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Examiners' Report January 2011

GCE History 6HI01 D

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Introduction

The scripts reflected the full range of levels. Most students wrote between three and five pages for each answer, though a very small clutch of students wrote very little and did not get out of level one. The overwhelming majority of students followed instructions, writing their answers on the appropriate pages and indicating the question number in the appropriate box. Legibility was generally not an issue, and, where it was, this seems to have been about the colour and type of pen used.

Students understood the questions but some key words were ill-digested: brutality, repression and the key turning point were particular sticking points. Some students confused brutality with determination and turning point with change. Repression was interpreted widely too. For Question 10, some students viewed any difference as opposition; these ended up writing about the forces that supported civil rights in the same vein as the forces that opposed civil rights.

Most candidates were able to identify and evaluate at least some key points. However, many scripts, especially for questions 6, 8, 11 and 12, were conspicuous by an absence of appropriately selected factual evidence. In such scripts, factual detail could not be summoned to support worthy points; the candidate either resorted to general narrative or repetition. Many students describe examples in broadly the same way. This can lead those who have a more interesting turn of phrase to appear better than they are in terms of substance, which may or may not be the case when examined further.

Stated-factor questions were approached through both the stated factor and other factors. There were a few scripts that dwelled on one or the other but very few. Questions 2 and 6, for example, showed a full range of factors, though in both instances the stated factor was less well evaluated than the other factors. Brutality tended to be reduced to terror or Red Army or Cheka, rarely all three and rarely explained. The horrors of the civil war were identified through War Communism but, again, often unspecified. The mistakes of Chiang Kai-shek were less about what he did than the superiority of the Communists that wrong footed Chiang.

Some students resorted to lengthy, irrelevant introductions and lead-ins. A large number of answers began by repeating the question set, prefacing this with 'To a certain extent I agree that...'. Others declared that 'many historians' agreed with the point made in the question, but were never able to substantiate their claim. Better answers avoided these approaches, producing their own opening statement which usually suggested individual confidence and a personal viewpoint. Future candidates might be advised that a prepared opening can take up precious time and adds little to the answer overall. Some students relied on quoting from historians. In the best essays one or two quotations can be integrated well and can be made relevant to the candidate's argument. However, in a few cases, the quotes were used only as soundbites.

Question 1

The few candidates who attempted this question were able to present some reasons why China became so chaotic in the period, with the impact of Yuan Shikai's death and the rise of various warlords being discussed, along with the role of natural disasters. Some candidates referred to the last years of Qing rule and raised valid doubts about the "effectiveness of central government" in the first place, although few were able to say much about the role of foreign, especially Russian, intervention.

Question 2

Candidates were more confident dealing with Chiang's mistakes than the wider factors leading to the ultimate victory of the CCP. There were so many potential contributory factors that even the strongest candidates couldn't hope to address all of them - it was more important to select appropriately from across the 15 year period and explain the impact on of the chosen factors on the outcome. Again, the role of foreign intervention was an area that might have been dealt with more clearly.

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If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then put a cross in another box ☒.

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(This page is for your first answer.)

It can be seen that Chiang Kai Shek's main aim throughout his rule in China was to crush the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) to keep firm control in his hands. However it can have often been said that his blunders only aided the CCP's survival and ultimately allow them to gain power in 1949. Despite this the CCP had other allowances and strengths which

led them to victory over Chiang Kai Shek and the GMD.

Chiang Kai Shek's tactical errors were vital into allowing the CCP to survive. ~~The~~ The mistakes made rooted from his stubbornness which in fact had been a main part of his life. ~~This stubbornness~~, what with his early marriage and spoilt military upbringing. ~~Finally~~ This ~~is~~ stubbornness clouded his judgements ~~and~~ especially during

(This page is for your first answer.) The civil war where he ordered his troops to stay in Manchuria despite his stronghold base ~~being~~ support in the central Yangtze. ~~This~~ ~~is~~ This mistake was then echoed when he lost the fight in ~~manche~~ Manchuria and ordered his troops to remain in the south so they were left further from supplies once again. This stupidity led many to doubt his leadership and would have made those who were sceptical seek new ideas such as those from the CCP. Which only aided Mao's reputation.

It can not be said ~~to~~ however that all of the CCP's survival was down to the weakness of opposition but Mao's policy's and control of his army, although smaller ~~proved~~ to be more effective. Mao told his troops to not steal from peasants ~~who~~ who they had asked for help from and many other simple respectful rules gave the CCP's reputation to be fairer and more amiable than that of Chiang Kai Shek's. With the Peasant's support the CCP had the advantage of rural countryside ~~which~~ and a far greater percentage of population than Chiang Kai Shek's audience of the ~~Middle class~~ wealthy middle classes. It can be inferred then the one of Chiang's mistakes

(This page is for your first answer.) came from underestimating the power and ~~no~~ ~~to~~ knowledge of the rural peoples, there knowledge of Gurilla tactics gave the CCP strength of surprise ~~and~~ allowing them to surround and ambush the GMD's army. Mao's leadership hence played a huge part in giving the CCP support and keeping his army, although smaller, an upper hand in terms of tactics and ~~high~~ ~~on~~ morale.

