

MARKSCHEME

November 2004

HISTORY – EAST AND SOUTH EAST ASIA AND OCEANIA

Higher Level

Paper 3

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1. With reference to at least *two* countries in East and South East Asia up to 1860, analyse the view that the treaties signed between Asian countries and the West served only western interests.

The question requires candidates to select treaties for analysis in order to determine to what extent the countries signing them benefited or suffered. They will probably agree with the view that the treaties were unequal and subordinated the Asian signatory to the western signatory. However, candidates may argue that treaties, as opposed to conquest, at least assumed that the Asian signatory retained sovereignty, even though it may have been lessened. Moreover countries like Japan and Thailand responded to the treaties in positive ways in order to render them eventually nugatory and by their efforts undertook modernization, which in reality was inevitable and necessary.

Candidates may refer to the treaties imposed upon China and Japan between 1842 and 1860, and to those between the Dutch and Indonesian rulers and states, the British rulers of the Malay States, Brunei, Thailand and Burma, and the French with the states of Indo-China.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for descriptions of treaties only, or if only one country is mentioned or if no more than two treaties are described.

[8 to 10 marks] for a description of treaties with more than one Asian country and for some description of their effects.

[11 to 13 marks] for an analysis which considers the effects of the treaties upon the countries concerned.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed analysis which considers the positive and negative effects of treaties over time upon the countries concerned, with awareness that treaties imposed by force were more likely to be punitive than those in which negotiation occurred, even if that negotiation was under the threat of force – gunboat diplomacy. Expect analysis of those clauses more detrimental to sovereignty, such as the most-favoured nation clause and extraterritoriality.

[17+ marks] for wide-ranging but detailed analysis emphasizing the categories of treaty and clauses – economic, diplomatic, territorial – and discussing the benefits or lack of them for the Asian countries concerned and arriving at a general conclusion.

2. "Apparently so wealthy and powerful: in reality so weak and corrupt." Is this a fair assessment of China in the first half of the nineteenth century?

Candidates will probably agree. The appearance and the reality have both to be addressed, with weakness and corruption becoming more important factors as the century progressed. Thus, in 1800, there was evidence of corruption and the first indications of major rebellion (the White Lotus rebellion, 1796–1804) but decline accelerated due partly to the economic and moral effects of increased opium imports, population pressure, increasing official corruption, and natural disasters; yet the face showed to the world by the Qing (Ch'ing) government in Beijing (Peking) was of ostentatious wealth and power. Candidates may refer to the unsuccessful Amherst mission (1816). The period ends with the Opium War and the beginnings of the Taiping movement, by which time the weakness of China under the Qing (Ch'ing) was clearly evident.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for description or narrative only.

[8 to 10 marks] for description illustrating both weakness and apparent wealth and strength.

[11 to 13 marks] for a general analysis of China's weakness and corruption.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis which must include evidence of apparent strength and wealth as well as of weakness and corruption.

[17+ marks] for a balanced analysis of the evidence on both sides of the argument and supporting the conclusion.

3. To what extent did "Dutch Learning" (rangaku) and "National Learning" (kokugaku) contribute to the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868?

Both schools of learning have to be discussed and their influence assessed within the context of the economic and social pressures upon the Bakufu in the first half of the nineteenth century. Both contributed to the division in the Japanese elites regarding the appropriate response to the opening of Japan and the signing of treaties. Other factors leading to the fall of the Tokugawa included opposition from the western clans. In the end, both schools of thought triumphed in that the Emperor was restored as desired by the Kokugaku scholars, but modern learning was accepted in order to strengthen Japan as advocated by the rangaku school.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for a narrative of events or a description of what each school of learning advocated.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account which demonstrates links between the two schools of learning and the overthrow of the Shogunate.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of events which includes other factors, such as the social and economic changes, the role of the Tozama or western clans and the impact of the arrival of Commodore Perry and the signing of treaties.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed analysis which assesses the relative importance of the two schools of learning in comparison to other factors.

[17+ marks] for a sophisticated analysis of the overthrow of the Shogunate leading to a balanced assessment of the role of the two schools of learning in the overall context of causes.

4. "The 1880s were a decade of rapid and successful colonial expansion." With reference to at least *two* of the following colonial powers – Britain, the Netherlands, France and Spain – explain why this was so.

The most important examples include: for Britain, Upper Burma (1885), Negri Sembilan and Pahang in Malaya and North Borneo (1881); for the Netherlands, Sumatra and Borneo; for France, Tonkin (Tongking), Treaty of Hue (1884), Union Indo–Chinese (1887); for Spain, Mindanao and Sulu. Reasons include the need for resources, raw materials, markets and secure trade routes and increased rivalry in Europe, including the emergence of a united Germany as a potential colonial power. These could be generalized as political (to win support from voters at home), economic (to develop and protect sources of raw materials, to find areas of investment, and to develop markets for manufactured goods), strategic (to develop naval bases and to secure safe sea-routes and harbours) and international rivalry (to maintain one's prestige and power in the world against perceived rivals). The means used were diplomacy, the threat or use of force, and intervention in dynastic or regional rivalries and conflicts to win concessions and favours.

