and the Asian nations foster less suspicion and greater cooperation in the period after 1945?**

Both Australia and New Zealand followed similar patterns with some difference in emphasis concerning trade and investment in the region. Responses to this question may initially acknowledge the changed status of Britain in the region as a whole after the Second World War. Candidates may note that the Second World War caused Australia and New Zealand to realise that they could not depend on Britain for defence. During the 1950s Australia and New Zealand played a significant role in the Colombo Plan, which provided developing nations in the region with aid and expertise. Britain's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 reduced the access of former British colonies and dominions in the region to British trade and markets. This caused Australia and New Zealand to turn to East and Southeast Asia as economic partners, particularly to China. Both formally recognized the People's Republic of China in 1972 and to each this bilateral relationship grew to become very important. Despite these economic shifts, membership of the British Commonwealth remained significant to Australia and New Zealand. Australia gave support to the United Nations and its activities in the region, including, in 1999, leading an international peacekeeping force to East Timor when Indonesia withdrew. Australia and New Zealand were involved with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries (Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Brunei) and the Pacific Island states to promote regional cooperation on security issues. Australia and New Zealand were also involved in the South Pacific Forum which was established in 1971 and became the Pacific Island Forum in 1999. This group met annually to discuss issues of mutual concern to the region such as economic development, tourism, trade, security and education.

Answers will have to come to some conclusion about the extent to which Australia's or New Zealand's trade and investment altered relations with countries in the region.

16. **“The Whitlam government, which took office in December 1972, clearly held a mandate from the Australian people for change in both domestic and foreign policies, but it was the domestic changes that caused the public to lose confidence in the government by 1975.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Candidates may start by explaining the popularity of the Whitlam Government. In 1972 the Australian Labor Party won government after 23 years in opposition on a wave of idealism in response to the “It’s Time” campaign. Prior to this, Australia had been governed by the conservative Liberal/Country Party coalition. Australia was a conservative society which was strongly influenced by a British political, legal, economic and cultural heritage. Post-war immigration mainly from Britain and Europe had helped to produce economic growth and prosperity, but by the 1970s there were certain marginalized groups in society, including the indigenous people. The foreign policies of the Liberal/Country governments were firmly based on the alliance with the United States and thus followed its Cold War stance. Therefore, Australia had sent troops to fight in the Vietnam War. Immediately after winning the election in 1972 the Whitlam government released those in jail for refusing to accept conscription; abolished conscription; withdrew Australian troops from the Vietnam War; recognized the People’s Republic of China; and pursued new policies with regard to defence and foreign relations with Asian countries. Domestically, the Whitlam Government embarked on an era of rapid social reform in health, education, indigenous affairs and equal opportunity. The White Australia Policy was formally ended and multiculturalism was promoted. There was funding for the arts and a wave of “new nationalism”. A new national anthem was adopted and the British imperial honours system was replaced with an Australian version. Whitlam also strengthened the power of the federal government at the expense of the states’ responsibilities. These reforms required huge expenditure, but they came at a time when Australia was affected by the difficult world economic situation caused by the oil crisis of 1973. The Whitlam government was re-elected in May 1974 with a smaller majority in the House of Representatives (the lower house) and in the Senate (the upper house) he did not have a majority. This government was beset by various scandals and in May 1975 the Loans Affair involved Rex Connor, the Minister for Minerals and Energy, trying to raise a \$4000 million loan from Middle Eastern sources for Australia’s development. In October 1975, Malcolm Fraser, the Leader of the Opposition, used the Senate to block supply for the budget. This led to a crisis that lasted for several weeks and was finally resolved when the Governor General, Sir John Kerr, sacked Whitlam and appointed Fraser as the caretaker prime minister until an election in December. Fraser then campaigned for responsible economic management and won the election.

Answers will need to analyse why the Whitlam government lost the support of the Australian people. The constitutional issue raised by the dismissal of the Whitlam government by Kerr, who had originally been appointed by Whitlam, should not be the sole focus of the response.

Developments in South and Southeast Asia from mid twentieth century to 2000

17. Evaluate the policies and achievements of the post-independence governments of *either* India or Pakistan between 1947 and 1971.