The CCP were also aided in their fight against the Nationalists by the Soviets who gave them thousands of guns they had captured from the Japanese in Manchuria. The support of a world power would have been an extraordinary boost to morale and the ~~the~~ ~~winning~~ ~~could~~ ~~only~~ ~~have~~ ~~strengthened~~ ~~the~~ ~~CCP~~. Despite this the Nationalists (Chiang Kai Shek) received more money and supplies than what the CCP had received by ~~had~~ still found itself in a weaker position due to Chiang Kai Shek's decision making and mistrust in his leaders. Whereas Mao on the other hand allowed his generals (who were picked on talent rather than "personal favourites") were given a greater reign on organising their men. ~~For example~~ This gave them enormous

(This page is for your first answer.) strength compared to the Nationalists as a variety of tactics would keep the opposition on their toes. For example Lin Biao gave the communists many victories during the civil war and it was found that soldiers from Chiang's army would surrender and align themselves with Mao due to ~~no~~ no real direction and neglect from above.

In Conclusion Chiang Kai Shek's mistakes made a very decisive impact on the victory of the CCP ~~as it is~~ as his decisions alienated his own allies, even with help from the Americans. Chiang's stubbornness would not allow him to use anyone else's ideas but himself ~~which~~. This only spiralled into waves of unpopularity and ~~of~~ the ignorance to his people over his obsession with capturing the CCP only drove them away. His mistakes were the ultimate catalyst to aiding the CCP's strengths of leadership, ideas and a trust in their people, and so Chiang Kai Shek's personality only made it inevitable for a Communist Party victory.

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Examiner Comments

The answer is focused on the question and addresses the errors made by Chiang Kai-shek, his stubborn nature, mistrust of the generals, and his growing isolation from his allies in the years 1946-49. Set against these points are Mao's leadership qualities, including the steps he took to gain the support of the peasants. The answer has only a limited range of factors, but supporting material is secure and accurate. Mid Level 4.

Question 3

Candidates were well versed in the features of Mao's policies that contributed to the famine, even if discriminating between agricultural and other economic policies proved difficult for some. The counterproductive impact of creating communes was well known, as were the consequences of Lysenkoism and the "anti" campaigns. Many candidates made valid references to wider political factors, citing the 1959 Party Congress at Lushan and the discrediting of Peng to good effect.

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~~Over the~~
~~A 'Great Famine' struck China in the years~~
~~1958-60~~
Plan
How accurate is it to say that Mao's agricultural policies from 1949 were the most important reason for the famine of 1959-61.

Agricultural Policies Lysenkoism
↳ collectivisation
↳ communes + collectives
↳ weren't paid → work points

Other Factors

- excessive + violent party members
- fear of not meeting targets
- Mao's own delusions
- genocide (Tibet)
- Backyard furnaces (industrialisation)

(This page is for your first answer.) Between the years 1959[~] and 1962 a 'Great Famine' took hold of China, larger than any before, ~~as~~ it drove millions to starvation and thousands more to suicide. The agricultural policies[^] Mao enforced from 1949 ~~were~~ definitely had a major effect on the occurrence of this famine. However there are many other factors, such as the attitude of Mao and the party cadres, industrialisation and the ~~the~~ shadow of fear that lay ~~of~~ over the country, which also contributed to the outbreak. So to say that agricultural policies were the most important factor doesn't seem like a very accurate point at all and all factors must be assessed in more detail to determine the accuracy of this statement.

When Mao first came to power, the Agrarian Reform Law was passed. This saw the land confiscated from the landlords and redistributed amongst the peasants. This was a huge step and worked well in the party's favour. ~~The~~ Arguably with the peasants feeling as though their needs were being catered for they would work harder producing a greater surplus of crop.

However the joy was short lived with the introduction of communes and collectives.

(This page is for your first answer.) Originally there were 750,000 collectives which were later joined to make 70,000 communes. This was a major factor in bringing about the famine. Firstly it caused great unrest amongst the peasants and crop production. This will have been to do with fact the peasants felt they were working under the old regime once again and so work ethic may have decreased. The move to collectives and communes also saw incentives being taken away from them, they were only allowed to keep enough to feed themselves and the rest was given to the state. Undoubtedly

the levels of crops produced would go down as there was no incentive to work harder. So already it can be seen that the ~~Agricultural~~ agricultural policies introduced by Mao effected the levels of crop production which in turn helped lead to the famine.

One ~~agg~~ agricultural policy that contributed significantly to the Great Famine was the introduction of Lysenkoism. It was ~~the~~ a Soviet

(This page is for your first answer.) science that was intended to make crops yield up to 16 ~~more~~ times more surplus. In reality however it ~~was~~ didn't work. This didn't matter to Mao as he told his officials to enforce the policy across the whole country. The results were extremely poor with massive quantities of crops going to waste due to this inefficient science. This ~~was~~ further supports the belief that agricultural policies were the most important ~~factor~~ reason for the famine as ~~the~~ science continually destroyed seasons of crops.

