



# **MARKSCHEME**

**May 2014**

**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.*

<b>0:</b>	Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks.
<b>1–2:</b>	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.
<b>3–4:</b>	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.
<b>5–6:</b>	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.
<b>7–8:</b>	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. There is 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.
<b>9–11:</b>	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.
<b>12–14:</b>	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.
<b>15–17:</b>	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.
<b>18–20:</b>	Answers are clearly focused with a high degree of 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.

*Following a review of marking practices it has been agreed that in order to add further clarity to the markscheme for Paper 3, all caveats with regard to the awarding of marks for questions that include more than one component (eg, compare and contrast; reasons and significance; methods and success) will be removed.*

*Examiners and moderators are reminded of the need to apply the markbands that provide the ‘best fit’ to the responses given by candidates and to award credit wherever it is possible to do so. If an answer indicates that the demands of the question are understood and addressed but that not all implications are considered (eg, compare or contrast; reasons or significance; methods or success), then examiners should not be afraid of using the full range of marks allowed for by the markscheme: ie, responses that offer good coverage of some of the criteria should be rewarded accordingly.*

**Colonialism in South and Southeast Asia and Oceania — late 18th to the mid 19th century****1. Compare and contrast the British colonization of Australia and New Zealand from the late 18th century until the mid 19th century.**

Candidates may initially discuss the reasons why the British established colonies in Australia and New Zealand. Candidates will probably point out that Australia was not a unified country and that six colonies were established there, each for a different reason, and that New Zealand was included in the same wave of colonization because it was considered part of New South Wales until 1841. Points of comparison may include: the voyages of discovery by Captain James Cook; strategic concerns and the desire to claim the land for the British Crown; trade and commerce; increasing industrialization in Europe and the desire for new markets, as well as the search for raw materials. Contrasts may be centred on the transportation of convicts to some of the Australian colonies, but not to South Australia and New Zealand, and the various emigration and settlement schemes. South Australia and New Zealand were both settled by chartered companies using the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield with regard to land distribution and labour. Candidates may then compare and contrast the nature of the British colonial rule in the different colonies. Comparisons may include: the form of government for each colony; the structure of the bureaucracy; the economy; trade and commerce; the presence and activities of missionaries; further immigration, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s; the lifestyles of the settlers; the attempt to replicate British society and institutions; and the granting of responsible government. The British government ratified New Zealand's constitution in 1852. Victoria was separated from New South Wales in 1851; the British government ratified the constitutions of Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania in 1855 and of South Australia in 1856. Queensland was granted self government in 1859, but Western Australia did not get responsible government until much later in the nineteenth century. Contrasts may include: land distribution and agriculture; the policies towards the indigenous people and their implementation. Candidates may discuss the way the British handled resistance in the different colonies; the level of violence used to control the indigenous people; and the relationships between the settlers and the indigenous people. In the Australian colonies there were no formal treaties with the indigenous people, whereas in New Zealand the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was a formal treaty with the Maoris and there were several wars, including the First Maori War (1843–1848).

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2. **Analyse the reasons for, and consequences of, resistance to colonial rule in *one* country in South and Southeast Asia from the late 18th until the mid 19th century.**

Candidates should choose one country from the colonies of the British, Dutch, French or Spanish in South and Southeast Asia. To establish the reasons for resistance to colonial rule, candidates may initially describe the nature of colonial rule in the country. These may include: the type of rule, (*i.e.* direct or indirect); the structure of the bureaucracy; land distribution; relationships between the colonial masters and the indigenous people; the way the colonial power handled rebellions and resistance; the level of violence used to control the indigenous people; the presence and activities of missionaries; the lifestyles of the colonial masters. Candidates may also refer to: the policies of divide and rule used by the imperialists; the agricultural nature of many indigenous societies and the conflict with the colonizers' focus on commerce; the calibre of some of the officials who ran the colonial administration. There are a number of examples where revolts and resistance occurred. Against the British: Burma fought two wars by the mid 19th century, 1824–1826 and 1852 (the third was later, in 1885); and in India, the Great Revolt (Indian Mutiny) in 1857. There was resistance to the Dutch in Java in 1825. In the Philippines there had been steady resistance on a small scale ever since the arrival of the Spanish: the Palaris Revolt of 1762–1765 was the largest revolt and then the Ambaristo Revolt in 1807. The Spanish policies of repression helped both to cause as well as curb resistance in the Philippines. Candidates will then need to examine the consequences of resistance in the chosen country: changes in the administration of the colony; different policies towards the indigenous people; further repression and violence; impact on agriculture and trade.

Most candidates may choose to focus on the resistance to British rule in India in 1857. They may identify what they consider to be the reasons for the Great Revolt (Indian Mutiny) – both short-term and long-term. Prior to the Great Revolt the British administration was essentially the operations of the British East India Company under the auspices of the Crown rather than a colonial settlement. The issue of cartridges with cow and pig fat initially sparked a military revolt which spread. The long-term causes were more complex: the way India was governed under the British East India Company; the British interference with traditional Hindu practices such as *sati* and *thuggee*; the Doctrine of Lapse, which was the annexation of princely states without heirs; economic changes such as the opening of India to free trade and the subsequent impact on native industry and production; land reform and land taxation, which caused difficulties for Indian peasants; the nature of the relationship between the British and the Indians; educational reforms; Christian missionary activity; the introduction of railways and the telegraph; the Punjab and Afghan campaigns; issues concerning Hindus and Muslims. The consequences of the Great Revolt (Indian Mutiny) were significant. The British East India Company was abolished and the British government took direct control of areas previously administered by it and established indirect control over the princely states. The Government of India Act (1858) created a new British government office and the governor-general became the viceroy and was answerable to the Secretary of State for India. The nature of the relationship between the British and Indians changed and, although the British became increasingly more socially elitist, the government policy aimed to involve Indians in administration and this led to the opening of entry into the Indian Civil Service. There was a growth in secular education, including universities, for Indians and the rise of a new Indian middle class and intelligentsia. Religious tolerance was decreed. The changes in infrastructure and communications contributed to the increase in prosperity for some and to a growing sense of Indian national identity.

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**Traditional East Asian societies — late 18th to the mid 19th century****3. Compare and contrast the ways in which China and Japan were opened up for trade with the Western powers between the late 18th and the mid 19th century.**

Candidates may describe the situation in both countries when the Western powers initially sought trade and then thematically identify the results of this contact. There are various contrasts with regard to the ways in which China and Japan were opened up for trade with the Western powers, but the final outcome of unequal trade agreements is essentially similar. Comparisons may include: superior attitudes towards foreigners; the desire to control intrusions by the West, such as limiting trade to Guangzhou (Canton) in China and Deshima in Japan; the centralized nature of government in both countries; and the increasing pressure from the Western powers for trade, such as the Macartney (1793), Amherst (1816) and Napier (1834) trade missions to China and the various unsuccessful attempts by Russia, France and the US to initiate contact with Japan, as well as the fact that some of the powerful *tozama* clans (Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen and Tosa) defied the Tokugawa Shogunate and already had some limited trade with the West. Contrasts that explain why each country responded differently may include: the greater Japanese interest in Western ideas and technology through Dutch Learning (*rangaku*); Tokugawa Japan's isolationist policy (*sakoku*); the exercise of authority by the emperor in China as opposed to the emperor and shogun duality in Japan. For China candidates may discuss: the opium trade and its effects on China; the clash of cultures; First and Second Opium Wars; the forcing open of Chinese ports; the impact of Western missionaries; conditions imposed on China by the unequal treaties with Britain and other Western powers (1842–1860). For Japan: isolation during the Tokugawa period; limited trade with the Dutch; some trade with the West by the *tozama* clans; arrival of Perry in 1853; effect of Perry's ultimatum on the Bakufu; unequal treaties of Kanagawa (1854) and Edo (1858); the opening up of trade; the *Sonno Joi* movement, "honour the Emperor and expel the barbarian"; the *tozama* clans' challenge to the Shogun's power; the Satsuma and Choshu wars; fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867.

