



**General Certificate of Education  
January 2011**

**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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January 2011

**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 Hundred Flowers' campaign. (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 levels scheme.**

Candidates will need to identify differences between the views of the two sources. For example:

- Source A asserts that the Hundred Flowers campaign was a trap set by Mao to lure intellectuals into making criticisms of the regime in order to identify opponents and punish them.
- Source B, on the other hand, argues that Mao was unsure about the outcome of the campaign. The author argues that Mao genuinely wanted the intellectuals to 'join the revolution of their own free will rather than being forced to do'. The source implies that

the Hundred Flowers campaign was a serious miscalculation on Mao's part, rather than a carefully laid plan.

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

- the initial reluctance of intellectuals to voice criticisms of the regime because of the persecution that they had suffered in earlier campaigns. Many intellectuals, in other words, suspected that the Hundred Flowers campaign was a trap
- Mao had to overcome resistance from within the Communist Party to his Hundred Flowers campaign. When he finally overcame this resistance, and when intellectuals finally had the courage to speak out, Mao was genuinely surprised at the extent of the criticism which was unleashed. At this point he decided to launch the anti-Rightist campaign to persecute intellectuals.
- the argument that the anti-Rightist campaign was always part of Mao's plan, and the whole episode had been a carefully laid trap, was put forward by Mao himself after the Party had lost control of the Hundred Flowers campaign. It can therefore be viewed as a device to justify his serious error of judgment. Mao had shown himself on many occasions to be a consummate political strategist and he was liable to make abrupt changes in direction.
- Mao had expressed concerns about the increasingly bureaucratic nature of the Communist Party and he had had difficulties in persuading the Party to support his plans for economic reform. The Hundred Flowers campaign was Mao's way of putting pressure on his own Party.

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

- Source A refers to Mao's wish for the Communist Party to be 'accountable' and 'under supervision'. Source B, similarly, refers to the campaign as an attempt to combine a 'totalitarian system with democratic checks and balances'. In other words, both sources suggest that Mao's aim was to make the Communist Party more subject to external criticism.

In making a judgement about the degree of difference, candidates may conclude that there are clear differences in view between the two sources but that both argue that his underlying aim was to make the Communist Party more accountable.

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**Question 1**

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

How far did the purging of the intellectuals in the anti-Rightist campaign damage Mao's leadership of the Communist Party in the years 1957 to 1959? (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 judgement by addressing the focus of the question and offering some balance of other factors or views.

Candidates should use the sources as evidence in their answer.

Relevant material from the sources would include:

- **Source A** states that the Hundred Flowers campaign and the persecution of the intellectuals in the subsequent anti-Rightist campaign were both part of a deliberate plan by Mao to entice intellectuals into making criticisms of the Party to provide an excuse for persecuting them. From this candidates may conclude that Mao's leadership was strengthened since he was clearly seen to be in control of events.
- **Source B** offers the view that Mao was not entirely sure what the outcome of his Hundred Flowers campaign would be and so was not entirely in control of events. It also states that the intellectuals were so 'badly hurt in the anti-Rightist campaign that they would never believe Mao again. From this candidates may conclude **Either** that Mao's leadership was damaged since he had alienated a key group in Chinese society **OR** that Mao's leadership had been strengthened since he had silenced people who might voice opposition to his policies.
- **Source C** is a personal account by an intellectual who was persecuted during the Anti-Rightist campaign. The source states that 'anyone who questioned the leadership of Chairman Mao was cast out and punished'. From this candidates may conclude that Mao's leadership had been strengthened by the purging of the intellectuals since any criticism of his policies was suppressed. Candidates may also use this source to link the effects of the anti-Rightist campaign on the success/failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 to 1959. The author shows that it was impossible for technically skilled people such as himself to question the flawed policies of the Great Leap Forward since to do so, by objecting 'that steel could not be produced in 'backyard furnaces' was to oppose the revolution'. In this sense the source can be used to support an argument that the anti-Rightist campaign ultimately damaged Mao's leadership since it removed any restraint on him pursuing flawed economic policies.