Sparrowcide was a policy that seriously affected the food supplies of china. A policy Mao initiated for all sparrows and similar birds to be ~~of~~ killed across china. There was a huge uptake with villages competing for the most dead sparrows. However the results were devastating. With the vast population of sparrows gone the insect population grew expedientially destroying any crop fields left from Lysenkoism.

In all the agricultural policies were fairly deadly in their destruction of china's food surplus. However the

(This page is for your first answer.) way in which the ~~the~~ chinese Communist Party's (CCP) party cadres implemented them was also a significant reason for the Great Famine. The party cadres were most in touch ~~with~~ with what was going on in the country side. They could see when the agricultural policies started to fail and first signs of the famine began to appear. Yet instead of informing their superiors they ~~sethly~~ & carried on taking more and

more food from the peasants, regardless of whether it left them starving. Arguably this was because of their own selfishness with wanting gain higher positions within the party. So the selfishness of the party cadres was also a deciding factor in the ~~era~~ emergence of the Great Famine.

It's likely that another reason for their reluctance to report the ineffectiveness of the agricultural policies was also due to fear. Like Stalin, Mao had created a vast fear throughout the party

(This page is for your first answer.) and the country. No one dared to challenge his policies for fear of being 're-educated'. Even when presented with a chance to speak out against the ~~the~~ policies and the Famine with Peng Dehuai at the Lushan conference in 1959, they condemned him instead, ever supporting Mao.

Mao's own reluctance to accept responsibility was also a significant factor. It took him nearly three years to accept the famine, in which time many more died. If he had acknowledged its existence much earlier he could have called a halt to it most likely.

Mao's enthusiastic pursuit of industry also aided in the outcome of the famine as it quite arguably stole focus away from ~~the~~ agriculture with policies such as the 'Backyard Furnaces.'

When all the factors are assessed alongside each other it can be seen that whilst Mao's agricultural policies

(This page is for your first answer.) from 1949 were a significant factor in the result of the famine in 1959-62, the statement posed in the question isn't very accurate at all. There are too many other contributing factors such as the attitude of the party cadres and the industrial enthusiasm. A more likely reason for the famine is

Mao himself as he set the agricultural policies, created the fear to which party officials conformed and set the precedent enthusiasm. ~~The~~ Nearly all factors for the famine lead back to Mao so arguably he is the most important reason for the famine of 1959-62.

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Examiner Comments

The answer considers Mao's policies in the years after 1949, noting the extent of agricultural change along with the malign impact of policies such as Lysenkoism and sparrowcide. There is also detailed reference to the culture of fear, and the answer rightly suggests Mao's interests lay in industry rather than agriculture. The range of material offered is secure, with a sufficient range of explanatory points for high Level 4.

Question 4

The question covered a long period of time and allowed candidates to examine a whole range of social policies whose impact obviously varied according to time, place and social group. The differences between theory and practice in the changes affecting women were well known, as were the positive changes in the provision of educational opportunities. It was pleasing to see some candidates putting their knowledge of geographical variations to good effect. Many candidates were able to comment on the negative way the “Hundred Flowers” campaign affected intellectuals and were able to identify victims of the Cultural Revolution towards the end of the period. The attacks on religion were less well documented and in general more was written about those who benefitted than those who suffered. However, there were many candidates who were unable to decide which policies were actually social policies, and included material on industrial and agricultural change which was not anchored to the question.

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(This page is for your first answer.) Mao Zedong proclaimed the PRC (People's Republic of China) on 1st October 1949. Victory had given him the mandate of Heaven. Unity and national independence were to be established, foreigners were to be all but eliminated off of Chinese soil whilst the country was to return to a proud isolation. Drugs and bandits were to be largely removed by a determined brutality whilst women were to enjoy most of the freedoms espoused by

the reformers of the earlier twentieth century. All these measures were to improve the lives of the Chinese people from 1949; but whether Mao's social policies led to this is debatable. The Chinese people consisted of intellectuals, peasants, ^{businessmen,} rich landlords, women and includes many other aspects of the population. Whether their lives were improved by the social

(This page is for your first answer.) policies brought about by Mao is to be examined in this essay

There was a genuine need for increasing control as 37 years of warlords and war had led to social disintegration. There were criminal habits on a vast scale; many men had turned into bandits in the countryside, and ^{many} women had turned to prostitution as a means of survival.

The process of consolidating control was completed through two campaigns and these had positive effects. The 3 Anti's campaign of 1951 targeted party members and bureaucrats, and sought to combat corruption. Thereafter, the 5 Anti's campaign

targeted businessmen with the aim of ending bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property and stealing of economic information. As a result, the campaigns had positive effects as they minimised problems in society; thus improving the standards of living in Chinese people.