Award credit to candidates who develop a comparative study which covers more than the minimum two colonial powers.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative only or for answers which mention only one colonial power.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative or descriptive answers which discuss more than one power.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of the reasons for European expansion in the 1880s embracing two or more powers.

[14 to 16 marks] for comparative analysis of the reasons for expansion covering two or more powers.

[17+ marks] for systematic running comparative analysis placing the 1880s in their context of the New Imperialism, showing awareness that the process began in the 1870s and continued into the 1890s and questioning the assumption that expansion was always successful by providing evidence of resistance and compromise.

5. Analyse the economic, social and political impact of the gold rushes of the mid-nineteenth century upon the colonial societies of Australia.

The greatest impact was felt in Victoria, followed by New South Wales. There were lesser discoveries in Queensland and South Australia. The latter also profited from its handling of gold shipments and Chinese immigration. Effects included the increase in national wealth; the growth of population and the change in its structure and balance with regard to gender, age, land of birth and the proportion of convicts to free settlers; increased lawlessness; increased democratic and republican sentiment; restrictions against Chinese immigration; changes in land legislation; the end of convictism in Tasmania. Note that the question excludes the gold discoveries in Western Australia in the 1890s.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for a narrative account.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account showing awareness of the impact on some aspects of Australian life.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of the effects backed up by examples and evidence.

[14 to 16 marks] for comparative analysis determining the extent of the impact upon economic, social and political life in the different gold rush areas.

[17+ marks] for a detailed and comprehensive comparative analysis covering all or nearly all of the range of factors affected by the gold rushes.

6. To what extent were settler relations with the Maoris in New Zealand a product of government land policies between 1840 and 1900?

The British recognized the land rights of the Maori population by the Treaty of Waitangi (1841), but from the beginning there was conflict between settlers requiring land and Maori desire to protect their interests. The government's land policy, particularly the price at which land might be bought, was an area of dispute between the New Zealand Company, the colonial and home governments and the Maoris. Speculation in land and land grabbing led to the first Maori War (1843–48) which was settled by Governor George Grey, who cancelled his predecessor's land ordinances.

The New Zealand Company was dissolved in 1851. Meanwhile planned settlement had begun in the South Island, where the Maori population was sparse and grazing lands available for sheep-farming. In 1851 the government began issuing 14-year grazing leases and in 1853 reduced the price of crown land to 10 shillings an acre to attract the small farmer. In 1856, responsible government was established and the provincial councils were given the power to dispose of crown lands in their provinces. Land policy continued to disturb relations between settlers, particularly in the North Island, resulting in the Second Maori War (1860–70). Grey returned as Governor, confiscating the land of rebels, but also admitting four Maori chiefs to the Legislative Council. Native Land Acts in 1862, 1867, 1873 and 1894 progressively made easier the acquisition of native land. During this time the Maoris declined in numbers while an assisted immigration scheme (1873), overseen by a New Zealand government agent in London, saw white settlement rise to 772000 in 1901.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative or description only.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account which makes the connection between land policy and Maori responses.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of this connection.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis of events over the period.

[17+ marks] for a running analysis of the relationship between land policy and relations with the Maoris over the entire period.

7. "Greedy, self-seeking and corrupt, she had learned nothing and forgotten nothing". To what extent is this a fair assessment of the Empress Dowager Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) and her policies for China between 1870 and 1908?

Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) exerted a strong influence on China, maintaining her own position by manipulating the imperial succession and removing those who opposed her. Candidates may mention her chastisements of Prince Kung; disregard for the Self-Strengthening Movement, including her corruption which contributed to China's defeat in the Sino–Japanese War (1894–95); repression of the 1898 Reforms; encouragement of the Boxers, leading to foreign intervention, her flight with the Emperor from Beijing (Peking) and the Boxer Protocol. She returned convinced some change was necessary and initiated reforms in 1901. These reforms had far-reaching consequences in that they both introduced some fundamental changes and raised expectations without fulfilling them. Her death, and that of the Emperor, in 1908, saw the government fall into the hands of a conservative Manchu faction, whose reactionary policies hastened the revolution of 1911.

Expect candidates to realize that the statement, while basically true, ignores the limited approval she gave to the Self-Strengthening Movement and her apparent change of tactics, if not of heart, in approving the reforms of 1901 and following years.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative or broad generalization alone.

[8 to 10 marks] for a fairly complete but uncritical account of her policies.

[11 to 13 marks] for analysis of her policies in the light of her beliefs, prejudices and self-interest.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis which considers all factors, including her tolerance of some reform and considering whether factors other than greed, self-interest and corruption directed her policies and actions.

[17+ marks] for detailed and comprehensive analysis which considers most factors within the context of China's and the Qing's (Ch'ing's) dilemmas between 1874 and 1911 and produces a balanced assessment of Cixi's (Tz'u-hsi's) role.

8. To what extent was the reign of Emperor Meiji in Japan (1868-1912) a period of "conservative revolution"?

The question requires candidates to compare Japan in 1912 with Japan in 1868 and covers the years from the Meiji restoration to the emperor's death. During that time Japan modernized and westernized its system of government, bureaucratic structures, military and naval forces, economy, financial and legal systems and system of education. Social and cultural changes also occurred with the emergence of new classes, the spread of western scientific knowledge and philosophical thought, and the adoption of western dress, music, drama and dance. However, this transformation was not complete or universal. The economy was still largely agricultural with many people still dependent on the land. Cultural innovation was often the pursuit of fashion and fads among an educated elite and did not affect all society. Moreover, leadership remained with a relatively small group of reformers around the emperor, although by 1912 the original leaders, the *genro*, were dying out. Political innovation went as far as a conservative imperial constitution based on that of the conservative powers in Europe and much of Japan's traditional belief and practice remained unchanged and constituted a cultural core supporting the emperor and the authority of the government.