From candidates' own knowledge:

Factors suggesting that the anti-Rightist campaign had damaged Mao's leadership might include:

- Mao had miscalculated in launching the Hundred Flowers campaign since the criticisms of the Party went far beyond what he expected or would tolerate. He had over-riden objections and reservations from other leading Communists to launch the campaign. The subsequent anti-Rightist campaign can therefore be viewed as a desperate attempt by Mao to regain the political initiative.
- the Great Leap Forward, which was launched by Mao in 1958, was economically disastrous for China, and one reason for the failure was that the purging of the intellectuals meant that nobody dared to oppose Mao's policies in the early stages of the GLF. Technically flawed policies were pursued by Mao, leading to famine in the Chinese countryside, because those with the technical expertise were too afraid to speak up.
- in December 1958 Mao stepped down as Head of State and was replaced by Liu Shaoqi. This had been Mao's intention for some time and was not directly linked to the anti-Rightist campaign or the failures of the GLF. Mao did, however, retain his powerful position as Chairman of the Communist Party.
- in 1959 Peng Dehuai, the Defence Minister, criticised the failures of the GLF and included Mao in his list of those who were responsible. Although these criticisms were



contained in a private letter to Mao, he treated the letter as an open challenge to his authority.

Arguments suggesting that the anti-Rightist campaign had strengthened Mao's leadership might include:

- it was one more stage in the process of suppressing opposition, both inside and outside the Party, which had begun with the Yan'an Rectification Campaign in 1943.
- despite many leading Party officials having reservations about the GLF which was launched by Mao in 1958, none dared openly express their opposition and the policy was adopted by the Party.
- Peng Dehuai was ruthlessly purged from his position as Defence Minister for voicing criticism of Mao in 1959 and this was followed by yet another purge of Party officials who were suspected of having 'Rightist' tendencies.

Good answers may conclude that Mao's leadership was strengthened by the anti-Rightist campaign, at least in the short term. The unprecedented criticism of the Party that was unleashed by the Hundred Flowers campaign had briefly worried Mao but he showed deftness and skill in turning the situation to his advantage by launching a purge of the intellectuals and claiming that this had been his intention all along. In this way he had been able to remain in control of events. The anti-Rightist campaign suppressed the intellectuals and Party officials also learned one again that it was impossible to question the direction of Party policy or Mao's leadership. In the longer term, the purging of the intellectuals paved the way for the Great Leap Forward and Mao's flawed economic policies, but even when the GLF led China to economic disaster his leadership did not come under any sustained or serious challenge.

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**Question 2**

- 03** Explain why the Communists were in a weak position at the start of the Civil War in 1946. (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 the Communists were weak at the start of the civil war in 1946.

Candidates may refer to some of the following factors:

- the Communists had been engaged in a long struggle for political survival against the forces of the Guomindang. After the Long March in 1935 the main Communist base area was in Yan'an. Despite the establishment of the United Front against the Japanese in 1937, GMD attacks on the Communists had continued and they remained in a weak position until the end of World War 2. Since Communist control was limited to a small number of base areas, the manpower available to them for their armies was severely restricted.
- the GMD government of Chiang Kai Shek was recognised by foreign powers as the legitimate government of China and, during the war, the Nationalists received extensive military aid from the Americans. This aid continued after the war ended in 1945 with the

Americans airlifting GMD forces into areas previously controlled by the Japanese in order to prevent the Communists from taking control. American aid gave the Nationalists an overwhelming superiority in terms of military equipment, especially heavy guns and aircraft.

- the Communists did receive support from the Soviet Union at the end of World War 2 when the Soviet Red Army occupied Manchuria. Captured Japanese equipment was handed over to the Chinese Communist forces and the Soviets helped to train the Chinese PLA in conventional warfare. On the other hand, Soviet assistance came at a price. Stalin was anxious to avoid a confrontation with the USA and therefore used his influence to try to restrain the Chinese Communists. In November 1945, for example, Soviet Commanders in Manchuria ordered the Chinese Communists to abandon the cities, thereby giving the Nationalists an important strategic advantage.