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4. “The Taiping (Taip’ing) Rebellion (1850–1864) failed because the Taipings’ (Taip’ings) ideology alienated both the Chinese and Westerners.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Candidates should engage with the issue of ideology and assess its role in the Taiping (Taip’ing) Rebellion.

Some candidates may set the scene by discussing the widespread discontent in China in the middle of the 19th century and the reasons for the rapid growth of the Taiping (Taip’ing) Rebellion. This includes: the economic and social problems of China; growing population pressure; the land problem; high taxation; price rises, the situation of the peasantry; the unpopularity of the Qing (Ch’ing) government; official corruption and incompetence; natural disasters; the effects of the First and Second Opium Wars; the unequal treaties and national humiliation. Initially, the leadership of Hong Xiuquan (Hung Hsiu-ch’uan) and his ideology appealed to many people, particularly Hakka peasants and workers as well as some Westerners, particularly Protestant missionaries. These ideas included a version of Christianity; land redistribution and the abolition of private ownership; mutual sharing of resources; gender equality; banning of opium. The early successes of the Taipings can also be attributed to the military weakness of the Qing government and the sympathy or neutrality of Westerners. Hong Xiuquan (Hung Hsiu-ch’uan) founded the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace with its capital at Nanjing; it ranged over 16 provinces and it became an unsustainable theocracy. This rebellion, from 1850 to 1864, was the most serious faced by the Qing dynasty; it cost the lives of an estimated 30 million people and caused widespread destruction. Candidates may challenge the assumption in the question and argue that there were many reasons why the Taiping Rebellion eventually failed. These include both the increasing problems facing the Taipings as well as a change in Qing (Ch’ing) and Western policies. Candidates may use Immanuel Hsu’s analysis that the problems facing the Taipings were: the division and dissension that developed within the leadership; the death of some leaders; the hypocrisy in the lifestyles of the leaders; strategic blunders such as the refusal to join with non-Christian rebel groups. Also, the factors that strengthened the Qing (Ch’ing) include: the rise of Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan) and Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang) and their provincial armies; the inability of the rebels to appeal to the mandarin class due to the ideological conflict between Confucianism and Christianity; the Taipings’ poor diplomacy with the Western powers; the withdrawal of the support of the Christian missionaries who condemned Hong’s version of Christianity as heretical; the eventual decision by the Western powers to support the Qing (Ch’ing) rather than the rebels and the successes of the Ever Victorious Army.

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## Developing identities — mid 19th to the early 20th century

### 5. Examine the role of the All India Muslim League in the struggle for Indian independence between 1906 and 1935.

To examine the role of the All India Muslim League in the struggle for Indian independence, candidates may initially identify Muslims as a minority group in British India. There was a degree of Hindu–Muslim harmony prior to British rule. After the Great Revolt (Indian Mutiny), the 1858 Government of India Act gave Britain direct control over India with major constitutional changes. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, but it made no conscious effort to enlist the Muslim community in its struggle for a more equitable share in government. Muslims were a minority in Congress, and many Muslims felt that the Hindu majority would not represent their interests. Also the British administration did not always acknowledge Muslim concerns with regard to their religion, language and culture. This led to Muslim fears that a Hindu majority would seek to suppress Muslim culture and religion in an independent India. The 1905 partition of Bengal, which created a Muslim majority state, was the catalyst for the emergence of the All India Muslim League in 1906. The Hindu reaction to this seemed to confirm Muslim fears. Led by Sir Agha Khan III, a delegation of Muslim leaders to the viceroy, Minto, requested separate electorates for Muslims if the British reformed the political system. Minto's sympathetic response led to the creation of the League in order to maintain the political pressure. Initially, its goals focussed on representing Muslim issues within the existing structure rather than the formation of an independent state. The role of the All India Muslim League in the independence struggle developed, and candidates may examine a range of significant events and policies: Morley–Minto reforms of 1909, which allowed for separate electorates and reserved seats for Muslims; 1916 Lucknow Pact with Congress, with the aim of working together to get the British to grant home rule; Montagu–Chelmsford Government of India Act in 1919, which reinforced the practice of separate Muslim representation; Gandhi and the Khilafat issue, when he supported the desire of some Indian Muslims to protest against changes to Islamic rule in Turkey; the 1920 alliance between Congress and the Khilafat leaders; the reservations of the League about the Khilafat issue; disillusionment with Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaigns in the 1920s; communal violence and unrest during the 1920s; the League's reaction to the 1929 Nehru Report which rejected Muslim quotas; Iqbal's Two Nation Theory proposed in 1930; the souring of relations between Congress and the League. Jinnah joined the League in 1913; he supported Hindu–Muslim unity and home rule. He was president until he became disillusioned with politics in the late 1920s when he went to Britain. Representatives from the League took part in the three Round Table conferences held in London between 1930 and 1932. In 1933 the name “Pakistan” was used for the first time, and this signalled a shift in aims from gaining concessions and recognition within the one India approach to a desire for a separate nation. Jinnah returned to India in 1935 and became president of the League again and supported the demands for a separate Muslim state.

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**6. Compare and contrast the impact of European imperialism on Burma and Siam (Thailand) between the mid 19th century and the early 20th century.**

Candidates may focus on the reigns of King Mindon (1853–1878) and King Thibaw (1878–1885) in Burma and the subsequent British rule after 1885, and the reigns of Rama IV (Mongkut) (1851–1868) and Rama V (Chulalongkorn) (1868–1910) in Siam. Candidates may compare and contrast the impact of European imperialism on these two countries thematically: the difference between relations with the British and the French; treaties; concessions made to the imperial powers; trade; internal factors; diplomacy; attempts to modernize in each country; and resistance movements.

The geographical proximity of Burma to India meant that the British desire to expand further in search of raw materials and their rivalry with the French led to conflict over Burmese territory. The first Anglo–Burmese War (1824–1826) resulted in a victory for the British. As a result of the Treaty of Yandabo, Burma lost control of significant north western areas (Assam, Manipur, Arakan, Tenasserim, Cachar and Jaintia), was forced to pay an indemnity of one thousand pounds, and had to sign a trade agreement; however, it allowed the exchange of diplomatic representation with the British in Calcutta. In 1852, the second Anglo–Burmese War occurred when the British provoked it due to quibbles about the terms of the previous treaty. Burma lost Pegu, which was renamed Lower Burma, and thus access to the sea, and there was no formal treaty signed. These events led to a conflict within the Burmese royal family and King Pagan (1846–1852) was overthrown by his half-brother, Mindon. During his reign, King Mindon sought to modernize and reform his country: scholars were sent overseas to gain technological and industrial knowledge; there were administrative, judicial, financial and penal reforms; the Royal Burmese Army and its armaments were modernized. There were various succession disputes, and shortly before Mindon's death most of the possible heirs to the throne were killed so that Thibaw could succeed him. The policies of King Thibaw antagonized the British: he undertook further administrative reform; faced financial difficulties and increased taxation; sought closer relations with the French; and attempted to regain Lower Burma. The British invaded in 1885, starting the third Anglo–Burmese War, and the French were not in a position to intervene. Thibaw was forced to abdicate, and Burma became a province of British India from 1886 to 1937. During this time the British reorganized the economy, agriculture and trade. They separated the Buddhist religion and the state and encouraged the development of both secular and Christian education. Much of Burma was administrated by Indian migrants and minority groups. Burmese Buddhists were initially excluded from public life. Resistance to the British rule developed in various ways: guerrilla warfare by former members of the Royal Burmese Army; the National Associations movement, which led strikes and protests; and rebellions led by Buddhist monks. In the 1920s the British introduced limited constitutional reform and some autonomy for Burma within British India. More Burmese had access to university education, either in Britain or in Burma, and this facilitated the establishment of the We Burmese Association in 1930, the Thakin movement, and the emergence of nationalist leaders like Aung San.