Candidates may agree, disagree or remain undecided, depending on their perspective. Credit sound argument based on the historical evidence.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for a narrative account.

[8 to 10 marks] for a comparison between 1868 and 1912 with acknowledgment of change.

[11 to 13 marks] for an attempt to analyse the degree of change.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed comparative analysis which arrives at a conclusion answering the question.

[17+ marks] for comprehensive and sophisticated analysis of the changes in Japanese society which arrives at a clear conclusion based on the evidence.

9. To what extent did the Tonghak rebellion of 1894 prove a turning point in Korean history?

The Tonghak rebellion created the situation which prompted the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). The Tonghak (Eastern Learning) was a religious movement, an amalgam of Chinese, Buddhist and native Korean religious ideas and practices which emerged as a reaction to both Catholic Christianity and western and Japanese influence. It gained support from many peasants in the south, impoverished by increased taxation and indebted to Japanese rice merchants. The Korean government called on Chinese assistance and Japan also sent troops unasked and occupied Seoul. Meanwhile the rebels laid down their arms, but hostilities broke out between Japan and China for control of Korea, ending in Japanese victory, China's acceptance of Korea's independence (Treaty of Shimonoseki) and the introduction into Korea of Japanese inspired reforms which were widely opposed. The Queen was murdered with Japanese connivance and Korea divided into pro- and anti-Japanese factions. King Kojong fled to the Russian legation in February 1896 and Russian influence competed with Japanese influence until it was eliminated by the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). Faced with continuing Korean resistance, Japan annexed Korea in 1910. The Tonghak movement, however, continued to inspire the Korean nationalist movement (Ch'ondokyo) which in 1919 elected Syngman Rhee as President of its National Council.

Award candidates who show awareness of the continuing influence of the Tonghak ideas and ideals within the Korean nationalist movement.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for an account only of the 1894 uprising.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative which carries the story up to at least 1910 and Japan's annexation of Korea.

[11 to 13 marks] for analysis of the Tonghak's continuing influence, which may extend to 1919 or beyond.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced analysis of the Tonghak ideology and influence within the nationalist movement, and which takes cognizance of both its role in sparking the conflict of 1894, ending the influence of China, and in continuing opposition to Japanese rule resulting in annexation in 1910 and in the continuing national movement from that date.

[17+ marks] for sophisticated analysis which focuses upon the significance of the Tonghak rebellion as a turning point in Korean history. Candidates at this level will debate whether this was in fact the case and whether Korean history may well have developed upon similar lines without the Tonghak.

10. Analyse the consequences for the region of the Boxer Uprising and the Boxer Protocol of 1900.

The Boxers emerged in Shandong (Shantung) province as militias, which turned their hatred of foreign intervention against Christian missionaries and their converts. Encouraged by the Manchu governor of the province, until he was replaced by Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-Kai) in December 1899, they advanced towards Beijing (Peking) encouraged by anti-foreign Manchu officials. The siege of the foreign legations (1900), the capture of Beijing (Peking) by foreign forces, and the Boxer Protocol signed by twelve foreign powers deeply humiliated China and imposed punishment on rebel leaders and an indemnity upon the government. Made aware by the disaster of the need for change, the Empress Dowager Cixi (T'zu-hsi) and the Emperor returned to Beijing (Peking) and initiated the period of Manchu reform, still in process at their deaths in 1908. These reforms achieved enough by creating regional assemblies to produce the conditions enabling the Qing (Ch'ing) to be overthrown by provincial revolts in the south in 1911–12.

International consequences were the increase in Japan's prestige among the powers which led to the Anglo–Japanese Alliance of 1902. This indicated a new alignment against Russia culminating in the war of 1904-5. The western powers including France, Germany and the USA increased their presence in the region.

Answers which make no mention of consequences should receive no credit.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative or list of consequences only.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative or description which links the events and their consequences.

[11 to 13 marks] for analysis of these connections.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis which considers clearly both the consequences of the Boxer Rebellion and the Boxer Protocol in terms of punishment inflicted, territories lost, the changes in the policies of Cixi (T'zu-hsi) and their consequences, the Russia-Japanese war and the changing balance of power in the region.

[17+ marks] for analysis of these consequences placed in the broader perspective and questioning whether they were necessarily consequences of the Boxer Rebellion and Protocol alone.

11. Compare and contrast the effect of the Second World War on *two* nationalist movements in South East Asia.

Candidates will probably choose from Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam.