Land Reform particularly affected the lives

(This page is for your first answer.) of peasants and rich landlords. Land Reform was universally applied in 1949. Land, and the ownership of it was regarded by most Chinese people as one of the most vital of life's issues as it was intimately connected with survival, or at the very least a satisfied belly. In North China, there were very few landlords and only 10-15% of people rented land. Meanwhile, in the South-West, 56% of people rented their land. Throughout the lower fertile Yangtze valley, peasants dominated food production and their surpluses fed the great cities. There was no agreed way in how to deal with this problem and Mao came to accept modera-

tion as the best policy; in allowing richer peasants to flourish whilst targeting rich landlords and village bullies. 60% of the population benefited to varying degrees and the policy brought a vast amount of support of peasants for the new regime. However, there were still real inequalities in the villages and tensions between poor peasants and their wealthier neighbours. Peasants and owners of no land

(This page is for your first answer.) benefited from land reform whilst the gentry lost their status, their wealth and in many cases their lives; due to "struggle meetings":

women benefited from the new Marriage Law ~~is~~ issued in 1950 which declared women's rights as being equal to those of men. In addition, arranged marriages were forbidden, as were dunnies and concubinage. Women's property rights were asserted as equal to those of men, and divorced, widowed and unmarried women could all hold land in their name. Children ~~benefited~~ born out of wedlock were to have equal

rights to those who weren't and divorce was to be available on equal terms; except that a man could not divorce his pregnant wife nor for a year after she had given birth. Such changes amounted to a social revolution and challenged age-old traditions. However, it seemed that women had benefited as a result of the new law.

Intellectuals were also targeted; however

(This page is for your first answer.) They did not seem to benefit from Mao's policies. The new Chinese government and communist party leaders encouraged intellectuals to criticize the government and advise them on any ^{existing} problems whilst government officials encouraged intellectuals to ~~to~~ criticize ~~the~~ government policies and speak up. However, the Hundred Flowers Campaign of Spring 1957 arose as a result of real tension ~~about~~ between the intellectual elite and the communist party. The educated tended to come from wealthier classes and many had connections with the GMD regime.

The new China subjected its individuals to endless bouts of self-criticism; as all had to write self-critical biographies denouncing their past life and their incorrect thoughts. The People's Daily (a newspaper) was slow in encouraging the movement and as a result, Mao called in the editor; making it clear to him that he had to support the movement. ~~The~~ As a result, on the 13th April 1957, an editorial was published; encouraging the movement. What followed was a wave

(This page is for your first answer.) of criticism, and there was an attack on the rule of the party, and a demand for genuine democracy. Mao felt that the Hundred Flowers Campaign was threatening his leadership, and so he halted it in July 1957 and began an "Anti-rightist Campaign"; which in effect silenced any opposition.

Due to the Anti-rightist Campaign of 1957, all members of the intelligentsia were denounced as "rightists" whilst many were prosecuted, persecuted and sent where

within the region of 400,000 people were sent to labour camps for "correction". One intellectual, Lao She was so badly beaten (as a result of the Cultural Revolution), and forced to burn his books and manuscripts; that he committed suicide. Therefore, many intellectuals suffered at the hands of Mao and this particular section of society did not benefit from his policies.

Teachers were also targeted in the Cultural Revolution which ran from August 1966 to

(This page is for your first answer.) April 1967. Red Guard units multiplied throughout August and teachers bore much of the initial violence. ~~By~~ By the end of 1966, most schools/colleges had been closed for revolutionary struggle. Many teachers were beaten and killed by groups/gangs of Red Guards; for no better reason than some past hurt or humiliation. One headmaster was killed and then eaten by his pupils, in one of the more remote provinces.

It is through some of the social policies mentioned in this essay, that Mao either brought about misery or benefits to China. Had he died in the ~~late~~ 50's, then his policies would have been seen as a great achievement; but events following this brought much pain and suffering to some groups within the population; namely the intelligentsia.

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Examiner Comments

The answer includes a range of material taken from the whole period 1949-76. There is much which is not directly relevant to the question of Mao's social policies, especially the Hundred Flowers campaign and the Cultural Revolution. Land reform and the changing status of women are, of course, relevant and, but these points are described rather than explained or analysed. High Level 3.

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Examiner Tip

Make sure you understand the differences between social, economic and political policies.

Question 5

There was clear agreement among examiners that most candidates were able to answer the question with some confidence. The question lent itself to a comparative approach and candidates took the opportunity to contrast the two revolutions by examining themes such as divisions within the opposition, attitudes in the army, trust in the Tsar and so on. While this approach did lead to some high quality answers, it did also cause some candidates to lose sight of the focus of the question, which was reasons for the different outcomes: some candidates wrote in a developed analytical way about survival in 1905, but then concentrated more on why the March revolution broke out, rather than why the Tsar succumbed to it. There was often an implicit assumption made that whatever caused the March revolution must have been why the Tsar abdicated.