Siam managed to maintain its independence from European rule. The Siamese government was able to survive through a combination of good government and diplomacy until the height of European imperialism had passed. The reasons may include the policies of these monarchs to modernize the state, introduce reform measures and make timely concessions of the less vital heartland of Siam to French and British interests, ensuring the survival of Siamese independence. They employed Western advisers to assist in the modernization of the country's administration, commerce, infrastructure and education, and played off the British interests to the west and south against those of the French to the east. The diplomatic agreements established Siam as a neutral buffer kingdom between the British territories of Burma and Malaya and French Indo-China. Details about the diplomacy may include, in 1855, a treaty between Siam and Britain, a consular jurisdiction established with terms favouring British trade and representation following a pattern

imposed by European powers through force on many Asian countries. In 1893, Siam signed a similar treaty with France and, in 1907, ceded the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap to France. In 1909, Siam ceded the provinces of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu to Britain. In 1917, Siam's willingness to participate in the First World War strengthened the bonds of friendship between Siam, France and Britain. Essentially, territorial concessions were made by Siam in order to maintain its independence.

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**Early modernization and imperial decline in East Asia — mid 19th to the early 20th century****7. Analyse the reasons for, and the consequences of, the late Qing (Ch'ing) reforms (1902–1911) in China.**

Candidates may initially discuss the state of China at the beginning of the 20th century or they may divide the reasons for the late Qing (Ch'ing) reforms into long-term and short-term. The long-term reasons may include: the failure of the Self-Strengthening Movement by 1894; defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895; failure of the Hundred Days Reform Movement in 1898; the return of Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) and the conservatives to power and hence a rigidity in approach to government; the scramble for concessions by the European powers; and the growth of anti-foreign sentiments, which culminated in the 1900–1901 Boxer Rebellion. Candidates may then concentrate on the short-term reasons for the late Qing (Ch'ing) reforms associated with the Boxer Rebellion and the 1901 Boxer Protocol. In 1901, in the face of the pending defeat by the Western powers, and to hold on to power, Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) indicated her intention to institute political reform. The Boxer Protocol was a humiliating treaty: China had to pay huge indemnities and lost territory; a two-year ban on the importation and manufacture of armaments was imposed; China's sovereignty was violated, in that the forts could not be rebuilt and foreign troops were stationed indefinitely in Beijing (Peking) and other places to protect Western interests; officials were to be punished; memorials had to be erected; and the examination system was abolished. With the late Qing (Ch'ing) reforms, Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) initially attempted to implement administrative, educational, military changes that were based on the Hundred Days Reform proposals. From 1905, there were moves towards constitutional reform and provincial assemblies were established in 1909. Attempts were made to nationalize local railways using foreign investment, which would also enable the Qing (Ch'ing) government to pay off the indemnities imposed by the Boxer Protocol. The consequences of these attempts at reform were: the re-emergence of anti-Qing (anti-Ch'ing) sentiment; a widening of the division between Manchu and Han; resentment, amongst the middle class and commercial interests, of the higher taxes imposed to pay for the reforms; the railway recovery movement, which opposed the nationalization of the railways; frustration that the constitutional reform was not progressing quickly enough; reformist and revolutionary groups that 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 1905 *Tongmenghui* (*T'ung-meng hui*) or Revolutionary Alliance, which made eight unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the Qing government between 1906 and 1911. Ultimately, the consequence of the ineffectiveness of the late Qing (Ch'ing) reforms was the 1911 Double Ten Nationalist Revolution, which started by accident in October 1911 and spread rapidly. Sun Yixian (Sun Yatsen) returned from exile and became the first president of the republic on 1 January 1912.

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**8. Evaluate whether Japan became a modernized nation during the Meiji period (1868–1912).**

Candidates will need to demonstrate a clear understanding of what is meant by the term “modernized nation” and should do more than simply describe the reforms of the Meiji era. They may initially explain that the Meiji Restoration in 1868 returned power to the emperor after centuries of rule by the Tokugawa Shogunate. The catalyst for this change was the upheaval following the forced opening of Japan by Perry in 1853. The aim of the rebellious *samurai* was to restore the pride and power of Japan after the arrival of Perry and the unequal treaties of Kanagawa in 1854 and Edo in 1858. The slogan “Western science and Eastern ethics” reflected the mood. The new emperor ruled with the help of an oligarchy. The Charter Oath of 1868 aimed to seek knowledge from around the world in order to modernize Japan and make her equal to the Western powers. Candidates will need to analyse and assess the impact of the Meiji reforms and to distinguish between political, technological, military, social and cultural changes. The Meiji Restoration embraced aspects of the modernization and westernization of Japan. Many Japanese scholars and politicians were sent abroad to study the Western political systems and technologies in Europe and North America. Westerners were invited to Japan to help develop new industries. The Japanese sought advice from the British on establishing a navy and advice from the Prussians to create a modern army based on the Prussian model. Candidates may discuss the impact of the economic and industrial reforms and the role of the *zaibatsu*. The social impact on Japan encompassed educational reforms, with attention given to Western subjects. Some candidates may cite the Japanese victories in the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War and the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War as evidence of Japanese military and technological modernization. Better candidates will recognize that, politically, the old feudal system was transformed, but the authority of the emperor remained significant. The leadership was a relatively small group of reformers around the emperor. Candidates may refer to the Constitution of 1889 and the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 to illustrate how the adoption of conservative Western political institutions did not imply the abandonment of traditional values and ways of thought. Reformers were willing to accept what they needed from the West, but many aimed to preserve Japanese identity and traditional moral values. Cultural changes occurred with the adoption of Western dress, arts and food, but these were largely fads amongst the educated elite and did not affect all of society.

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**Impact of the World Wars on South and Southeast Asia to the mid 20th century**

9. “The British reforms were always out of date by the time they were actually granted.” Is this a fair assessment of the British attempts to meet the demands of the Indian nationalists between 1919 and 1935?