By 1941 the colonial powers provided some representation for the colonised on advisory councils (the British going furthest with the introduction of dyarchy in Burma (1935 with elections in 1937), but still had the power to crush opposition and arrest nationalist leaders. In 1941, Burma was arguably furthest on the path to independence; Indonesian nationalists had been silenced by imprisonment and exile, although a nationalist movement still existed; Vietnamese nationalist parties had been rigorously suppressed after the revolt of 1930-31, a factor which worked to the advantage, later, of the Communists. The Japanese defeat of the colonial powers and the following period of occupation undermined European prestige and allowed nationalist parties to revive and to attain influence. The colonial powers were weakened by the war fought in Europe and were unable to impose their rule after Japan's defeat, eventually granting independence to their former colonies.

[7 marks] maximum for narrative alone.

[8 to 10 marks] for an attempt to assess the impact of the war upon the fortunes of the nationalist parties in the countries chosen.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple comparative analysis of the situation in the countries chosen and of the relationship between the nationalists and the Japanese.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed comparative analysis of the nationalist movements, their support, leadership, aims and methods with respect to the Japanese and to the development of their own strength and influence.

[17+ marks] for a comprehensive comparative analysis, including analysis of developments after the Occupation leading to the withdrawal of the colonial power and the achievement of independence.

[12 marks] maximum if only one country discussed.

12. Analyse the role of the army in Japanese domestic politics between 1925 and 1941.

The Army Minister in any Japanese government was a serving military officer (a similar situation prevailed for the navy), which meant that the army high command could influence government by refusing to support it and thus bring it down. Cultural and historical factors also gave the army immense prestige. In 1925 universal male suffrage for all males over 25 created a new electorate open to influence by militarist and nationalist parties and factions. At the same time, army reforms made access to officer ranks easier for young men of urban and rural middle classes, who were also open to new political and nationalist ideas. By the 1930s there were two main factions in the army, both expansionist. The Tosei Ha or Control Way faction of older more conservative army officers saw their role as protecting Japan's sovereignty, empire and honour and intervened in politics through the established institutions and their representatives in the cabinet. The Koda Ha or Imperial Way faction, composed of younger officers, was ultranationalist, fiercely patriotic, loyal to the Emperor and pledged to do his will as they interpreted it. Their families had suffered from the Depression and they sought to sweep away corrupt and self-seeking politicians, businessmen and financiers, bring about social revolution and create a new society. Their interventions in politics were through assassination and military coup, such as the incident of 15 May 1932 (the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai and attacks on the Bank of Japan, the Mitsubishi Bank, the Tokyo police headquarters). They were treated lightly as misguided patriots. The leaders of the attempted coup of 26 February 1936 were quickly executed when the Emperor urged disciplinary action. The Tosei Ha asserted its influence over the new Premier, Hirota Koki, by vetoing his first choices for the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs and Justice. Its expansionist policies appealed to big business. The war with China hastened the trend towards centralization and militarism, with Premier Konoye's Mobilization Order of 1938, his declaration of a New Order in East Asia and, in October 1940, the dissolution of the political parties and the creation of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which made Japan a single-party totalitarian state.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative only.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account of the army's role in politics with reference to the two factions.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of the aims and methods of the two factions.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed analysis of the reasons for disenchantment with the political parties and big business by the Koda Ha and the influence exerted by the Tosei Ha faction over the government and big business leading up to the military state.

[17+ marks] for a comprehensive analysis which clearly explains the role of the army and its factions in political affairs over the period.

13. Compare and contrast the domestic and foreign policies of the post-war Menzies (1949–66) and Whitlam (1972–75) Governments in Australia between 1949 and 1975

Robert Menzies headed a Liberal-Country Party coalition which was conservative, pro-British, monarchist, distrustful of Asia, strongly anti-Communist and a supporter of US foreign policy, retained the "White Australia" policy while accepting immigrants from Europe and in economics favoured protective tariffs and large-scale development such as the Snowy Mountains Project. It was a time of rising prosperity, reflected in increasing home ownership and ownership of motor vehicles and domestic goods. Menzies retired in 1966. Australia was more prosperous, but still insular, although ties with Britain were weakening and those with Asia growing.

Gough Whitlam headed a Labor government (1972) which introduced a radical programme in areas like universal health care, women's rights, the official abandonment of the "White Australia" policy and the active establishment of a multicultural society. There was increased freedom of thought and expression and a relaxation of social conventions. In foreign affairs it was less tied to US policy, more involved with Asia. In 1975, the opposition controlling the Senate blocked the government's new budget, creating a constitutional crisis and Whitlam was dismissed by Governor-General Sir John Kerr.

Change began under the long period of Menzies's government and Whitlam's election reflected this. The Liberal-Country Party government which succeeded him practised fiscal restraint to control inflation, reducing government expenditure on social services and watering down some of Whitlam's reforms. However, Whitlam himself represented a new type of political leader and his policies were directed at changes in the ways a multicultural Australia, increasingly aware of its place in the Asia-Pacific, thought and acted. Whitlam's more liberal attitudes were to reappear in the eighties.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for a general account of both governments.

[8 to 10 marks] for a more detailed account with some attempt at comparison.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple comparative analysis of policies of both governments.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed comparative analysis reflecting the changes in Australian society.

[17+ marks] for a sophisticated analysis based on a consideration of a wide range of policies reflecting the changes within Australian society.

14. In what ways, and to what extent, did external events affect New Zealand's economic, political and social development between 1918 and 1939?