1905 was explained better with most candidates being able to differentiate between the aims of the Tsar's opponents, explaining how with Witte's guidance the Tsar was eventually able to split the liberals with the prospect of constitutional reforms, buy off the peasantry and then crush the remaining workers. The army's loyalty was central to many answers although what they actually did in dealing with the Moscow uprising at the end of the year was less frequently addressed. There were also some curious comments about how Bloody Sunday demonstrated army loyalty - while it doubtlessly did do that, it seemed a curious piece of evidence to select in explaining the Tsar's survival since this was the catalyst for the breakdown of law and order in the first place. The Tsar's abdication was dealt with less convincingly and there was a general tendency to assume much greater levels of organisation among the opposition than there was in reality, while weaker candidates frequently attributed its success to Lenin and factors that only applied after the abdication.

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~~Plan: Why did Tsarism survive the revolution of 1905 but not that of March 1917
Survive 1905~~ ~~But didn't 1917~~

- ① Support of Army
 ② Offered Concessions
 · Spontaneous
- ③ ~~Loss of the War = economical~~
 · ~~Lost support of Army~~

The revolution in March 1917 wasn't a planned take over of power but was a spontaneous one that started with strikes and protests in Petrograd. This was very much similar to the February 1905 revolution, if it deserves the title of revolution, in that it had little backing from revolutionaries, many of whom were in exile. The 1917 take over of power, which resulted with the abolition of the Tsar and Tsarina on the 3rd March, didn't have the support of the ~~army~~ military, unlike in 1905; it didn't offer any political concessions, unlike 1905; and most importantly the ~~the~~ First World War was raging on, unlike 1905.

(This page is for your first answer.)

In 1905 Father Gapon led a large group of peaceful and loyal supporters to the Winter Palace in St Petersburg to show the Tsar the suffering his people had suffered. The inadequate character of the Tsar reacted in the only way he knew, to attack the protesters, killing \odot and injuring hundreds more. ~~This did not exist~~ Even though they've had been a small number of autists, predominantly in the navy, the armed forces remained loyal to the Tsar. In 1917 this had been lost. When protests broke out in ~~the~~ the navy named Petrograd he ordered them to be crushed with violence. This time the staunchly loyal Cossacks

and Life Guards refused to attack the crowds and instead protected them from the police. This lack of support from the main military inevitably meant there was nothing left to insist the autocratic right of the monarchy.

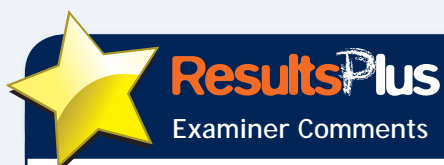
In 1905 one of the greatest desires of the people was for a series of land reforms, after the recent famines of 1891 and 1901, along with political reform. Nicholas II gave this to his people in the form of the October Manifesto and the creation of both a constitution and a Duma. This had been enough to silence the reforming liberals but with the latter disbandment of four Dumas, and eventually suspending its election, he had lost the trust of this section of society. With the 1917 revolution the Tsar had no concessions he could make to his people to silence the frustration that would destroy all remaining credibility of his autocratic right. If he had been astute enough to capitulate upon what Lenin would later say "Peace, Bread, Land" then perhaps

(This page is for your first answer.) Tsarism could have survived.

Perhaps one of the most important things that helped to bring down the Romanov dynasty in 1917 and not 1905 was the impact the 'Great War' was having upon the population. The decision of Nicholas II to lead his armies from the front had shown the people, who already had lost their trust in his ^{German} incompetent a leader he really was. The role of the Tsarina, and the ever increasing influence of Rasputin, at managing the home front had brought an even greater distrust in the system. Many members of the lower classes had lost their land due to the war, or were starving due to the inefficient transport system, or had

ever loss relatives in the fighting ^{which which increases} had a huge impact on the clamour
 for reform. If the Tsar was to have listened to his people, as in 1905,
 and ended the war then these states may not have led to his downfall.
 But then perhaps that is an easy route to make; perhaps if he had ended the
 war then it would have destroyed the image of this 'God on Earth', like his
 ancestors that had only so recently been celebrated in the country, and so would
 have added to the call for them to abdicate.

It would seem that it was the loss of the support from
 the military, the inability to provide any concessions and the on going
 war with Germany that, led to the downfall was present in 1917, but not
 1905, that led to the downfall of Tsardom. It was also seen to be
 these factors that ~~led~~ brought down the ^{undesired} Provisional Government under
 Kerensky any more latter.



The answer is focused strongly on the question and considers a number of reasons why Tsarism survived in 1905 but not in March 1917. The role of the army in both revolutions is considered, and there is extensive investigation of the impact of war on the March 1917 uprising. The candidate makes a very telling point when suggesting that the October Manifesto was issued essentially to silence the liberals, but that in 1917 the Tsar essentially had nothing to offer his people. A well-made conclusion and an evaluative response. Mid Level 5.

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(This page is for your first answer.)