Candidates may initially explain the background to the British reforms of 1919 and why the majority of Indian nationalists felt they were out of date. The 1909 Morley–Minto Act disappointed the moderates in the Indian National Congress, who had hoped for more concessions, but it pleased the All India Muslim League because of the provision for separate Muslim electorates and reserved seats. The overall impact was an increase in the number of representatives for the legislative councils, although these still had little real power, and the introduction of the electoral principle, which laid the groundwork for a parliamentary system – even though this was not the intent of Morley. Although the majority of Indian nationalists from Congress and the League supported Britain in the First World War, 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 to pursue the goal of self-government. In 1919, the repressive Rowlatt Act, the Amritsar massacre and the Hunter Inquiry all disillusioned the majority of the Indian nationalists. The Montagu–Chelmsford reforms were the basis for the 1919 Government of India Act. This act came into effect in 1921. It extended the franchise, maintained the principle of separate electorates and created a federal system with the provinces. Government was a dyarchy, with executive power remaining with the British. It implied that eventual self-government and dominion status were possibilities after a review in 10 years. This act was a huge disappointment to the Indian nationalists and they felt the reforms were out of date, since the British had already granted dominion status to a number of other colonies. Candidates may then discuss the relationships between the various Indian nationalist groups and with Britain during the 1920s and 1930s. The British Simon Commission of 1928 was boycotted by Congress and Jinnah. In response, the (Motilal) Nehru Report: aimed to draw up the principles of an Indian constitution; rejected Muslim quotas and electorates; and endorsed the demands for dominion status. Yet, more radical members of Congress, including Jawaharlal Nehru gained support in Congress for the goal of complete independence. Even though there was division in Congress about Gandhi’s methods, Congress supported the 1930 Salt March. Congress refused to attend the first Round Table Conference, but accepted the 1931 Gandhi–Irwin Pact, which was essentially a truce between the British administration, and the Congress-backed non-cooperation campaigns, in return for Gandhi’s attendance at the second Round Table Conference. After the conferences, various civil disobedience activities still continued. The much-awaited 1935 Government of India Act was a disappointment: the franchise remained limited; it abolished the dyarchy; aimed for a federation of British India and the princely states; and promised eventual dominion status. The Indian nationalists’ reaction was mixed: some in Congress supported the proposed changes; Jawaharlal Nehru called it a “charter of slavery”; Jinnah and the League were pleased about the retention of the separate electorates, but they still feared Hindu domination.

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**10. Assess the contribution of *one* leader to the achievement of independence from colonial rule in *one* country in Southeast Asia between 1919 and the mid 20th century.**

Candidates will probably choose one of the following charismatic nationalist leaders: Sukarno (Indonesia); Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam); Aung San (Burma); Datuk Onn and Tunku Abdul Rahman (Malaya); Quezon and Osmeña (Philippines). This question requires a detailed assessment of the contribution of one leader to the achievement of independence in his country, not a biographical summary. Candidates may initially discuss the way in which the First World War was a catalyst for the fledgling nationalist movements and how this facilitated the emergence of the leader. A distinction may be made between the earlier resistance movements aimed at the foreign colonizers and the 20th century goals of the leader to forge an independent nation. The Second World War and Japanese occupation may be seen as crucial events that shaped the leader's demands for independence. Candidates will need to come to a conclusion about how significant the chosen leader's contribution was to the achievement of independence in his country.

The most popular are likely to be:

**Sukarno**

In Indonesia the vast majority of the population was Muslim, and in 1911 the Islamic Union (*Sarekat Islam*) was founded. Dutch creation of the *Volksraad* did not satisfy Indonesian nationalism, fanned by the effects of the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917. In 1918 Sarekat Islam adopted a socialist programme. In 1920 Semaun and Darsono formed the Communist Union of the Indies (PKH), which was changed in 1924 to the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Communist members were expelled from Sarekat Islam. The latter campaigned against the suppression of Indonesians, and Islamic ideology became the foundation of its political struggle. A PKI revolt in 1926 was crushed. Nationalist support turned to the Indonesian National Party (PNI) founded by Sukarno in 1927. Sukarno and other leaders were arrested in 1929 and the party banned in 1931. On his release in 1931 Sukarno formed the Indonesia Party (*Partindo*), but was exiled to various remote islands in 1933. When the Japanese invaded in 1942, Sukarno cooperated with them and he returned to Jakarta. Sukarno and other nationalist leaders were willing to encourage the Indonesian people to support the Japanese war effort in exchange for the freedom to promote nationalist ideas. Sukarno also was involved in anti-Western propaganda and the formation of Indonesian volunteer militia, encouraged by the Japanese with the aim of repelling any Allied attacks. The Japanese promised eventual independence for Indonesia, and in 1945 they allowed the formation of the Committee for the Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) and *Panitia Penjelidik Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (PPKI), which prepared for the new independent state. Sukarno headed these organizations. The date set for independence was 18 August 1945, but the Japanese surrendered on 15 August so Sukarno immediately declared independence on 17 August. The Allies then occupied Indonesia and the Dutch returned. This led to four years of skirmishes and negotiations until full independence was finally achieved under Sukarno's leadership in 1949.

**Ho Chi Minh**

Vietnam was the most important colony in Indo-China and French policies concentrated on the consolidation of political authority, assimilation and economic exploitation. Prior to the First World War there were numerous resistance groups and uprisings. Ho Chi Minh was influenced by the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and during the Versailles Peace Conference he tried to present a document listing the claims of the Vietnamese people for independence. In 1925, he created the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League in China. This put him into conflict with an early leader, Phan Boi Chau, who was influenced by Sun Yixian's (Sun Yatsen's) ideas, and whom he betrayed to the French authorities. Ho Chi Minh published *The Road to Revolution* in 1926, whilst he was working as a Soviet spy in China. He founded the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930 and it developed peasant support throughout the 1930s. Between 1932 and 1940 Ho Chi Minh was in exile, but returned in 1941 to form a Communist-led coalition of Vietnamese nationalists, the *Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh* (Vietnamese Independence League), known as the *Viet Minh*, with the aim of fighting both the French and the Japanese. After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Vietnam on 2 September 1945, but this was not recognized by the US and Britain. After the war, the return of French colonialism led to the growth of mass support amongst the Vietnamese people for the *Viet Minh* and Ho Chi Minh. The first Indo-China War between France and the *Viet Minh* (1946–1954) resulted in a victory for the *Viet Minh* at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The subsequent Geneva Conference in 1954 led to the division of Vietnam, and Ho Chi Minh became the leader of the Communist North Vietnam. Some candidates may mention that Ho Chi Minh died in 1969 during the second Indo-China War (Vietnam War) and he did not live to see the fully independent Vietnam that eventuated in 1975.

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

- 11. “Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k’ai) can be held responsible for the disunity of the Warlord Era that followed his death in 1916.” To what extent do you agree with this statement about China between 1912 and 1927?**

This question covers the early period of the Chinese Republic following its establishment in 1912 after the 1911 “Double Ten” Nationalist Revolution and also the legacy left by Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k’ai) after his death in 1916. Politically, the Nationalist Revolution and the new Chinese Republic were hijacked by Yuan Shikai. Candidates may examine the career of Yuan Shikai: his betrayal of Guangxu (Kuang-hsu) in the Hundred Days Reform; his allegiances during the Boxer Rebellion; why he supported the 1911 Nationalist Revolution; the reasons why Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) gave the presidency of the Chinese Republic to him in 1912. Yuan’s actions showed that he had no loyalty to either the Qing (Ch’ing) or the new Republic. Problems that beset his government include: the creation of the Guomindang, GMD (Kuomintang, KMT) which won a landslide election victory in 1913; when Yuan borrowed money from foreign sources the National Assembly attempted to impeach him; he crushed the opposition violently, including the assassination of Song Jiaoren (Sung Chiao-jen); and party politics failed. In November 1913 Yuan outlawed the Guomindang and Sun had to flee the country. In 1914 he dissolved the National Assembly and provincial assemblies and created a Council of State, and he became a dictator. Yuan’s government gave in to Japan’s 21 Demands in 1915. He tried to make himself emperor in 1915, but was thwarted by his own army officers and unrest in various provinces. By the time he died in 1916, the power of the central government had been seriously weakened. His example undoubtedly encouraged other military commanders to use their armies to establish control over whatever regions they could, and 1916 to 1927 is considered the Warlord Era.

