



**General Certificate of Education  
June 2010**

**AS History 1041**

**HIS20**

**Unit 20**

**The Impact of Chairman Mao:**

**China, 1946–1976**

**Final**

***Mark Scheme***

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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## Generic Introduction for AS

The AS History specification is based on the assessment objectives laid down in QCA's GCE History subject criteria and published in the AQA specification booklet. These cover the skills, knowledge and understanding which are expected of A Level candidates. Most questions address more than one objective since historical skills, which include knowledge and understanding, are usually deployed together. Consequently, the marking scheme which follows is a 'levels of response' scheme and assesses candidates' historical skills in the context of their knowledge and understanding of History.

The levels of response are a graduated recognition of how candidates have demonstrated their abilities in the Assessment Objectives. Candidates who predominantly address AO1(a) by writing narrative or description will perform at Level 1 or Level 2 depending on its relevance. Candidates who provide more explanation – (AO1(b), supported by the relevant selection of material, AO1(a)) – will perform at high Level 2 or low-mid Level 3 depending on how explicit they are in their response to the question. Candidates who provide explanation with evaluation, judgement and an awareness of historical interpretations will be addressing all 3 AOs (AO1(a); AO1(b); AO2(a) and (b) and will have access to the higher mark ranges. AO2(a) which requires the evaluation of source material is assessed in Unit 2.

Differentiation between Levels 3, 4 and 5 is judged according to the extent to which candidates meet this range of assessment objectives. At Level 3 the answers will show more characteristics of the AO1 objectives, although there should be elements of AO2. At Level 4, AO2 criteria, particularly an understanding of how the past has been interpreted, will be more in evidence and this will be even more dominant at Level 5. The demands on written communication, particularly the organisation of ideas and the use of specialist vocabulary also increase through the various levels so that a candidate performing at the highest AS level is already well prepared for the demands of A2.

## **CRITERIA FOR MARKING GCE HISTORY:**

### **AS EXAMINATION PAPERS**

#### **General Guidance for Examiners (to accompany Level Descriptors)**

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##### **Deciding on a level and the award of marks within a level**

It is of vital importance that examiners familiarise themselves with the generic mark scheme and apply it consistently, as directed by the Principal Examiner, in order to facilitate comparability across options.

The indicative mark scheme for each paper is designed to illustrate some of the material that candidates might refer to (knowledge) and some of the approaches and ideas they might develop (skills). It is not, however, prescriptive and should only be used to exemplify the generic mark scheme.

When applying the generic mark scheme, examiners will constantly need to exercise judgement to decide which level fits an answer best. Few essays will display all the characteristics of a level, so deciding the most appropriate will always be the first task.

Each level has a range of marks and for an essay which has a strong correlation with the level descriptors the middle mark should be given. However, when an answer has some of the characteristics of the level above or below, or seems stronger or weaker on comparison with many other candidates' responses to the same question, the mark will need to be adjusted up or down.

When deciding on the mark within a level, the following criteria should be considered *in relation to the level descriptors*. Candidates should never be doubly penalised. If a candidate with poor communication skills has been placed in Level 2, he or she should not be moved to the bottom of the level on the basis of the poor quality of written communication. On the other hand, a candidate with similarly poor skills, whose work otherwise matched the criteria for Level 4 should be adjusted downwards within the level.

Criteria for deciding marks within a level:

- The accuracy of factual information
- The level of detail
- The depth and precision displayed
- The quality of links and arguments
- The quality of written communication (grammar, spelling, punctuation and legibility; an appropriate form and style of writing; clear and coherent organisation of ideas, including the use of specialist vocabulary)
- Appropriate references to historical interpretation and debate
- The conclusion

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June 2010

**GCE AS History Unit 2: Historical Issues: Periods of Change**

**HIS20: The Impact of Chairman Mao: China, 1946–1976**

**Question 1**

**01** Use **Sources A** and **B** and your own knowledge.

Explain how far the views in **Source B** differ from those in **Source A** in relation to the reasons why the Communists won the Chinese Civil War in the years 1946 to 1949.