To reach higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given. For example, there are clear links between the American support for the GMD and Stalin's reluctance to give the Chinese Communists unqualified support. Candidates may question the degree of weakness of the Chinese Communists in 1946 by pointing, for example, to their experience in guerrilla warfare and to their political strengths. Whilst this cannot be expected, even at the highest levels, candidates who offer a balanced assessment of strengths/weaknesses should be credited as long as they clearly identify a range of factors affecting the Communists' position at the start of the Civil War.

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**Question 2**

- 04** 'The Communist victory in the Civil War was due to the weaknesses in Chiang Kai Shek's leadership of the Nationalists'.  
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 evidence which supports the view given against that which does not.

Evidence which agrees might include:

- the Nationalists were in a much stronger position than the Communists at the start of the Civil War. They controlled more territory, had a larger army and an air force and had American support. The loss of the war in these circumstances points to serious failings on the part of the Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai Shek.
- Chiang could not trust others and therefore failed to delegate power to his military commanders in the field. His strategic decisions led to many defeats
- he was a poor judge of character. He promoted people whom he liked or who were useful to him but he was suspicious of more independent-minded but able people. Many of his commanders were incompetent
- he was stubborn, inflexible and unwilling to listen to advice
- his regime was weak and divided by factional rivalries
- serious mismanagement of the economy by the Nationalist government led to rampant inflation and eroded support for the regime.

Evidence which disagree(s) might include:

- the Communists had a very able military commander in Lin Biao. Mao was responsible for the overall Communist strategy during the war but he left his commanders to make crucial decisions about the details of the fighting to his commanders in the field
- the use of guerrilla warfare by the Communists in the early stages of the war enabled them to maximise their strengths and compensate for their weaknesses in terms of lack of manpower and equipment. Guerrilla warfare tied down large numbers of Nationalist troops in Manchuria and seriously eroded their military strength
- the Communists adopted policies designed to win peasant support, including land reform and the instructions to Communist troops to treat the civilian population with respect. The Communist forces succeeded in recruiting many peasants to swell their ranks. The PLA carried out political indoctrination work among the peasants in the areas it controlled.

Good answers are may conclude that Chiang's weaknesses as a political leader and as a military strategist were a serious handicap to the Nationalist forces. On the other hand, the Communist victory was a result of political and military strengths of the Communists. Guerrilla warfare was crucial to the Communists in the early stages of the war in enabling them to establish a secure base in Manchuria and seriously erode the Nationalists' fighting capabilities. Final victory, however, came about only after the Communists switched to a conventional warfare strategy and carried the war to the rest of China. This switch in strategy, and the success of the campaign to win peasant support, were due to the strengths of Mao's leadership.

**Question 3**

**05** Explain why Lin Biao fell from power in 1971. (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.**

Lin Biao was the Defence Minister, Mao's chosen successor and one of Mao's main allies during the Cultural Revolution. He fell from power in September 1971 after his position with Mao had become untenable and he decided to flee the country. He was killed when the aircraft taking him to the Soviet Union crashed in Outer Mongolia.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why Lin Biao fell from power.

Candidates might include some of the following factors:

- relations between Mao and Lin deteriorated in 1970 after Lin tried to persuade Mao to take the vacant position of Head of State. Mao was suspicious that Lin was trying to push him into taking on a more ceremonial role and thereby increase his own power.
- Lin Biao had been unfailingly loyal to Mao during the Cultural Revolution and had been one of the main beneficiaries of those events. During the Cultural Revolution he had also been an ally of Jiang Qing and the radicals but once the CR was over a power struggle developed between Lin Biao and the PLA on the one hand and Jiang Qing and the

radicals on the other. Factional behaviour of this kind caused Mao to further question Lin's reliability