Candidates may define what is meant by the term “warlord”, and recognize that the roots of the Warlord Era may also be traced to the decline of the authority of the Qing central government in the second half of the 19th century. These long-term factors may include: the Chinese system of Banner armies; the impact of the Taiping (Taip’ing) Rebellion; the rise of provincial leaders such as Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan) and Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang); the Boxer Rebellion; the weakness of the Qing government. Other factors regarding the period 1916 to 1927 may include: the New Culture Movement; the humiliation for China of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919; the subsequent May Fourth Movement, which was an urban political movement involving students and workers, who were also against the disunity in China; the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925; the actions of individual warlords; the creation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921; Sun Yixian’s (Sun Yatsen’s) revamped Guomindang; the formation of the First United Front in 1924, which had the specific goal of national unity resulting in the successful Northern Expedition against the warlords; and the establishment of Jiang Jieshi’s (Chiang Kai-shek’s) Nationalist government in 1927.

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**12. To what extent was the victory of the Chinese Communist Party over the Guomindang (Kuomintang) in 1949 a triumph of nationalism rather than of Communism?**

Many candidates may agree with the assumption in the question and discuss the idea that the Communists were more nationalist than the Nationalists, and argue that this was a significant factor contributing to the victory of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949. Candidates should give detailed evidence to support this argument. Some candidates may focus on Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) adaptation of Marxism/Leninism to suit the Chinese situation and his belief in the revolutionary power of the peasants. This ideology, with its promise of land reform and equality, appealed to the peasants in the face of Guomindang, GMD (Kuomintang, KMT) brutality and indifference to their plight. Although the Long March (1934–1935) was an attempt to escape the Nationalist bandit extermination attacks, the Red Army claimed that it was marching north to fight the Japanese. This point was also used in CCP propaganda after the event and during the Sino–Japanese War (1937–1945). Other Communist propaganda included woodcut prints that depicted the Red Army as friends who recruited volunteers and also armed the peasants to fight against the Japanese. Expect candidates to discuss Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek's) inadequate response to the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and his initial reluctance to fight the Japanese. No doubt candidates will comment on his determination to crush the Communists first, and many will cite his famous quotation about the Japanese being a disease of the skin whilst the Communists were a disease of the heart/blood. The willingness of the CCP to form the Second United Front, as opposed to Jiang (Chiang) only agreeing after the Xian Incident in 1936 may also support the notion that the Communists were more nationalist than the Nationalists. Events during the Sino–Japanese War may include: the GMD (KMT) retreat to Chongqing (Chungking); the breakdown of the Second United Front after clashes between the GMD (KMT) Army and the Red Army in 1941; the GMD (KMT) use of troops to blockade communist areas in the northwest instead fighting the Japanese; the GMD (KMT) stockpiling of American equipment in anticipation of the Civil War. Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek's) government both before and after the Sino–Japanese War did not get rid of all the foreign concessions and relied heavily on US support at the beginning of the Civil War. Mao, in his speech announcing the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949, declared that China would henceforth be free from humiliation by foreign powers. Other candidates may challenge the assumption in the question and analyse a range of factors that led to the CCP victory. They may use Immanuel Hsu's overall analysis to structure their responses: the deceptive impression of Nationalist military strength; war weariness and failures in Nationalist strategy; inflation and economic collapse; loss of public confidence and respect; the failure of American mediation and aid; and the retardation of social and economic reforms.

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## Imperial Japan: empire and aftermath 1912–1952

### 13. In what ways, and with what consequences, was Japan humiliated by the policies of the Western powers between 1919 and 1937?

Candidates may initially set the scene by discussing the growth of Japanese power in the early part of the 20th 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. Japan entered the First World War as an ally of Britain in August 1914, and this was an opportunity to gain territories from the defeated German Empire and also to extend further control over parts of Asia. Japan was easily offended by perceived slights to its international status and honour, and many Japanese believed that Western attitudes were often hypocritical as well as hostile to Japan's national interests. The ways in which Japan felt humiliated started with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 because of the failure of the racial equality clause, although Japan 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 US with regard to the Pacific area. The Japanese felt humiliated by the decisions made at the Washington Naval Conference (1921–1922): the 5:5:2 ratio with regard to the building of warships; Japan had to return Shandong (Shantung) to China; and Britain did not renew again the 1902 Anglo–Japanese Alliance. The London Naval Conference (1930) extended the earlier arms limitation agreements. Japan also resented the US's restricted immigration laws. Japan suffered severe economic hardship from the effects of the Great Depression and the collapse of the American market for silk. The occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and the creation of Manchukuo in 1932 extended Japanese influence commercially and politically. The international community condemned Japanese expansion and the Lytton Report commissioned by the United Nations was critical of Japanese aggression. The consequences of Japan feeling humiliated during this period were varied. Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and became isolated from her former allies. The rise of militarism in Japanese politics led to the justification of Japan's stance and alignment with the fascist regimes in Europe, culminating in the 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact. Internally, Japan experienced political instability and corruption. There were a number of political assassinations and attempted military coups. The failed coup of 26 February 1936 routed the Imperial Way faction, and the Control faction dominated the army and exerted power in politics. Under Prime Minister Hirota Koki the civilian element in the government was weakened. After this, Japan turned to rearmament to encourage its industries; there was a revival of nationalism based on the military and the emperor; strict control of education was introduced; and there was a push for expansion into China for raw materials and markets. Opposition from the Diet proved ineffectual and war with China started in 1937.

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14. “The primary aim of the US Occupation of Japan between 1945 and 1952 was to turn Japan into a democratic state.” To what extent do you agree with this assertion?

Candidates may challenge the assumption in the question and argue that the original aim was to punish Japan for its aggression, and reduce it to a weak and non-threatening state. This included punishing war crimes and reducing the power of the governing elites, and breaking up the industrial, commercial and financial institutions which had supported the Second World War effort. The introduction of democracy was only one aspect of the US policies, but necessary in order to change Japan’s authoritarian and militaristic culture. Candidates may initially identify what they consider to be the post-war problems that faced the US Occupation such as: food shortages; inflation; the need to demilitarize; Japanese attitudes and fears; war criminals. The reforms under the Occupation should be identified. These may include: demilitarization; the change in the role of the emperor; the constitution of 1947; land reform; the dismantling of the power of the *zaibatsu* and the trade unions; and widening the availability of education. Candidates may also examine the positive light in which the Occupation was received. This was achieved because the democratic powers had triumphed, and the Japanese were prepared to defer to what was seen as a superior system of government: militarism had been discredited by defeat; the emperor cooperated in presenting himself as an ordinary individual and the people accepted political change. A shift in US emphasis began with an awareness that Japan needed to be able to support itself. This was also influenced by the impact of the beginning of the Cold War on American thinking, the victory of the Communists in China and the outbreak of the Korean War, in which the US had become actively involved. The “reverse course” was adopted, preventing fundamental social change, but there was considerable support for a democratic Japan to counterbalance other political developments in Asia and to protect US interests in the region. A strong, stable, productive Japan became a necessary base for operations in Korea and Japanese industry was revived. Although it was denied the right to build up its own armed forces, Japan became an important ally of the US. The period ends with the ratification by the US in March 1952 of its security treaty with Japan.