For India: Candidates may initially discuss India's independence from the British in August 1947 and that it inherited the British parliamentary system. Jawaharlal Nehru was India's first Prime Minister until 1964. He created the Republic of India in 1950. Nehru was quite a visionary thinker and believed in state planning and a mixed economy. In 1951 he introduced the first Five Year Plan which enabled land redistribution; community development projects; the growth of manufacturing; electricity. Despite these improvements India was still desperately poor and suffered food shortages in rural areas. Nehru negotiated a water agreement with Pakistan. His reforms in education were designed to modernize the country and included: a commitment to provide primary schooling for all children; free milk and meals to improve health; investment in creating many tertiary institutions, particularly promoting technological education; adult education. Socially, he legislated against caste discrimination and improved the legal status women. In foreign affairs, Nehru was one of the founders of the non-aligned movement in the Cold War and he recognized the People's Republic of China. This meant that India had strained relations with the USA. There was the 1947 Indo-Pakistani War over Kashmir and a border dispute with China in 1962. Nehru won, with convincing majorities, elections in 1952, 1957 and 1962. He died in office in 1964. He was succeeded briefly by Shastri, who died suddenly after the second Indo-Pakistani War in 1965. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, then became India's third Prime Minister. Her economic policies initially were a continuation of her father's. She introduced more left-wing economic policies and promoted agricultural productivity in what was called the Green Revolution and this resulted in reducing food shortages. She also expanded industry and developed India's nuclear programme. Intervention in the Bangladesh conflict in 1971 was generally considered to be successful in containing a potential refugee crisis. She won the 1971 election with a convincing majority.

For Pakistan: Candidates may initially discuss Pakistan's independence from the British in August 1947 and that it inherited the British parliamentary system. There was a considerable amount of violence surrounding partition from India and independence. The charismatic leader, Jinnah, who was Pakistan's first president, died shortly afterwards. The first prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, was faced with the challenges of the refugee problem; the 1947 Indo-Pakistan War over Kashmir; and the use of Urdu as the national language. He introduced the framework for Pakistan's future constitutions, the Objectives Resolution which combined features of both Western and Islamic traditions. He cemented Pakistan's alliance with the US. In 1951 he was assassinated and civil unrest followed. In 1953, with the advent of religious political parties, there were riots and martial law was imposed. This was the beginning of military intervention in the political and civilian affairs of the country. During this period Pakistan became part of the Baghdad Pact. The Dominion was dissolved in 1956 and Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic in 1956. Two years later the military took control and Ayub Khan became the President. He continued with the US alliance; introduced measures to end water disputes with India; increased industrialization; improved agricultural output; supported a space programme. In 1965 there was another Indo-Pakistan War over Kashmir. The geographical structure of West Pakistan and East Pakistan increased the problems in government and party politics. Bengali nationalism grew in popularity and an independence movement in East Pakistan gained momentum. This led to an uprising in 1969 and Ayub Khan was replaced by General Yahya Khan, who intended to hold general elections in 1970. Yahya Khan and Zulfikar Bhutto, the founder and leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), did not accept the outcome of the democratic elections in 1971. This led to the crisis that caused the Bangladesh Liberation War and the secession of East Pakistan to create the new country of Bangladesh in 1971. Bhutto then became President and civilian rule was restored.

Better answers will need to explicitly evaluate some achievements of the governments of their chosen country.

- 18. Compare and contrast the relative successes and failures that *two* newly independent countries in Southeast Asia experienced in developing a sense of national identity and unity in the second half of the twentieth century.**