As a producer of primary products for export, New Zealand's economy was dependent to a large extent on the prosperity of the rest of the world, particularly Britain. It was affected by both the post-war economic boom and the short-lived depression of 1921, but maintained the social legislation which had made it a leader in state socialism. The Great Depression of 1929 had a severe impact. The fall of prices and markets, created unemployment and caused the United Party government drastically to curtail expenditure, including salaries, reduce imports and establish exchange control. Much of the social legislation fell into disuse, including provisions regarding wages and working time. In 1935, the Labour Party won an overall majority on a platform of socialization and social reform. The Reserve Bank was nationalized, the government thus gaining full control of the currency and the country's credit. The Primary Products Marketing Act enabled the government to buy farm produce at a guaranteed price and dispose of it at the best figure obtainable in London. The State Advances Corporation Act liberalized government lending activities. The railways returned to complete government control and road transport companies were regulated to prevent competition with the railways. The Industrial and Arbitration Act restored the arbitration system in disputes about wages and working hours and in 1936 the basic wage was set. The government remained in place until the war in 1939. Independently of outside pressures, the relationship between Maori and Pakeha was a New Zealand issue.

Candidates may not reproduce this detail but should show awareness both that New Zealand was vulnerable to world economic conditions and was hit hard by the Depression and that it was able independently to take measures to deal with the problem. Even so, the reforms after 1935 were possible because of improvement in the world economy aided by arrangements with the British government, but the Labour government's programme was independently conceived and executed.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for an account of events only.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account which shows awareness of the impact of events acting from outside New Zealand.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of the impact of outside events, particularly the Depression.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis of the impact of the Depression and of the responses to it, with a conclusion based on the evidence.

[17+ marks] for more comprehensive and sophisticated analysis, which will consider to what extent the governments of the 1930s were able to act independently. Candidates may well consider that the Labour Party's socialization program was independent of outside influence and owed much to New Zealand's isolation enabling such an experiment in government to occur.

15. Assess the importance for China of the triumph in the 1930s of Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) policy of rural revolution.

Mao's rural revolution was worked out in the (Jiangxi) Soviet and perfected during the Yanan (Yenan) years. After some excesses in interpretation, a less extreme attitude was taken towards landlords and by the end of the war with Japan the Communists had won widespread acceptance. The rural revolution brought the Communists to power, but Mao had difficulty adapting it to changed circumstances. The first ten years of Communist rule saw land to the peasants become collectivization and, in the Great Leap Forward, communization, with disastrous results. After a spell in the background, Mao emerged again to renew his rural revolution through the Cultural Revolution. By this time, however, China was no longer merely a land of peasants. Industrialization and modernization had created new elites and new classes of workers. Post-Mao China has reverted to a two-tier state, with modern economic and social structures developing in the new economic zones of the coastal regions, while the peasantry remain relatively neglected and exploited.

This question can be interpreted in different ways. Credit must be given for answers which interpret what is meant by Mao's rural revolution and analyse its importance in relevant ways. Some candidates may concentrate on its importance in achieving power for the Communists. Others may take a longer perspective.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative or vague generalization.

[8 to 10 marks] for defining "Mao's rural revolution" and tracing through the period chosen by the candidate.

[11 to 13 marks] for analysis of Mao's revolution in theory and practice and any changes over time.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis of the application of Mao's theories and of the increasing complexity of Chinese society, which made strict adherence to Mao's theories a hindrance to China's development.

[17+ marks] for sophisticated and comparative analysis, which may extend to the post-Mao period, which considers the impact of Mao's model of revolution on developments in China over time and which reaches a conclusion about the changing relevance of Mao's theories as China modernized. Some candidates may recognize that Mao was himself a victim of his own success.

16. Analyse the reasons for Japan's decision to attack Pearl Harbor and South East Asia in December 1941.

Candidates must reveal a well-grounded knowledge of the international situation and of the position in which the Japanese government found itself. Fighting an inconclusive war in China, Japan was dependent on access to war materials from overseas, particularly oil from the United States. Japan's China policy was increasingly unpopular in the US and its occupation of northern Indo-China in June 1941 prompted an oil embargo. In 1939, the Japanese had been defeated on the borders of Mongolia and Manchuria when they attempted to expand into Soviet territory. This discredited the Strike North faction in the Japanese army and increased the influence of the Strike South faction, which looked to the resources of South East Asia. By June 1941, Russia was undergoing invasion from Nazi Germany, had signed a non-aggression treaty with Japan and was no threat. France and the Netherlands had been overrun by Germany, enabling Japan to extend its influence over all French Indo-China through the French Vichy government allied with Germany. Britain was isolated in Europe, the US apparently unprepared for war. When negotiations with the US broke down in November, the Japanese Cabinet decided on a surprise strike at Pearl Harbor to disable the American Pacific fleet and simultaneous attacks upon the Philippines, British and Dutch colonies in South East Asia and an advance into Thailand where they expected only token resistance. Justification was found in the concept of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere in which Japan would provide leadership for the mutual good of all after liberating South East Asia from the European colonial powers.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for a narrative of events up to December 1941 or for a general description of the international situation at that date.

[8 to 10 marks] for accounts which show awareness of the Japanese government's dilemma, faced with continuing resistance in China, the US oil embargo, and declining oil reserves.