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**Developments in Australia and New Zealand, and in the Pacific Islands 1941–2000**

- 15. Analyse the policies and achievements of *one* of the following Australian Prime Ministers: John Curtin (1941–1945); Ben Chifley (1945–1949); Robert Menzies (1949–1966).**

**John Curtin**

Curtin, leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), became prime minister of Australia in October 1941, when Menzies's United Australia Party government collapsed amidst fears of Japanese expansion in the Pacific and doubts about Britain's ability to protect Australia. In December, Japan attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor and Australia felt threatened. Curtin's speech in response stated that, in the future, Australia needed to look to the US for military support because it could no longer depend on Britain. Japanese expansion was rapid and, by May 1942, Japan had much territory in the Pacific and Southeast Asia and the north of Australia had been bombed. Curtin recalled Australian troops and refused to comply with British military requests. He forged an alliance with the US and allowed Australian troops to be put under US command. The legacy of Curtin's actions was the ongoing US alliance, confirmed in 1951 with the Australia, New Zealand, US (ANZUS) Treaty, which has lasted until the present day. Curtin's government introduced: conscription and rationing; extended manufacturing and industry; regulated wages and employment. To meet the demands of war Curtin needed to increase the power of the Commonwealth federal government at the expense of the state governments. In 1942, his government reformed income tax so that the Commonwealth could raise taxes. These laws were unsuccessfully challenged by several states. The outcome was a turning point in constitutional history, but further attempts to formally increase federal powers and alter the constitution through a referendum failed. By 1943, the threat of Japanese invasion had receded and Curtin was returned as prime minister in an election. Planning for reconstruction after the war became a priority, and a range of social service benefits and pensions were created. Curtin died in July 1945, before the war ended, but as a result of his policies his main achievements were: shaping Australia's foreign policy for the future; increasing Commonwealth legislation in areas that had previously been the prerogative of the individual state governments; and laying the groundwork for a more egalitarian society after the war.

**Ben Chifley**

Chifley became prime minister when he was elected leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) after the death of Curtin in 1945. He then went on to become prime minister in his own right after he won an election in 1946, but was defeated in 1949. The Chifley government continued the policies started under Curtin (see above). His government attempted to change the constitution with four separate proposals: to clarify and extend social welfare and health provisions; to regulate markets; to give the Commonwealth power over industrial employment; and to control rents and prices. These were all put to referenda and only the first proposal was accepted by the Australian people. The Chifley government attempted to regulate banking to avoid the worst excesses of the Depression occurring again. In 1945, the Commonwealth Bank Act was passed, but this was ruled invalid by the High Court in 1947. He then tried to nationalize the banks, and again this was unsuccessful. Chifley's government achieved more in other areas: the reorganization of the coal industry; the Snowy Mountain Hydroelectric scheme which laid the basis for power and irrigation developments in New South Wales and Victoria; the production of Holden motor cars; an immigration policy that brought thousands of British and other Europeans to Australia; the introduction of Australian citizenship; the expansion of university education; the foundation of national airlines; the development of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO). Foreign policy under Chifley's government established Australia as a middle-ranking world power. Evatt, the deputy prime minister and attorney-general, was president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1948–1949. Despite winning the 1946 election, the beginning of the Cold War in 1947 began to turn public opinion away from the Chifley Labor

government. Many of its policies, such as the proposed nationalization of the banks, were perceived as too socialist. Petrol rationing remained and was seen by many as too controlling, and was challenged in the High Court in 1949. Despite Chifley breaking the coal miners' strike by using troops in 1949, many felt that Communist influence in the trade unions had grown under Chifley. The mood of the electorate changed and Menzies's appeal to personal liberty and prosperity meant that Chifley's government lost the 1949 election.

### **Robert Menzies**

Candidates may initially discuss Menzies's brief, unsuccessful stint as prime minister between 1939 and 1941 but, given that this is not the timeframe stated in the question, too much is irrelevant. He subsequently formed a new political party, the Liberal Party, in 1945. Menzies won the 1949 election, but the Australian Labor Party (ALP) still had a majority in the senate. He was a skilful politician and, at the 1951 election, Menzies and the Liberal Party won control of both Houses. The Cold War heavily influenced his policies. Menzies used the fear of Communism in domestic affairs to encourage divisions within the ALP and to shape his foreign policy. His attempt to ban the Communist Party in 1951 was overturned by the High Court so he held a referendum on the issue, but this was narrowly defeated. Despite this set-back, Menzies's government retained strong support. The Petrov Affair in 1954 fuelled the public's Cold War fears, which Menzies used to his advantage, and he won the 1954 election. As a result of this election, the ALP split and some members left to form the Democratic Labor Party (DLP). The DLP subsequently gave its preferences to Menzies's Liberal Party and was, therefore, a significant factor in why Menzies remained in power for so long. The strengthening of the alliance with the US, Australia's involvement in the Korean War, and the sending of troops to Vietnam were well accepted by the electorate. The latter contributed to his 1963 win. At the same time as developing Australia's defence ties with the US, he also remained culturally very British and this reflected the public mood. Candidates should also refer to other policies and achievements, which may include: ending rationing; reducing the role the Commonwealth Bank had over commercial banks; stimulating the economy and its steady growth in the 1950s; the boom in agriculture; the rapid growth in manufacturing; the exporting of Australian goods; full employment; rising incomes; population growth, aided by a massive immigration programme; the expansion of, and Commonwealth funding for, both secondary and tertiary education; changes in industrial relations laws; and reforms to health care. Menzies had the support of the aspirational workers and the suburban middle class. He maintained and even extended the social welfare from the previous Chifley government, and the power of the Commonwealth expanded during his time. Menzies achieved security and prosperity for Australia. He retired in 1966 and remains Australia's longest serving prime minister.

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16. “In the second half of the 20th century successive New Zealand governments were slow to respond to the changing needs of the Maori population.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

In New Zealand after the Second World War there were significant demographic and cultural changes that impacted upon the policies of successive governments. Prior to the war, Maoris had largely been confined to rural areas from whence they derived their identity through the land and clan connections. The Treaty of Waitangi had been signed in 1840 and, despite several Maori Wars in the 19th century, relations between European New Zealanders and Maori relations had improved by the 20th century. Both communities coexisted with little direct contact. During the Second World War there had been a number of Maori officers who later moved into Maori-related posts in the public service. The Labour government passed the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act in 1945, which allowed for the establishment of local tribal committees and indigenous welfare officers to work in urban areas. The changing needs of the Maori population became more acute after the war because there was widespread Maori migration to the cities. This, along with the migration of Pacific Islanders to New Zealand, created ghettos of poverty, disadvantage, crime and discrimination. Urbanization created closer proximity between European New Zealanders and Maoris. It also meant Maoris needed to redefine their cultural identity. The Hunn Report of 1960 led to the establishment of the Maori Education Council that extended Maori educational opportunities and also helped the young adapt to city life. In 1962 the Maori Welfare Act was passed and this set up the New Zealand Maori Council, a pan-tribal organization. Maori land rights became an issue in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1977 the Waitangi Tribunal was established with the aim of monitoring any legislation, policy or practice that may have been considered a violation of the Treaty of Waitangi and, in 1985, its jurisdiction was extended back to 1840. In 1993 a mixed member proportional system of government was introduced.