- Peasants
Army men.*
- October Manifesto*
- PT for steel works*
- ~~Plan~~ Plan - Intro - army revolution
- P1 - 1st Rev no leadership not planned
- P2 - still had Nobles + Gerson on his side
- P3 - not considered a revolution - still in industrial boom.
- P4 - 2nd revolution, war hindered running of country, Rasputin, Nicholas chief of war
- P5 -
- P6 -

The 1905 revolution came about due to the failures of Tsardom between the years 1861 (emancipation of the serfs) to 1904 (failure of Russians in Russo-Japanese war). It started ~~was~~ due to the international economic recession that occurred after the boom of ~~1893~~ 1893 Russian boom of ~~1893~~ 1893 under the administration of Sergei Witte.

(This page is for your first answer.) An important reason as to why the 1905 revolution didn't destroy Tsarism is to the lack of organisation. None of the main revolutionary parties - Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Social ~~Revolutionaries~~ Revolutionaries - were apparent in the 1905 revolution. This meant that the different social groups within the revolution were disunited and unclear of their aims. Many historians now believe that with the help of a leader such as Lenin, the 1905 revolution could have brought down Tsardom. The proletariat were campaigning for better working conditions and pay after the recession had meant high redundancies in factories like the Putilov steelworks, many ex-workers were now homeless and on the streets of P'grad. The army were campaigning because of what they had lost during the Russo-Japanese war. Yet another different aim was that of the peasants who were campaigning for a less corrupt bureaucracy - they disliked the nepotism and 'under the carpet transfers' that nobles employed on them. This disunited front with no leadership made the 1905 revolution easier for Nicholas to dissolve.

P.T.O.

(This page is for your first answer.) A major contributor to the success of Tsardom in the 1905 revolution was that Nicholas still had the majority of the Army - particularly the Petrograd Garrison - and the Nobles supporting him. Nicholas could exert his power through military and ~~be~~ bureaucratic control. The 1905 revolution highlighted how crucial this was to the Tsar and in ~~19~~ 1917 when those who used to support him began joining the opposition and many of the Garrison deserted, the ~~tsar~~ Tsar had no way of preventing the revolution. In 1905 those who could support and save Tsarism did whereas those who could support and save Tsardom in 1917 did not want it enough to die for it.

The 1917 revolution had many different elements to it than that of 1905. For one the circumstances under which they occurred were completely different. ~~In~~ In 1905 people were ~~of~~ merely tired of how the country was being ~~run~~ run so the government could give some leeway of the autocratic system and the majority of the protesters would be happy.

(This page is for your first answer.) This came in the form of the October Manifesto. However in 1917, Russia was having extreme problems with the war that meant domestically, there was starvation, inflation and increasing working hours to meet the demand of the war. Lenin knew that it is only when people's families are dying that they are prepared to die for what they believe in. This suggests that ~~the~~ Tsarism could survive the 1905 ~~&~~ revolution because people ~~at~~ were not ready for revolution and a better life would suffice.

~~Further~~ Furthermore, ~~in~~ in 1917 the Bolshevik party had been infiltrating the proletariat ~~the~~ and using propaganda such as the 'Pravda' to stimulate a revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin ~~a~~ (a Marxist) and the organisation of Trotsky ~~&~~ they knew the revolution could be a success. With 'mad monk' Rasputin and ~~a~~ the German spy Alexandra, people became ~~increasingly~~ increasingly more open to other parties policies. With Nicholas being the Chief of War (1914), believing that everything was stable at home, meant a way in for the revolutionary parties, possibly the main reason for the 1917 revolution.

(This page is for your first answer.) removing Tsardom more effectively than the 1905.

To conclude, the 1905 revolution ~~failed~~ failed to remove Tsardom mainly because there was a lack of focus and determination within the protesters. They were aware of what they didn't want but unaware of what they did want.

Furthermore, the Tsar's pawns, the Cossacks and the Gendarmes, were still Tsarist meaning the exertion of Autocratic power was easier. 1917 on the other hand, posed the greatest threat to Tsardom due to the influence of social parties and the anger war had created amongst all Russian citizens.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The answer is largely concerned with the causes of the 1905 revolution rather than its outcome. The candidate notes the importance of the role of the army in both revolutions but lacks secure development and analysis in explaining the fall of Tsarism in 1917. Some analytical focus and support for low Level 4.

Question 6

The question produced some impressive answers on the role of Communist brutality and terror in ensuring their survival. At the very least candidates could write about the Cheka and grain requisitioning during the Civil War and some candidates also discussed the closure of the Constituent Assembly, Trotsky's handling of ex-Tsarist generals, the Red Terror, the suppression of the Tambov and Kronstadt rebellions and even the treatment of national minorities. Weaker candidates often had trouble adapting their knowledge of why the Reds won the Civil war to the requirements of the question. However, wider reasons why the Communists survived were dealt with and most candidates could take their answers through to 1924 to include the tactical change to NEP as well as the approaches to the big questions of land and peace that were more palatable to most than the previous policies of the Provisional Government. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the question did state "remained in power" so material explaining the coup was irrelevant here. Some candidates misunderstood the question and produced instead an extended narrative on the Bolsheviks' rise to power.

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 If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
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(This page is for your first answer.)