- Lin was Defence Minister and Commander in Chief of the PLA, which had gained a greatly increased political role as a result of the Cultural Revolution. Mao was increasingly concerned that China appeared to be under military control and saw Lin as a potential 'Chinese Bonaparte' (military dictator)
- Mao gradually reduced Lin's power base. He forced Lin's allies to make self-criticisms and placed his own men on the Military Affairs Commission to counter-balance Lin's influence. Military commanders loyal to Lin were removed from Beijing.
- when Lin realised that Mao was moving against him, he decided to resist. Plans were drawn up by Lin's son for a possible military coup (although it is not entirely clear whether Lin knew of or approved these plans). When it became clear that these plans had been discovered, Lin decided to flee instead.

To reach higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given. For example, they might argue that although Lin had benefited greatly from the Cultural Revolution because he had been unquestioningly loyal to Mao, his downfall came as a result of him over-estimating his own importance. The planned purge of Lin Biao by Mao fitted a pattern established by Mao over thirty years since he took control of the Chinese Communist Party – those who opposed Mao or who questioned his decisions were removed from power.

**Question 3**

- 06** By early 1976, Deng Xiaoping's political position was secure'. 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 and disagree with the view that Deng Xiaoping had regained his power. In 1966 Deng Xiaoping had been General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, a member of the Politburo and one of the main leaders responsible for economic planning. Together with Liu Shaoqi, he had been identified by Mao as one of the leading 'capitalist-roadsters' in the Party and had been purged



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during the Cultural Revolution. Unlike Liu, however, he had survived the Cultural Revolution and was rehabilitated by Mao in 1973.

Points/factors/evidence which agree(s) might include:

- Deng was recalled to the Central Committee by Mao in 1973 and given the position of Vice-Premier, working under Premier Zhou Enlai. His power, therefore, was within the state bureaucracy rather than the Party.
- Zhou Enlai was suffering from terminal cancer and Deng therefore assumed control of the day-to-day administration
- Deng was a leading exponent of the policy of the 'Four Modernisations' under which China drew upon foreign technology and expertise to stimulate its economic development
- In 1974 Deng was chosen by Mao to lead China's delegation to the United Nations and Deng was effectively in charge of China's foreign affairs
- in October 1974 Deng was appointed as First Deputy Premier, making him the automatic choice to succeed Zhou Enlai. Following this Mao appointed Deng as Vice-Chairman of the Party and a member of Military Affairs Commission.

Points/factors/evidence which disagree(s) might include:

- Mao had rehabilitated Deng to work alongside his chosen successor, Wang Hongwen. Deng had the experience which the young Wang lacked, but Wang was regarded by Mao as being more ideologically reliable. This 'partnership' was an inherently unstable arrangement because of the power struggle which was developing between moderates and radicals in Chinese politics
- the 'Gang of Four' kept up a relentless campaign to undermine Deng in Mao's eyes. The anti-Confucius campaign of 1974 was directed primarily against Zhou Enlai, Deng and the moderates within the leadership. Mao rejected the factionalism of the radicals and, by the summer of 1975, their influence was in decline
- Mao, however, harboured doubts about Deng's ideological leanings and his willingness to accept the 'verdict of the Cultural Revolution'. From this it was a short step to Mao initiating a campaign against Deng. By the end of 1975 Deng was out of favour and he had been stripped of his responsibilities. Although he retained his positions within the government and the Party, he had lost his power.
- after the death of Zhou Enlai in January 1976 and the outpouring of public support for him in the following months, Mao and the Party appeared to be losing control of events. Deng was blamed for this and dismissed from all of his posts. Indeed, fearing for his safety, he went into hiding in southern China.

Good answers may conclude that Deng had been rehabilitated to a position of considerable power and influence by the autumn of 1975 but that his power was stripped from him by the beginning of 1976. Despite his age and infirmity Mao still had the ultimate authority to dispense power within China.