[11 to 13 marks] for some analysis of these factors and of the broader international situation apparently favouring Japan.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis covering most issues, including the situation in Japan, and the preoccupations and opinions of the Japanese armed services and the Emperor's advisers, particularly with regard to the situation in China, and the long-term consequences of bowing to America's demands.

[17+ marks] for answers which encompass all factors and which analyse and assess the options open to Japan and the calculations, assessments, knowledge and prejudices which informed the decision.

17. "Concentration upon the role of Mao (Mao Tse-tung) has overshadowed the contributions of other Chinese leaders to China's development between 1949 and 1976." How far do you agree with this statement?

This question offers an opportunity for candidates to assess the role of Mao from a different perspective. Candidates will probably agree that key figures have been overshadowed and should attempt to analyse the role of Mao in relation to the roles of other leading figures, such as Liu Shaoqui (Liu Shao-chi'i), Peng Dehuai (P'eng Te-huai), Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), Lin Biao (Lin Piao) and, in particular, Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai). While these leaders on the whole deferred to Mao, their individual achievements and their roles in rectifying Mao's own excesses were of great importance. Candidates should show awareness of the tensions within the leadership and of those occasions when Mao was forced into the background so that stability could be restored.

[0 to 7 marks] for a narrative of events.

[8 to 10 marks] for awareness of the contributions of other leaders to China's development.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of the contribution and influence of leaders other than Mao, with some awareness of the struggles and rivalries within the leadership.

[14 to 16 marks] for a more sophisticated analysis and discussion of Mao's unique role and the contribution of others in specific fields or in attempting to curb and/or rectify Mao's excesses. Expect reference to the roles in particular of Zhou, Liu and Deng.

[17+ marks] for a balanced assessment of Mao with reference to those in the leadership who both shared many of his ideals and supported his policies and who at different times resisted his policies and rectified his mistakes. Expect the better students to arrive at a balanced assessment of Mao and of other figures in the leadership with reference to their policies, actions and their interactions. Award credit for relevant comment regarding Deng's post-Mao career only if it illuminates his role before 1976.

18. "An economic superpower with little influence in world affairs". How far do you agree with this statement in relation to Japan between 1952 and 1995?

Candidates will probably conclude that the statement is largely true and trace the roots of its reluctance to the experience of the Second World War and to Clause 9 of the Constitution forbidding recourse to war. The Security Treaty (1951) with the USA provided security and the Yoshida Doctrine committed Japan to economic development under the American umbrella. In April 1954 Japan and the US signed the Mutual Security Assistance Pact, which allowed the creation of Japanese self-defence forces, which grew in size over the years. Japan's other role was to provide military bases for the US in Japan. Japan followed the US in foreign policy, sometimes to its own embarrassment, as when President Nixon visited China in 1970. The end of the Cold War in 1989 was another turning point, giving Japan greater flexibility but making the US less tolerant of Japan's protective economic practices. Other restraints on Japan's exercise of influence were the legacy of suspicion in the countries once occupied by Japan and the economic benefits of spending a smaller percentage of GNP on defence than other nations of similar size. Japan has tended to exert its influence through regional associations like APEC, rather than get involved in conflict, even as a peace-keeper.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative or description only.

[8 to 10 marks] for recognition of Japan's links with the US and the changes associated with the opening of China and the end of the Cold War.

[11 to 13 marks] for analysis of these developments and of the reasons behind Japan's reticent policy.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed analysis covering the whole period, considering Japan's relations with its neighbours and the reasons for its maintenance of a low profile across the period.

[17+ marks] for a comprehensive analysis arriving at clear conclusions based on the historical evidence.

19. Compare and contrast the effect of neo-colonialism in *two* South East Asian countries between 1945 and 1995.

Candidates should demonstrate that they understand that neo-colonialism is the control by a powerful nation of a smaller one which is technically independent. The control may be political or economic or both. Examples may be the United States and the Philippines, the British in Malaya/Malaysia, Singapore and Burma, the French in Indo-China. The claim may be made of the perceived attempts by the ex-colonial power to encourage governments friendly to them and their economic interests. It may be applied to attempts by another power, for example the United State to acquire similar influence. The proposal to create Malaysia was announced, particularly by Sukarno of Indonesia, as a "neo-colonialist plot" by Britain to retain its interests in the region. Candidates need to provide a comparative analysis which indicates their awareness of the concept. Perceptive students may also realize that the term may be applied relations between the larger nations of the region and their weaker neighbours.

[12 marks] maximum if only one country discussed.

[7 marks] maximum for narrative alone or for demonstrating an awareness of the meaning of "neo-colonialism".

[8 to 10 marks] for an attempt to assess the impact of neo-colonialism upon the countries chosen.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple comparative analysis of neo-colonialism in the countries chosen and of its impact.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed comparative analysis of the effects of neo-colonialism with awareness of their similarities and differences.

[17+ marks] for sophisticated and comprehensive comparative analysis which may also discuss the concept itself and if validity as a means of describing and explaining the relations between powerful and smaller countries, especially between ex-colonisers and now independent countries, with some discussion as to whether the situation existed throughout the period.

20. Assess the achievements of the Bandung Conference (1955) and of the non-aligned movement upon international relations in East and South East Asia up to 1965.