25th Feb defection of armed forces
 1905 armed forces generally remained loyal
 CW 18-21
 Brutality Trotsky Tsarist soldiers
 War Communism

Not brutality Positioning advantage
 Disunity of opp
 NEP (retreat)

(This page is for your first answer.)

~~Why did Tsarism survive the Revolution of 1905 but not of March 1917?~~

The Bolshevik undeniably used brutality to remain in power between the years 1917 to 1924. Many may say that Trotsky's threatening of the Tsarist soldiers to join the Red Army & Lenin's use of War Communism were brutal. However geographical advantages & disunity of their opposition in the civil war can support counter arguments, as does the tactical retreat that was the New Economic Plan (NEP).

Certainly the use of brutality aided the Bolshevik party greatly, indeed in increasing the strength of the Red Army during the civil war. Trotsky, leader of the Red Army turned to the Tsarist soldiers for help, however to secure their loyalty he threatened to kill their families should they desert. By the end of the civil war in 1921 the Red Army was 5 million strong. The added quantity & experience brought by the Tsarist soldiers helped the Bolshevik stay in power.

During the civil war, Lenin also introduced 'War Communism' to aid their progress; to many this regime could be seen brutal! This involved the nationalisation of many industries & the requisition of grain from peasants. By 1920 37000 industries were under Bolshevik control.

(This page is for your first answer.) What is more, any peasant found to be holding grain back was liable to be shot! This overpowering control led to widespread famine, however it provided the Bolsheviks food & weaponry, crucial to their survival during the war.

However the Bolshevik survival was not all due to their use of brutality; during the civil war they were aided by their geographical advantage over their opponents. The Red Army held Moscow & Petrograd as its base, where the White Army & other units were widely dispersed around them. This not only gave them access to railroads & factories, but a huge population - 60 million or thereabouts. This gave the Red Army a significant advantage, with improved production, transport & man power, as well as a joined & central powerbase that prevented them from losing power.

Unity was something that the Bolsheviks' opposition lacked. The White Army was divided to fighting on three separate fronts. Moreover deferring units such as the Green Army & the Poles who had a smaller power base, never joined &

even fought each other in sheer confusion towards the end of the war. This disunity gave the Red Army the upper hand & was key to Bolshevik's staying in power.

Furthermore, after the war 'War Communism' seemed to be history. Prices were rising & low rationing led to widespread famine. Lenin saw this & realised something had

(This page is for your first answer.) to change if the Bolshevik were to stay in power. Lenin took a risk & introduced a more capitalist system to replace the communist system; New Economic Plan (NEP). This put businesses back into private hands & allowed peasants to work in private markets. By 1921 famine had ended & by 1923 85% of industries were private again. This was unpopular with politicians as it was moving away from communism, however the population moved & economy increased. This was a tactical retreat that brought support back to Lenin & aided them to stay in power.

In conclusion there indeed was the use of brutality to maintain the Bolshevik power, primarily during the civil war. However I feel perhaps more crucial to their success was the disunity of their opposition, aided by the central location of the Red Army. Moreover the tactical risk of the NEP ensured that this power was maintained.

Question 7

Candidates confident about Communist ideology produced some excellent responses, and many were able to discuss the debate about continuing NEP longer within the context of other ideological issues such as world revolution and socialism in one country. They understood NEP and the reasons the policy split the party, and some explanations were extraordinarily mature and pointed. However, weaker answers often failed to get to grips with ideological issues at all, or worse still, dismissed them outright, seeing the struggle purely in terms of personal ambition between rivals. The wording of the question should have made it clear that candidates were expected to explain the way the debate developed in the years “1924-28” not just why there was a struggle in 1924 when Lenin died. It was not necessary or really desirable to recount a detailed narrative of the various alliances formed, but it was necessary to link changing economic circumstances (and possibly, other wider ones) to these alliances to help explain Stalin’s U-turn in 1927-8. Few noted that Lenin had decreed that NEP would operate for ten years. A strangely common error was to see War Communism described as “collectivisation”. The question highlighted the importance of reading the question carefully and thus understanding what it required in the answer.