(12 marks)

*Target: AO2(a)*

**Levels Mark Scheme**

- |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |              |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
|            | Nothing written worthy of credit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>0</b>     |
| <b>L1:</b> | Answers will <b>either</b> briefly paraphrase/describe the content of the two sources <b>or</b> identify simple comparison(s) between the sources. Skills of written communication will be weak.                                                                   | <b>1-2</b>   |
| <b>L2:</b> | Responses will compare the views expressed in the two sources and identify some differences and/or similarities. There may be some limited own knowledge. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed.                                                           | <b>3-6</b>   |
| <b>L3:</b> | Responses will compare the views expressed in the two sources, identifying differences <b>and</b> similarities and using own knowledge to explain and evaluate these. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed.                                       | <b>7-9</b>   |
| <b>L4</b>  | Responses will make a developed comparison between the views expressed in the two sources and will apply own knowledge to evaluate and to demonstrate a good contextual understanding. Answers will, for the most part, show good skills of written communication. | <b>10-12</b> |

**Indicative content**

**Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.**

Candidates will need to identify differences between the views of the two sources. For example, the main focus of **Source A** is on the weaknesses of the Nationalist side in the conflict and highlights 'poor morale and corrupt leadership' as important factors in their defeat. There is a clear focus on the shortcomings of Chiang Kai-Shek as the Nationalist leader, particularly his poor choice of key commanders. There are also references to inflation, waste and corruption on the Nationalist side and candidates may link these factors to the unpopularity of the Nationalist forces which is referred to in the source.

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**Source B**, on the other hand, emphasises the ‘performance of the Red Army’ in the conflict and highlights the role played by superior morale. There is an implicit reference here to the abilities of Mao as a commander, particularly his view that through strict discipline and ideological indoctrination it was possible to bring out the best in the Chinese peasants who formed the backbone of the Red Army. Candidates may develop this into a comparison with the weaknesses of Chiang’s leadership.

Candidates will need to use their own knowledge to explain these differences. They might, for example, refer to:

- the weaknesses of Chiang Kai Shek’s leadership of the Nationalist side, both as a military commander and as a political leader
- Mao’s ideological conviction that the peasants were the main revolutionary class in China and his emphasis on winning the support of the peasants for the Communist cause.

To address ‘how far’, candidates should also indicate some similarity between the sources. For example:

- Source **A** mentions that ‘winning the sympathy of the masses’ was indispensable to the Communists’ success, whilst Source **B** refers to the peasants as seeing Communist troops as their protectors, not their oppressors. Both sources, therefore, identify popular support as being a key factor in Communist victory
- Both sources refer to morale as being a key factor. Source **A** refers to the ‘poor morale’ of the Nationalist troops whilst Source **B** refers to the ‘superior morale’ of the Communist troops.

In making a judgment about the degree of difference, candidates may conclude that the two sources offer different reasons for the Communist victory but that they both highlight the importance of the support of the peasants.

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**Question 1**

**02** Use **Sources A, B and C** and your own knowledge.

How far had the Communists changed the lives of the Chinese peasants by 1949?  
(24 marks)

*Target: AO1(b), AO2(a), AO2(b)*

**Levels Mark Scheme**

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers may be based on sources or on own knowledge alone, or they may comprise an undeveloped mixture of the two. They may contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-6**
- L2:** Answers may be based on sources or on own knowledge alone, or they may contain a mixture of the two. They may be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the focus of the question. Alternatively, they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **7-11**
- L3:** Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question using evidence from **both** the sources **and** own knowledge. They will provide some assessment backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **12-16**
- L4:** Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence from the sources and own knowledge, and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. **17-21**
- L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence from the sources and own knowledge, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary. **22-24**

**Indicative content**

**Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.**

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Candidates should be able to make a judgment by balancing points which suggest that the lives of the peasants had benefited from the Communist victory in 1949, against others which do not. All three sources provide references to the impact of the Communist victory on the peasants and candidates should use the sources as evidence in their answer.

Relevant material from the sources would include:

- Source A refers to the 'rampant inflation' in Nationalist China and to the 'war-weariness' of the peasants. By winning the struggle for control over China the Communists were able to make a start on bringing inflation under control (although this did not happen immediately), and the end of the war was also a welcome relief to the peasants
- both Sources A and B refer to peasant or popular support for the Communist cause, with Source B making a clear reference to treating the Chinese peasant 'like a human being' and giving them something to believe in
- Source C makes specific reference to land reform and the Draft Agrarian Law of 1947 which confiscated land from the landlords and distributed it to 'those who worked it' i.e. the peasants. There are also references in Source C to abolition of the 'rural class system' and 'overthrow of the landlords'.