Candidates need to make some assessment of whether successive New Zealand governments were slow to respond to the changing needs of the Maori population.

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## Developments in South and Southeast Asia from mid 20th century to 2000

### 17. Assess the reasons for the tension in Indo–Pakistani relations between 1947 and 2000.

India and Pakistan both gained independence after the British partition of India in 1947. Pakistan became a Muslim state, which eventually had authoritarian governments, whilst India became a secular democracy with a Hindu majority. Partition caused millions of people to be displaced. This whole process led to many violent clashes and massacres. Since 1947, relations between India and Pakistan have remained tense. Control of the different Muslim and Hindu regions of Kashmir was the focal point of much conflict, leading to wars in 1947, 1965 and 1999. In the 1971 Indo–Pakistani War, India supported the liberation of Bangladesh. There have been many other border disputes and skirmishes. Attempts have been made to solve these in numerous agreements and treaties: 1966 Tashkent Declaration; 1972 Shimla Agreement; 1999 Lahore Declaration. Other areas of conflict have included: the treatment of minorities; language issues; West Bengali refugees in India after the 1971 Indo–Pakistani War; nuclear arms development; and water issues. In foreign relations, both countries have pursued different paths. India was involved in the Non-Aligned Movement, and during the 1970s received considerable aid from the Soviet Union. Pakistan developed closer relations with the US and benefited from US aid. India recognized the Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan in 1978, whilst Pakistan supported the Mujahideen resistance to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the subsequent war. In the late 20th century, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism with links to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda flourished in Pakistan, with India being opposed to the Taliban in Afghanistan. Pakistan was blamed for several acts of terrorism in India in the 1990s.

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18. Examine the political developments that generated tension between the desire for democracy and the need for strong, centralized government in *one* country in South or Southeast Asia during the second half of the 20th century.

Candidates may choose any one newly independent country in the region. Popular choices may be India, Pakistan, Malaysia or Indonesia. Candidates may discuss the political legacy of the colonial power. The former British colonies, India, Pakistan and Malaysia all began independence with democratic institutions. When Indonesia finally gained independence from the Dutch it was a democracy, and elections were held in 1955. With reference to the chosen country, candidates may discuss the political tension that developed between the ideal of democratic institutions and the desire for strong government to prevent political divisions leading to partition and fragmentation. 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 unity. Communist insurgents posed a threat in Malaya between 1948 and 1960 and in Indonesia in 1965–1966. Strong, centralized government, often with military backing, was seen as a means of imposing a national ideology and maintaining national unity. Some countries, such as Pakistan and Indonesia, experienced many years alternating between democratic institutions and military control. India and Malaysia both declared a state of emergency: India between 1975 and 1977 and Malaysia between 1969 and 1977. The impact of the rise of fundamentalism and terrorist groups may also be discussed. Each country will have its own particular issues.

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### **China: the regional superpower from mid 20th century to 2000**

#### **19. To what extent did Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) achieve his vision of a socialist state in China by 1961?**

This question requires a thorough knowledge and analysis of domestic events over the given timeframe. Candidates may attempt to define what they consider “a socialist state” to be, and in particular Mao Zedong’s (Mao Tse-tung’s) “vision”. This may involve a discussion of Mao Zedong’s adaptation of Marxism to suit the Chinese situation: land redistribution; peasant participation; class struggle; *xiaofeng* (the downwards flow of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) workers and ideas to the people) and *xiaxiang* (the upwards flow of ideas and needs to the CCP); gender equality; the mass line; right thinking, rectification; continuous revolution; and Chinese nationalism. The extent to which Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) managed to create a socialist state in the period 1949–1961 may then be assessed in light of the definition. Expect responses to examine Mao Zedong’s (Mao Tse-tung’s) policies and actions in the light of his vision of socialism in the Chinese context and assess the economy, agriculture, the bureaucracy, and social reforms. Candidates may also discuss his political control and consolidation of power, and better candidates may point out that this is not necessarily a tenet of socialism *per se*, but it certainly was part of Mao Zedong’s vision. Domestic events and policies that candidates may include are: Agrarian Reform Law (1950) and the “speak bitterness” sessions with the landlords; CCP organization and structure; Marriage Act (1950); Three- and Five-anti campaigns (1952–1953); first Five Year Plan (1952–1957); Constitution (1954); Hundred Flowers Campaign (1956) and the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957); Great Leap Forward (1958); Sino-Soviet split (1959); Three Bitter Years and the Famine (1959–1961); Peng Dehuai’s (P'eng Te-huai's) criticism of Mao and the Lushan Conference (1959).

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**20. Analyse the reasons for, and the consequences of, the 1976 arrest of the Gang of Four (in the period up to 1981).**

Candidates may initially explain who the Gang of Four were and discuss their role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. The Gang of Four consisted of Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing), Yao Wenyuan (Yao Wen-yuan), Zhang Chunqiao (Chang Ch'un-ch'iao), and Wang Hongwen (Wang Hung-wen). They were initially part of the Shanghai Forum, a radical Maoist group, who opposed the moderate measures introduced by Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i) and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) during the recovery after the disastrous Great Leap Forward and famine. Yao Wenyuan, Zhang Chunqiao, and Wang Hongwen were members of the Politburo. Jiang Qing was Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) wife, and during the Cultural Revolution Mao gave her responsibility for the transformation of the arts and culture of the nation. In May 1966, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution and the Central Cultural Revolution Group was formed. It was dominated by: the Gang of Four, who promoted Mao's ideas of continuous revolution; factional warfare within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); the purging of CCP officials at all levels; the Red Guard movement; violence and terror against counter revolutionaries, intellectuals and professionals. After 1972, Mao allowed the partial rehabilitation of Deng and this was challenged by the Gang of Four. 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 and he was dismissed from all his posts, whilst Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) was promoted to premier. Mao appointed Hua Guofang, who represented the middle ground in politics, as his successor and an intense power struggle ensued after his death. The reasons why the members of the Gang of Four were arrested are: they were loathed by many members of the CCP because of their extreme policies; they no longer had Mao's protection; they had led decadent, hypocritical lives; they did not have control of the military; and their control of the media was resented. They were accused of plotting to assassinate politburo members and seize power. On 6 October 1976, they were arrested in a carefully planned coup d'état.

The consequences for Hua's leadership were significant. He now faced the issues of how to consolidate his power, how to handle Deng, and how to achieve economic modernization. Calls to reinstate Deng were made by the people and from inside the Party. One year after Zhou's death, Tiananmen Square again filled with pro-Deng rallies. In July 1977, Deng 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 criticized 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. At this meeting the Gang of Four were officially expelled from the CCP. There was disagreement within the politburo about how to resolve the problem of Mao's legacy and his close association with the Gang of Four. The trial of the Gang of Four began in November 1980 and it was a turning point in the assessment of Mao. Whilst the members of the Gang of Four maintained that they acted on Mao's orders, they were individually found guilty of various atrocities. The trial further undermined Hua's position due to his role as minister of public security and the authorization of the Gang's decisions during the Cultural Revolution. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in July 1981, Hua resigned as chairman of the CCP, and Deng emerged as the paramount leader. An official CCP assessment of Mao was made, and he was deemed to be 70 per cent good as a revolutionary leader but 30 per cent bad due to his mistakes in nation-building after 1957. This enabled the CCP and Deng to proceed with a reformist agenda.