Candidates may choose any two newly independent countries in Southeast Asia. Popular choices may be Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam or Indonesia. With reference to the chosen countries, candidates may discuss the manner in which the two countries gained independence and the political legacy of the colonial powers. The partition in Vietnam was imposed by the Western powers and this led to a nationalist struggle to unite the country which lasted until 1975. In many countries there was political tension that developed between the ideal of democratic institutions and the desire for strong government to prevent political divisions leading to fragmentation. Malaya needed to rely on the support of the former colonial power, Britain, to suppress communist insurgents whereas Indonesia dealt with this problem internally. Ethnic and religious minorities existed to a greater or lesser extent in all countries of the region and for each country they posed a problem with regard to developing a sense of national identity and unity. Candidates will need to compare and contrast the ethnic and cultural diversity within the two countries of their choice and provide evidence of the problems and difficulties this generated for the respective governments. Expect references to: integration; lack of occupations; areas of residence; political representation; religious observance; resistance; rebellion. Strong centralized government, often with military backing, was seen as a means of imposing a national ideology and maintaining national unity. In some cases the national identity may have been based on the culture and symbols of one group, in others a broader range of national symbols may have been incorporated. The impact of the rise of fundamentalism and terrorist groups may also be discussed. Each country will have its own particular issues.

Many answers will focus on comparisons, but some contrasts should also be identified to score the higher marks. Reward reasoned discussion based on historical evidence.

If only one country is dealt with, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

China: the regional superpower from mid twentieth century to 2000**19. Explain why Sino–Soviet relations changed from being friendly to antagonistic in the period 1949 to 1969.**

The Soviet Union had supported Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and the Guomindang (Kuomintang) during the 1920s and 1930s. There were significant differences during this period between Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and Stalin about how to interpret Marxism and Mao's notion of a peasant based revolution. Nevertheless, after the start of the Cold War and the Chinese Communist Party's victory in 1949, the Chinese and the Soviets appeared to be natural allies. Despite the distrust between the leaders after Mao's official visit to Moscow, the Sino–Soviet Friendship Treaty was signed in 1950. The Korean War cemented their relationship against the West with the United States regarding China as acting as an ally of the Soviet Union, blocking its entry into the United Nations and supporting the Nationalist regime on Taiwan as the true government of China. Initially, this encouraged the Chinese and Soviets to become closer; but the actual conduct of the Korean War, Stalin's insistence on China repaying loans, the cost of Soviet supplied arms, the payment for the Soviet advisers in China and nuclear issues helped to divide them. Before the end of the decade, ideological differences between the Soviet Union and China led to worsening relations between them following Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech in 1956. Mao visited Moscow again in 1957 and approved a Sino–Soviet declaration of cooperation, but he felt that the Soviet Union was too lenient in its attitude to the West. Khrushchev's visit to Beijing in 1958 was not a success. Initially, China had relied heavily on Soviet advisers and engineers, but the failure Mao's Great Leap Forward led to the withdrawal of all assistance in 1959. The split in the international Communist movement grew worse in the 1960s. The Sino–Soviet split impacted on the US, involved in Vietnam, who continued to regard China as opposing its policies and providing assistance to the Vietnamese. The continuing tension between China and the Soviet Union was marked by a Soviet military build-up on its borders with China and an outbreak of hostilities in 1969. This led to a change in Chinese foreign policy. China felt isolated and threatened by the prospect of nuclear war with the Soviets and saw advantages in reconciliation with the United States and the West in order to weaken the Soviet Union's strategic position.

Better answers may challenge the assumption in the question and argue that Sino–Soviet relations had always been fraught. Expect reasoned and balanced discussion based on evidence and knowledge.