The Conference was called by Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan to discuss colonialism and other issues of concern to newly independent Afro-Asian countries which did not wish to be aligned with either side in the Cold War between the USA and the Soviet Union. A ten point Declaration was accepted unanimously but in reality the attending nations were divided on many issues. No non-aligned bloc emerged. Terms such as the Bandung Spirit and Bandung policy signified the principles of non-aggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes, but were not specific policies and participating states had their own agendas. President Sukarno, the host, sought prestige for Indonesia and for himself as a world leader; India and Pakistan had differences over Kashmir; Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), representing China, hoped to weaken pro-western influences and gain non-aligned support for China in the United Nations. This policy of "peaceful coexistence" was supplanted by support by China for revolutionary "people's war" in 1958, coinciding with the Great Leap Forward. China's Tibetan policy and the border conflict in 1962 with India increased distrust of China. Indonesia differed with Malaya and Singapore over the formation in 1963 of Malaysia. By 1965, when China and Indonesia sought a second Afro-Asian conference, rival conferences were organized which refused to take an anti-western line.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for an account of events.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account which indicates awareness of the changes in views and policies among the nations concerned.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of the reasons for the changes in attitude to non-alignment.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis concentrating on the East Asian and South East Asian nations and their differences and conflicts of interest.

[17+ marks] for a sophisticated and comprehensive analysis of the aims and interests of the non-aligned countries in 1955 and of the changes which had occurred in international affairs by 1965.

21. Analyse the development of China's foreign policy from the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in 1976 until 1995.

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party ended a long period of upheaval by establishing Deng Xiaoping's (Teng Hsiao-Ping's) authority and, along with policies for reform, modernization and rapid economic development, accepted that of opening China to the outside world: necessary if China was to obtain the technology required to further the other reforms. In 1979 diplomatic relations were established with the United States, which withdrew its recognition from Taiwan, although continuing to protect it from forcible incorporation into the Peoples' Republic. In order to retain its traditional, interest and influence in South East Asia, China recognized the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and fought a brief border war with Vietnam in 1979. In 1984, agreement was reached with Britain for the return of Hong Kong in 1997 and, in 1986, with Portugal for return of Macau in 1999. Tibetan independence demonstrations were suppressed in 1987 and 1989. In May 1989 relations were normalized with the Soviet Union. New problems arose over Taiwan in 1995. China's neighbours were wary of China's growing international profile and possible expansionist aims as China's military was modernized and her navy expanded. With regard to her relations with the US and the West, China sought an expansion of trade and of investment in China while resisting efforts to extend democracy and human rights as interference in her domestic affairs.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for an account of China's policy between 1976 and 1995.

[8 to 10 marks] expect some awareness of the changes from a relatively closed society to one with relatively open relations with the outside world.

[11 to 13 marks] for a simple analysis of the reasons for change, perhaps linked to domestic changes linked to economic liberalization and development.

[14 to 16 marks] for details of the developments in foreign policy over the period, the reasons for them and their consequences.

[17+ marks] for a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the various factors affecting China's foreign policy backed by relevant historical detail and reaching an overall conclusion.

22. Analyse the impact of pressure groups upon the policies and activities of at least *one* government in the region between 1960 and 1995.

In some instances this question may be answered from a personal or local perspective. Candidates may consider the environmental issues associated with issues like industrialization; over-fishing in the Pacific; extensive logging in Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia; wild-life management and national parks and so on. Pressure groups may be international, like Greenpeace or Friends of the Earth, regional or national chapters of such organizations, or indigenous national and local groups. Candidates must discuss the impact – the successes or failures – environmental groups have had upon government policies and actions. Candidates should be aware that policy in some countries is not immediately translated into action because of ineffectual government, cronyism and corruption.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for description or narrative only.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account which discusses reasons for environmental damage and the actions of environmentalists in response.

[11 to 13 marks] for a simple analysis of these reasons and of the actions of environmental pressure groups and their impact.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis of the activities of pressure groups on a variety of issues in one country or more, or by groups in different countries on issues affecting one country or more.

[17+ marks] for a sophisticated analysis looking at the issue from a variety of perspectives and analysing the impact pressure groups have had and the reasons for their successes or failures.

23. "Between 1960 and 1990, Asian economies depended on active state involvement in economic planning and development for their success." Assess this view with reference to at least *two* countries in East and South East Asia.

Better candidates will realise that the question is a complex one The Asian economic miracle was ending by 1990 and candidates may refer to factors like cronyism, nepotism, greed, corruption and misuse of resources. Some may realise that state-run economies on the Marxist model, like those of pre-reform China and Vietnam were stagnating before reforms were made. There is no simple answer: award credit for reasoned discussion based upon historical evidence.

The view is true for all economies in varying degrees, but candidates will probably choose from the successful "tiger" economies of Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, perhaps Hong Kong. Award credit if other countries are chosen. State involvement may include state control of key industries and financial institutions, setting national priorities, imposing protective tariffs, imposing restrictions, directing finance and providing subsidies and tax incentives, encouraging or discouraging foreign investment, encouraging savings, regulating or not regulating working conditions, providing infrastructure (including education) and encouraging immigration of persons with capital and labour. Expect candidates to have relevant knowledge of institutions like Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry and, in some cases, to draw on knowledge of their own nation. Expect candidates to consider factors other than state intervention, which may include reference to the international economic climate, ease of access to foreign markets (the liberal trade policies of the United States provided both a market and access to American technology) and cultural attitudes which may have favoured labour discipline, the postponement of personal gratification for the national good and reliance on family, clan and community support systems rather than state-funded services.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narrative or general description.