From their own knowledge, candidates may develop the theme of land reform in support of the view that the Communist victory brought benefits to the peasants.

- land reform was a crucial part of the Communist strategy to win over the support of the peasants and win the war. In areas controlled by the Communists land reforms were introduced to benefit the poorer peasants. The Communists' 'land to the tillers' programme involved the confiscation of land from landlords and wealthier peasants and its redistribution to the poorer peasants
- until 1947, however, the Communists had adopted a cautious approach to land reform in areas where they needed to build a broad base of support. Land reform in these areas involved a less radical programme of rent reductions and taxes on the wealthier peasants. After 1947 the Communists moved towards their more radical programme based on confiscations and redistributions as more and more areas fell under their control. The land reform programme was often accompanied by violence and terror against the landlords
- the communists also began to introduce elements of socialist co-operation in some rural communities in the wake of land reform. Mutual aid teams were set up to facilitate sharing of equipment and labour, but the Communists did not wish to alienate the peasants at this stage by forcing them into large collective farms.

On the other hand, candidates may point out that by 1949, in those areas which were not taken over by the Communists until the final stages of the war land reform had barely begun when the Communists took power. Change in the lives of these peasants came after the Communist victory, not before. They may also point out that the middle-ranking and richer peasants suffered at the hands of the Communists.

Good answers are likely to conclude that the peasants who lived in areas under Communist control at the start of the war, or in its early stages, had benefited from the land reform programme and had benefited from the Communists' determination to treat them with respect.



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**Question 2**

**03** Explain why the Communists supported the emancipation of women. (12 marks)

*Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)*

**Levels Mark Scheme**

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-2**
- L2:** Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will **either** be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question **or** they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **3-6**
- L3:** Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **7-9**
- L4:** Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised. **10-12**

**Indicative content**

**Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.**

Despite some progress towards greater equality for women in Chinese society having been made since the revolution of 1911, women were still not fully emancipated when the Communists took power in 1949. The practice of foot-binding persisted in some areas despite earlier efforts to eradicate it. Arranged marriages were common, as was the keeping of concubines by rich and powerful men, particularly the warlords who held sway in some regions. Educational opportunities had improved under Nationalist rule but many girls, especially in rural areas, still received no formal education. In areas under Communist rule before 1949, some progress was made towards greater equality for women. Arranged marriages were banned and divorce was made easier. Women were also given the right to vote and Mao insisted that women must occupy at least a quarter of the positions on all elected bodies. Once the Communists took control over the whole country in 1949 these reforms were extended to the rest of the country. The New Marriage Law of 1950 outlawed arranged marriages and concubinage, and gave unmarried, divorced and widowed the women the same rights to own property as men. Divorce was made available to women on the same terms as men.

Answers need to show a range of factors which influenced the Communists' attitudes towards women. Candidates might include some of the following factors:

- as a revolutionary force, the Communists had set out to change Chinese society and eradicate traditional attitudes and practices which they regarded as a brake on progress. The emancipation of women was one of the key policies for carrying the revolution forward, especially in rural areas
- Communist ideology emphasised the importance of greater equality. In areas under Communist control before 1949 women were given more legal and political rights but were also expected to fully share in the burdens of labour outside the home and also to participate in revolutionary struggles
- Mao set out to mobilise the entire population in support of the Communist cause and women were included in this. Policies which improved the status of women were therefore designed to attract their support
- after 1949 the priority for the Communist regime was to consolidate its hold on power. Reforms such as the New Marriage Law of 1950 were a vital part of Mao's strategy for winning support for Communist rule.

To reach the higher levels candidates will need to show the inter-relationship between the factors given. For example, candidates might make a link between the Communists' ideological belief in greater equality and the political imperative for them to attract support in order to win and hold onto power.