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## Global impact of the region in the second half of the 20th century

### 21. Why was there a war in Korea between 1950 and 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. Candidates may mention that the beginning of the Cold War was focused in Europe amidst the fears of Soviet expansion. In 1947, President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which both aimed to contain the spread of Communism. It soon became apparent that the Communist threat was also in Asia, and in particular Korea, Vietnam and China. 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 US was still formulating its policy towards the People's Republic of China and the defeated Nationalists in Taiwan. In Vietnam, the US had supported the return of the French, who were engaged in a war against the Communist Viet Minh. The National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68) sought to place more emphasis on the US military, rather than diplomatic or economic measures to contain Communism. The North Korean invasion of the South in June 1950 increased Cold War tensions. 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 staleimated until a ceasefire in 1953.

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**22. Analyse the reasons why *one* country of the region experienced economic success during the second half of the 20th century.**

Candidates may choose any country in the region and the most popular choices will probably be Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and India. Some may choose Thailand and Malaysia, and a few may choose a Pacific Island country, Australia or New Zealand. A number of candidates will choose China even though it is not listed under this section in the syllabus guide. Responses about China may be accepted as long as they discuss the economic success of Deng Xiaoping's China (1978–1997). Candidates who only concentrate on Mao's China (1949–1976) miss the point of the question. There should be some attempt to define what is meant by the term "economic success", and candidates should identify the factors that contributed to this in the chosen country. Many countries have adopted capitalist systems which generally share the characteristics of private ownership of property and the means of production and the encouragement of private enterprise to respond to market forces, but there is variation amongst these countries over the nature and degree of state control and intervention in economic planning and development. Other factors apart from the state should be indicated: outside forces such as a steady expansion of world trade; globalization and the tendency for large multinational companies to grow to service global markets; the ease of access to foreign markets; and the role and influence of the American market. Cultural traditions may also have contributed significantly to promoting economic development: Confucian values may have favoured labour discipline; the postponement of personal gratification for the national good; the reliance upon family, clan and community support systems.

Japan will be a popular choice as it has dominated the Pacific Asian economy and the role of the state has been significant in determining the success of economic development. After the Second World War Japan's major trading partner was the US. To maintain their price advantage with the West, Japan moved production facilities to other Asian countries as costs rose domestically in the latter part of the 20th century. Japan effectively expanded its available labour force to include those of other Asian countries as well. Japan has diversified economic production to sell Japanese products for foreign markets, ranging from children's toys to electronics and automobiles. Globalization has played a key role in the economic development of Japan.

South Korea initially exercised heavy state control of its economy, but by the end of the 20th century this had lessened. There was rapid industrialization based on foreign investment. Shipbuilding, automobiles, construction, armaments and advanced technology all developed in response to global markets, and also increased the growth in the economy and the standard of living in South Korea.

Taiwan benefited from economic and military aid from the US, and from investment from Chinese people living overseas. Taiwan also had access to highly trained management and business personnel from overseas. By 1968 some 90 per cent of farming land was owned by those who worked it. Four Year Plans for industry produced an annual growth rate of 9.7 per cent in the 10-year period after 1963. Changes in mainland China's economy since the 1980s have provided investment opportunities there for the Taiwanese. Taiwan became highly industrialized and specialized in information technology.

Singapore and Hong Kong were initially British colonies. Singapore became independent in 1965 and Britain handed over Hong Kong to China in 1997. Both had large Chinese populations who dominated the commercial sector. Each developed as a major port for its region and as a centre of commerce, trade and banking, and both encouraged industry, communications and their national infrastructure.

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## Social and economic developments 1945–2000

### 23. Discuss whether the role and influence of religion in society has changed in one country of the region during the second half of the 20th century.

Candidates need to consider the role of religion and whether its influence has changed over time in the country of their choice. Popular choices will probably be India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, Australia or New Zealand, but reward any appropriate choice of country.

Indonesia declared independence in August 1945 under President Sukarno, but only in 1949 was war with the Dutch ended and independence officially recognized. The new state was a federation of the separate islands and provinces but became a unitary state in 1950. Islam had played an important part in the drive for independence and Sukarno provided charismatic leadership; the symbols of nationalism and the national language (Malay) were taught, and opposition in the outer islands was brought under control. As president, he embodied the state and attempted to balance the army, the Muslims and Communist threats. The Indonesian constitution guarantees freedom of religion, but only six major religious groups are recognized: Islam, Protestant Christianity, Roman Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism. Tensions between the Islamic majority, which represented nearly 90 per cent of the population, and minority religious groups often occurred. During the 1960s, Suharto tried to create a more secular state and include members of other religious groups in his government. In the late 20th century the treatment of Christians in Aceh, the independence of the largely Roman Catholic East Timor, and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism have become significant issues.

Burma achieved independence in 1948 and factional rivalry leading to violence was prevalent in Burmese politics, causing Ne Win to seize power in 1962 and set up a Revolutionary Council to govern the country. Burma became a single-party state under the Burma Socialist Programme Party, which created an ideology based on a mixture of Marxist and Buddhist principles, and its aim was to make Burma self-sufficient. This led to economic decline, isolation and repression, particularly of Christian minority groups who were deemed to symbolize Western imperialism. Also targeted have been the ethnic Karen people, of whom 40 per cent are Christian. Since 1988 there has been no constitutional protection of religious freedom, and the government actively supports Buddhism over other religions. There are at times anti-Islamic and anti-Christian campaigns, and non-Buddhists face discrimination in many aspects of life in Burma. This repressive government has remained in power until after the end of the 20th century.

Burma and Indonesia are used as examples; the role of Islam in Pakistan, Bangladesh or Malaysia, Hinduism in India, Christianity in the Philippines, or Buddhism and Christianity in Vietnam may also be considered.

Some candidates may choose to look at Western countries such as Australia or New Zealand and examine the reasons for the decline in the role and influence of Christianity both in people's lives and the public arena: immigration and multiculturalism; the lessening of sectarian loyalties; the decline in religious belief; higher levels of education; more economic security and comfort; consumerism and materialistic values; greater choice of community and leisure activities; disillusionment with institutional religion brought about by scandals such as the sexual abuse of children.

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

Candidates may choose any country from the region. Responses need to show a clear understanding of what is meant by the term “urbanization”. Candidates will need to identify the links between urbanization and its effects on the social and economic developments that have taken place in the chosen country since the Second World War. Some political changes may also have occurred because of the changes to the social and economic fabric of the chosen society. Urbanization involves considerable upheaval and change. These may be both positive and negative. Candidates may refer to a range of social changes that have come about as a result of urbanization: the position of women; social mobility; population growth and distribution; migration from the countryside to cities; accessibility to education; accessibility to better health care; effects upon rural and regional areas; community and political organizations; crime rates; rise of a new middle class; the traditional culture and lifestyle may have been undermined; greater exposure to a global culture; the development of a youth culture; the state may have more control over people’s lives; a stronger sense of national identity and greater national cohesion may emerge. Changes to the economy may vary: poverty and wealth will both have developed; industry may have flourished; new jobs may have been created; more efficient systems may have developed in business, agriculture, fishing and mining that stimulate the economy; rural areas may have thrived or become depressed; redundancies and unemployment may have occurred; industrial unrest may have occurred; the entertainment industry may have flourished; tourism and leisure activities may or may not have benefitted.

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