[8 to 10 marks] for accounts which recognize the role of the state in one or more countries.

[11 to 13 marks] for some analysis of the role of the state in one or more countries and awareness that other factors were also important.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed comparative analysis covering most of these factors, probably in a thematic way and with reference to more than one country, though one may be favoured.

[17+ marks] for a comprehensive and balanced comparative and thematic analysis drawing material from a number of countries even if the core country is the model.

24. Analyse the political, economic and social problems faced by *either* Papua New Guinea *or* the small states of the Pacific since attaining independence, and the success of attempts to solve them.

Papua New Guinea (PNG) received its independence from Australia in 1975. Almost immediately it faced threats of secession from Bougainville, temporarily placated by decentralizing government and in 1978 granting internal self-government to all provinces. In 1988 the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) disrupted operations of the island's huge Unrest continued until 1993 when the BRA declared a cease-fire and copper mine. peace-keepers from Fiji, Vanuatu and Tonga moved in, supervised by Australia and New Zealand. Violence broke out again later. Politics was largely based on clan and tribal loyalties and governments changed frequently until in 1991 a constitutional amendment required a Prime Minister to be in power for 18 months before he could be challenged. He was then free from any further motion of no confidence for 18 months if he survived the first. Lawlessness increased after independence as tribal peoples from the interior moved into Port Moresby seeking employment. PNG remained overwhelmingly agricultural and its exports subject to the fluctuations of the world market. Nevertheless, there was a substantial rise in the GNP. Internationally, Papua was affected by the revolt against Indonesian rule in Irian Jaya and the movement of refugees from 1984.

PNG and the Pacific Island states have many similar problems caused by tribal and language differences between islands and between regions in the usually mountainous interiors. All suffer from high levels of development around the capital or on the main island and relative neglect in other regions. All suffer from extended and difficult communications. All remain basically primary producers with agriculture, mining, logging and fisheries, the main sources of export revenues, often in foreign hands. In some cases immigrants outnumber the indigenous population in some regions. All faced the pressures of modernization and the resultant cultural and social pressures.

Candidates looking at the Pacific Island states will need to organize their material on thematic lines and analyse similarities and differences. Award credit for material backed by relevant detail.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for description alone or vague generalizations.

[8 to 10 marks] for accounts which include references to political, economic and social problems.

[11 to 13 marks] for simple analysis of these problems.

[14 to 16 marks] for detailed analysis of the causes of political, economic and social problems and of attempts to solve them.

[17+ marks] for comprehensive analysis backed by relevant knowledge.

25. Assess the role of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang K'ai-shek) in the history of modern China.

Jiang Jieshi (Chiang K'ai-shek) came to prominence as a protégé of Sun Yatsen (Sun Yat-sen) during the reorganization of the Guomindang - GMD (Kuomintang - KMT) in Guangzhou (Canton) in 1924, when he became head of the new Whampoa Military Academy in which Russian and German instructors trained officers, who included many later Communist leaders. On Sun's death in 1925, Jiang emerged as his successor and led the Northern Expedition (1926-28). After the capture of Nanjing (Nanking), Jiang split with the Communists, eventually heading the new Nationalist government, establishing close links with financial and business leaders. A new northern expedition in 1928 occupied Beijing (Peking) and the capital was moved to Nanjing. The Nanjing government had many achievements, but relied on the business, financial and landlord classes. Some foreign concessions were returned to the Chinese but western interests remained firmly entrenched in Shanghai. Some rural reforms were passed but never enforced, which left an opening for Mao's rural revolution. China was unified in name, but many provincial governors were warlords who had made their peace with the Nationalists. Jiang's determination to eliminate the Communists before resisting Japan became increasingly unpopular and after the Xian (Sian) Incident (1936) he headed a new United Front. The Japanese attacks of 1937 united all China behind Jiang, whose troops bore the brunt of the fighting. Despite defeat, Jiang refused to surrender and continued to resist from Chunking, conserving much of his military strength for eventual use against the Communists. Attempts after the war to bring the two sides together failed. When the Civil War began, Jiang's forces had early successes. However, corruption, arrogance, ineptitude and failure to institute reform lost him support and the war. The Nationalists escaped to Taiwan where, with American aid and protection, Jiang established a successful conservative regime.

Candidates will probably have mainly negative views, but should recognize that Jiang was a significant figure. Credit answers which produce a balanced judgment. Candidates will be starting from different viewpoints and there are many ways of tackling this question, so give credit for argument based on historical knowledge.

[0 to 7 marks] maximum for narration only.

[8 to 10 marks] for an account which recognizes to some extent positive aspects of Jiang's career.

[11 to 13 marks] for analysis of the different stages of his career which recognizes his importance.

[14 to 16 marks] for more detailed analysis and for awareness that importance embraces both negative and positive factors, and recognizes Jiang's limitations and the difficulties he faced.

[17+ marks] for a comprehensive analysis assessing his role over time and arriving at an overall assessment.