20. Why did Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) emerge as China's "paramount" leader by 1980?

This question is about Deng Xiaoping's (Teng Hsiao-p'ing's) rise to power rather than an assessment of his policies as leader of China. Candidates may initially discuss Deng's (Teng's) changing status under Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) as a way of background introduction to an analysis of his rise to power after Mao's death. Points that may be raised include: Deng (Teng) was a member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1924; he was a military leader during the Long March (1934–1935) and the Civil War (1946–1949); in 1952 he was appointed Vice-Premier and became a member of the *Politburo* and Party General Secretary in 1956; he supported Mao during the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957) and, initially, the Great Leap Forward (GLF) (1958–1961). In 1961 Mao was sidelined and Deng (Teng), with Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i), introduced more moderate and pragmatic measures to end the famine and restore the economy. Mao reasserted his power during the Cultural Revolution and Deng (Teng) was purged and exiled to the countryside. Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), China's Foreign Minister and Premier used his influence with Mao to have Deng (Teng) re-instated as Vice-Premier in 1974. In 1975 Deng (Teng) worked with Zhou (Chou) drafting the Four Modernizations, a new economic reform programme. Mao distrusted Deng's (Teng's) confidence and felt he was reversing the Cultural Revolution. In January 1976 Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) died and, in April 1976, thousands rallied in Tiananmen Square in memory of him. The Gang of Four blamed Deng (Teng) and he was dismissed from all his posts whilst Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) was promoted to Premier. Mao died in September and Hua arrested the Gang of Four in October. After this, calls to reinstate Deng (Teng) were made by the people and from inside the Party. One year after Zhou's death, Tiananmen Square again filled with pro-Deng (pro-Teng) rallies. In July 1977, Deng (Teng) returned to all his former posts and proceeded to undermine Hua's authority. In preparation for the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party National People's Congress in 1978 Deng (Teng) criticised Hua's adherence to Mao's ideology and advocated new directions. The Four Modernizations were accepted at this meeting as the basis for future development and began to be implemented between 1978 and 1980.

Candidates will need to identify why Deng (Teng) was designated "paramount leader" by 1980 rather than just give a narrative. Candidates may use Michael Lynch's reasons as part of their analysis: his long history as a CCP leader; his popularity within the Party; his military connections; his economic vision, both in the early 1960s and then again in the late 1970s; his understanding of foreign affairs due to his role as Zhou's (Chou's) assistant; the way he promoted his supporters to positions of power; and his outstanding political skills.

Global impact of the region in the second half of the twentieth century

21. Analyse the causes and the consequences of the Korean War (1950–1953).

The Korean War broke out in 1950, but its causes were embedded in the international tensions of the Cold War which began after the Second World War. Following the Yalta agreements, Korea had been temporarily divided along the 38th Parallel, but the emerging Cold War saw the declaration of two Korean states in 1948, a Communist North and a non-Communist South, both of which sought unification on their terms. The Chinese Communist Party came to power in China the following year, and the United States was still formulating its policy towards the People's Republic of China and the defeated Nationalists on Taiwan. The North Korean invasion of the South in June 1950 changed all that. A vote in the United Nations Security Council authorized UN intervention, and US forces, joined by those of other non-Communist powers, entered the conflict, stemming the tide and pursuing the North Koreans towards the Yalu River border with China. Chinese “volunteers” drove the UN forces back to the 38th parallel where the war stalemated until a ceasefire in 1953. The consequences were profound. For the Korean people it was a total war. Casualties were in the millions and the country was devastated and occupied. North Korea became a bastion of communism under Kim Il Sung and allied with the Chinese and the Soviets to remain a repressive regime until today. South Korea became the Republic of Korea and an American ally and it began a process of democratic reform and economic development. But the Cold War remained in place and an armed truce was the best term to describe the situation on the Korean peninsula between the Communist Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. For the region, Chinese success in the war raised their international prestige among non-aligned countries and indicated to the world that China was a significant power. However, the People's Republic of China was unrecognized by the US and its allies for the next 20 years. US policy became the containment of China and Communism and hence US involvement in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The US policy towards Japan changed and it became a base for the US war effort in Korea. Industry was revived and the “reverse course” restored conservatives to power. The US Occupation ended in 1952, but the Security Agreement tied Japan to the United States.

Answers should attempt to address both parts of the question. Better answers will put the causes and the consequences of the war into the international context of the Cold War tensions.

If only causes or consequences are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

22. Discuss the impact of globalization on *one* country of the region during the second half of the twentieth century.

Candidates may choose any country in the region. Globalization is a term that came into popular usage in the 1980s to describe the increased movement of people, knowledge, ideas, goods and money across national borders, which has led to increasing interconnectedness among the world's populations. It is the tendency for markets to become global rather than national: barriers to international trade such as tariffs are reduced; international transport and communications improve; large multinational companies grow to service global markets; developed countries use other countries to manufacture goods because costs and wages are lower. Candidates should offer some definition or show understanding of the term in the context of the question. The way in which globalization has specifically impacted on the chosen country needs to be addressed. This could include: the creation of more employment or the loss of jobs; changes in working conditions and pay; the rise or lowering of living standards; the effects of multinational companies taking over smaller firms; a uniformity of products available; the creation of consumer markets; the globalization of popular culture and the youth culture and thus the creation of new consumer markets; changes in the roles and status of women; the impact on the institution of the family; changing levels of education; the impact on sport and leisure pursuits; the impact on religious observance and values. Candidates may have different views as to the extent and desirability of change, but should produce an argument based upon analysis and factual evidence relating to the country chosen.