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## Question 2

- 04** 'The Communist regime brought about a dramatic improvement in the social welfare of the Chinese people in the years 1949 to 1953.'  
Explain why you agree or disagree with this view. (24 marks)

*Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)*

### Levels Mark Scheme

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers may **either** contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question **or** they may address only a limited part of the period of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-6**
- L2:** Answers will show some understanding of the demands of the question. They will **either** be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question **or** they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **7-11**
- L3:** Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **12-16**
- L4:** Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. **17-21**
- L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary. **22-24**

### Indicative content

**Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.**

Candidates should be able to make a judgement by balancing points which agree with the view that the Communist regime had 'brought about a dramatic improvement in the social welfare of the Chinese people' in these years, against others which do not.

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Candidates will need to show knowledge and understanding of the state of social welfare, particularly public health and education, when the Communists came to power in 1949. The health of the Chinese people before 1949 varied considerably between urban and rural areas. In the cities there had been some improvements during the years of Nationalist rule with the building of hospitals and improved access to primary health care. There were hospitals and medical schools in large cities provided by western churches and charities. Traditional Chinese medicine was also available but was frowned upon by modernisers in the Nationalist regime. In the countryside poverty and ignorance, together with a lack of health care facilities, led to high death rates from epidemic diseases such as typhoid, cholera and dysentery. Resistance to disease was low as a result of poverty, and the widespread use of human and animal manure as fertiliser led to a high incidence of worm infestation. Infant mortality rates were high in the rural areas.

In education there was a similar disparity between urban and rural areas. Although education had traditionally been valued in China, entry to schools and universities was severely restricted by the high costs involved. Western involvement in China had led to the creation of schools and universities by missionary societies and there had been some expansion of educational opportunities under Nationalist rule between 1911 and 1949. These changes had enabled an educated middle class to develop but for most Chinese, especially the peasants, educational opportunities were limited. One estimate is that, before 1949, a mere 20% of Chinese children attended primary school.

Points which agree with the view that there was a dramatic improvement in health and education might include:

- the Communist regime placed the emphasis on preventative rather than curative medicine to compensate for the lack of hospitals and doctors
- propaganda and mass mobilisation campaigns were used to improve sanitation and hygiene and the quality of water supplies
- in both towns and cities people were mobilised to take part in Patriotic Health campaigns which focused on cleaning the drains, removing vermin, digging deep wells to access clean water and keeping human waste away from habitation
- in the countryside particular attention was paid to educating the peasants about the dangers of catching schistosomiasis from snails that lived in water
- in the cities hospitals were available to workers employed in large industrial enterprises
- the Communists improved educational provision, particularly at primary school level. By 1956, the number of children aged 7-16 who were in full-time education had increased to c50%.

Points which disagree with the view might include:

- in the countryside hospitals were few and far between. There the Communists adopted a three tier system of health care, with paramedics working out of village health centres, small hospitals/clinics being provided in townships and larger hospitals being set up at county level
- most peasants, therefore had only limited access to modern health care and relied on traditional Chinese medicine and its practitioners
- the Communist regime placed health care very low on its priorities for spending – in 1952 health care accounted for a mere 1.3% of State expenditure
- spending on education also had a low priority in Communist planning. In 1952 state expenditure on education and culture was 6.4% of the total budget

- the best schools in each district, known as 'key schools', set tough entrance tests for admissions and the admissions criteria favoured the children of government and party officials.

Good answers are likely to conclude that there were improvements in social welfare during these years but there was still a sharp divide between the urban and rural areas and, for the peasants in particular, there was not a dramatic improvement in healthcare. Death rates remained high and illiteracy among the peasants remained a problem.

### Question 3

- 05** Explain why millions of young Chinese people were sent to the countryside from 1968. (12 marks)  
*Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)*

#### Levels Mark Scheme

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-2**
- L2:** Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will **either** be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question **or** they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **3-6**
- L3:** Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **7-9**
- L4:** Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised. **10-12**

#### Indicative content

**Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.**

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why millions of young Chinese people were sent to the countryside from 1968. Between 1968 and 1970 c. 5 million young people from the countryside were sent for compulsory work-study programmes in the countryside. By 1976 this number had increased to c.12 million. For Mao and the Chinese leadership, the programme fulfilled a number of objectives.