Some candidates may use this question to discuss the economic development of China under Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), but unless the issue of globalization is specifically addressed they cannot score highly.

Social and economic developments 1945–2000**23. Evaluate the significance of changes in the role of women to the social and economic development of *one* country of the region between 1945 and 2000.**

Candidates should focus on one country in the region and should demonstrate knowledge of the changes in the role of women in that country in the second half of the twentieth century. Candidates will need to provide specific factual detail and evidence of the results of these changes in the way they affected the social and economic development of the chosen country. Some candidates may initially discuss the role of women in the chosen country earlier in the century in order to establish that there was considerable change in the second half. The ways in which the role of women changed may be attributed to: education; greater social mobility; access to new jobs and careers; rising expectations; government policies; international pressure. The results of these changes may be: changes in family law; property rights; inheritance; changing economic roles within the family; political representation and participation; leadership; participation in religious and community affairs; less gender stereotyping in the workforce. The significance of these changes may be examined with reference to the shifts in social and cultural attitudes in society; the rise in living standards; the contribution of women's employment to the country's economy. Candidates may have different views as to the desirability of the changes, but should produce an argument based upon analysis and factual evidence.

The timeframe for this question is broad so candidates who only concentrate on a specific period such as Mao's China (1949–1976) cannot score highly. They should follow through and discuss the changes in Deng's (Teng's) China (1976–1997) as well.

24. Assess the effects of immigration on any *one* country of the region between 1945 and 2000.

Candidates may choose any one country of the region, but popular choices may be Australia or New Zealand. For either of these countries candidates may first identify the nature of society in 1945. Both were conservative societies which were strongly influenced by a British political, legal, economic and cultural heritage. The majority of the population was of British ancestry. Although there had been some immigration from Asian countries in the nineteenth century, during the twentieth prior to 1945 both countries had restricted immigration policies. Most immigrants were British with only a small percentage of people coming from Europe. The employment needs of the receiving country were often the reasons why immigration occurred and subsequently it had a significant effect on the economy and the social fabric of that society.

For Australia the points that may be discussed include: Calwell as Minister for Immigration in 1945 said that Australia must “populate or perish”; Calwell wanted ten British for every non-English speaking immigrant, but this was unattainable so immigrants from Europe were encouraged. The ethnic mix of immigrants changed over the decades: 1945–1951, displaced persons including Jewish immigrants; 1950s and 1960s, southern European immigration; mid 1960s, there was some relaxation of the White Australia Policy for skilled workers; 1972, the White Australia Policy was formally ended; 1970s, boat people from Indo–China and other Asian immigration; 1980s and 1990s, people from the Middle East; 1990s, Pacific Islanders. Initially, immigrants were given little government help and were expected to assimilate into the predominantly British influenced culture and many experienced prejudice. Overseas qualifications were not recognised. The 1972–1975 Whitlam Government adopted the policy of multiculturalism. Immigration contributed to creating Australia’s post-war prosperity because it allowed the economy to expand rapidly. Migrants were both workers and consumers. The effects of successive waves of immigrants on the social and cultural nature of Australian society was apparent by the 1980s and 1990s: in food and in eating out in cafes and restaurants; in liquor licensing laws; in the diversity of sports played; in the variety and the appreciation of all form of the arts; in religious composition. Australia was a much more open and tolerant society, although there were still instances of racism and discrimination. As immigrants became more settled they contributed to political and community affairs.

In New Zealand a similar pattern occurred, though restricted immigration was not changed until the 1980s. New Zealand’s economy and social patterns were also shaped by the demands of Maori urbanisation and the immigration of a greater number of Pacific Islanders.

Reward reasoned discussion based upon historical evidence.