Candidates might include some of the following factors:

- it helped to disperse the Red Guards whose violence was spiralling out of control in 1967–1968. During the early stages of the Cultural Revolution Mao had encouraged the Red Guards to attack their teachers and ‘counter-revolutionary elements’ but by 1968 Mao and the Army were trying to regain control of the situation. The rustication programme was a useful device to bring the political situation under control
- Mao believed that young people from the cities would benefit from working with the peasants. Mao believed that the peasants were the true revolutionary class in China and that those sent to live and work among them would rediscover their revolutionary zeal
- the rustication programme fitted in with Mao’s belief that the best education comes not from books but from experience of labour and struggle. Schools and universities in China had been closed since the start of the Cultural Revolution and Mao believed that a spell of hard labour in the countryside would be of more benefit than studying for exams.

To reach the higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given. For example, they might argue that the rustication programme was a knee-jerk reaction to the spiralling violence and chaos of the Cultural Revolution but that it also reflected Mao’s ideological belief that young people learn through labour and struggle. He believed strongly that young intellectuals could learn from the peasants.

**Question 3**

**06** 'The Cultural Revolution had ended the power struggle within the Communist Party leadership by 1969.'

Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

(24 marks)

*Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)*

**Levels Mark Scheme**

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers may **either** contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question **or** they may address only a limited part of the period of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-6**
- L2:** Answers will show some understanding of the demands of the question. They will **either** be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question **or** they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **7-11**
- L3:** Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **12-16**
- L4:** Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. **17-21**
- L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary. **22-24**

**Indicative content**

**Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.**

Candidates should be able to make a judgment by balancing points which agree with the view that the Cultural Revolution ended the power struggle within the Communist Party leadership by 1969, against others which do not.

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Points which agree with the view might include:

- the Cultural Revolution was, in part, a power struggle between Mao and his allies and those he described as 'capitalist-roaders' in the Communist Party leadership. The leading 'capitalist-roaders' in Mao's eyes were Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi, both of whom were purged from the leadership. Liu died in prison in 1969 whilst Deng was sent into internal exile
- many other leading Communists were also purged during the Cultural Revolution and the Party came to be dominated by Mao, his radical allies led by Jiang Qing, and the Army, led by Lin Biao. Over 70% of provincial and regional officials were purged, along with 60% of higher-ranking officials at a national level. Only 9 of the 23 members of the Politburo in 1966 survived the purge
- to this extent, the Cultural Revolution had removed all possible opposition to Mao and his policies from within the Communist Party. The radicals appeared to be in the ascendancy in 1969 and were determined, with Mao's support, to defend the 'verdict of the Cultural Revolution' against 'revisionists' and 'capitalist-roaders'.

Points which disagree with the view might include:

- far from resolving the power struggle within the Communist Party leadership, the Cultural Revolution had in fact intensified it. Mao was elderly and the question of the succession to Mao was uppermost in the minds of Communist leaders, especially of Mao himself. His chosen successor up to 1966 had been Liu Shaoqi. With his removal the mantle had passed to the PLA leader and Minister of Defence, Lin Biao. Lin had supported Mao and the radical agenda of Jiang Qing throughout the Cultural Revolution but there were tensions between Lin and Jiang
- there was also a deeper rift between the Party leadership which emerged from the Cultural Revolution and the state bureaucracy led by the Premier, Zhou Enlai
- after the Cultural Revolution there were three main power groupings which were vying for Mao's attention and his favour. These were: Lin Biao and the army; Jiang Qing and the radicals; Zhou Enlai and the state bureaucracy. Each grouping had its own agenda and each hoped to win Mao's support in the power struggle. Mao himself managed to maintain control by playing the factions against each other
- although the question refers to the period up to 1969 candidates might well take a longer term view and refer to the fall of Lin Biao in 1971, the attempts by Jiang Qing and the radicals to discredit Zhou and the bureaucracy in the early 1970s and the power struggle which developed in the final phase of Mao's life. This should be credited if candidates have linked it to the question of whether the power struggle had been settled by 1969, but it cannot be expected, even at the highest levels.

Good answers are likely to conclude that, through the Cultural Revolution, Mao had indeed removed those whom he considered to be following the 'capitalist road' but that the Cultural Revolution had not ended the power struggles and faction fighting within the Communist Party. Despite having a façade of unity in 1969 the Communist Party was more divided than previously, not least because Mao was ageing and the question of the succession was more pressing than before the Cultural Revolution.