Put a cross in the box indicating the **SECOND** question you have chosen to answer .
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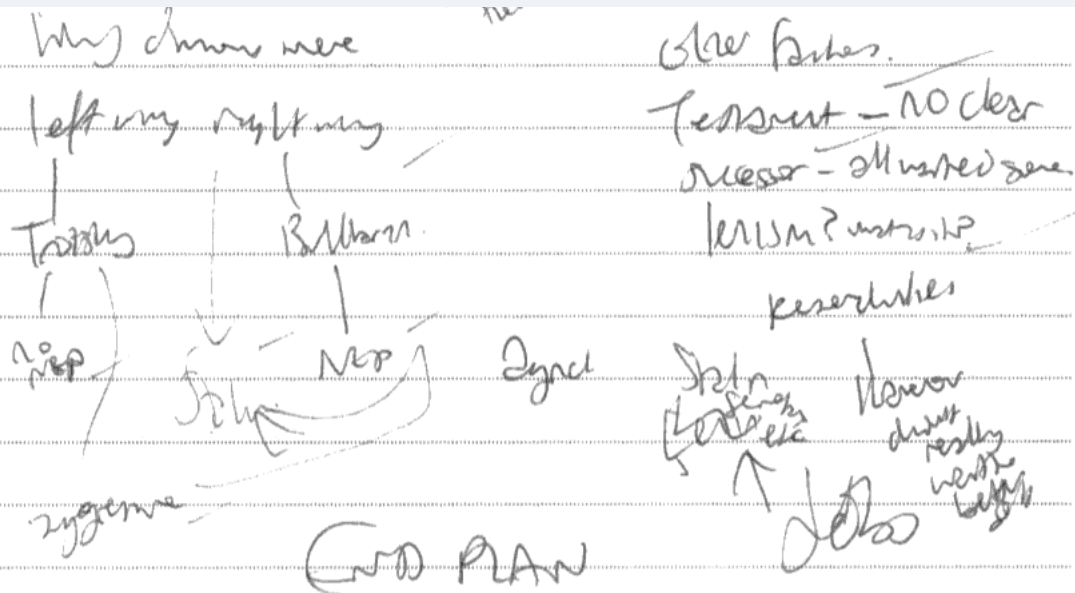
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RAW

how far were divisions over the continuation of NEP
 responsible for the contest to succeed Lenin in the years
 1924-28?

Bunchy
 We do not know whether
 the error was made
 over Lenin



(This page is for your second answer.) After Lenin's death in 1924, the Communist party had no clear successor for Lenin. Lenin had named no-one, and left the revival New Economic Policy (NEP) as a ~~replacement~~ of the 25 Russia's economic system. The New Economic Policy ~~was~~ caused the scissors crisis, where the cost of industrial goods ~~rose~~ rose as the cost of ~~agricultural~~ agricultural goods went down. This ~~meant~~ meant that although new industrial goods were being made, no-one could afford to buy them as they got low prices for the grain they ~~to~~ sold for example. This made the NEP a controversial issue, causing divisions in the party, however as Lenin's testament ~~left~~ left no successor and no clue over what Leninism was, there were other factors which caused the contest to succeed Lenin in the years 1924-1928.

Firstly, after Lenin's death, the party was split into two sides, the left wing and the right wing. The ~~left~~ left wing, headed by ~~by~~ Trotsky, wanted for the NEP to stop, as they wanted to industrialise Russia very quickly, and the NEP stopped this. The right wing, on the other hand, led by Bukharin, wanted the NEP to ~~stop~~ continue, as they wanted Russia to slowly become socialist at a steady pace. Whoever became leader of the party would choose to continue or end the NEP. Naturally, the only way for ~~the~~ Bukharin to continue the NEP was to eliminate those who opposed him and become leader himself to implement his plan. This shows that divisions over the ~~NEP~~ continuation

(This page is for your second answer.) of the NEP were responsible for the contest to ~~succeed~~ Lenin. Succeed Lenin in the years 1924-1928.

However, this was not the only factor which caused the leadership contest. Firstly, Lenin had left behind only his past actions, which had changed over the years he had ruled. His followers used these to form Leninism, ~~the~~ a ideology which the ~~people~~ followed communist party would follow. However, ~~due~~ due to Lenin's erratic policies, there were two versions of Leninism, the left wing, quickly industrialising based on Lenin's early ideas, ~~and~~ the right and the right wing, slowly industrialising. This was responsible for the leadership race as no-one knew what to

do or who to follow, showing ~~that~~ that the NKP was hardly responsible for the ~~contest~~ contest to succeed Lenin.

Lenin's testament was also a massive responsible for the leadership race. Although Lenin praised Trotsky, ~~the~~ Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, he never outlined a ~~clear~~ clear successor. This ~~meant~~ meant that it ~~a~~ could potentially be any member of the Politburo, ~~even~~ even Stalin, who Lenin did not ~~like~~ ~~but~~ ~~was~~ ~~he~~ ~~needed~~ to be replaced, since the testament was made secret. This shows that there were other factors other than the NKP responsible for the contest to succeed Lenin.

The candidates personalities were another factor ~~to~~ for the leadership contest. ~~Lenin~~ ~~for~~ Trotsky ~~for~~ ~~example~~ ~~example~~ was an ~~aggressive~~ aggressive individual, a trait which eventually

(This page is for your second answer.) Made ~~people~~ ~~for~~ people fear he would become a ~~dict~~ military dictator, whereas Kamenev was known for having ~~low~~ low ambitions, ~~so~~ suggesting he would not wish to become leader. This ~~personality~~ personalities were a reason for the leadership contest, as people like Trotsky were aggressive enough to ~~cause~~ cause issues.

The alliances were ~~also~~ reason for the contest - for example the ~~trovov~~ triumvirate was created by Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin in order to keep Trotsky from power. This of course caused further divisions, as these alliances changed often, causing the leadership race, as everyone was potentially an enemy.

In conclusion, the New Economic Policy was not ~~really~~ responsible for the leadership race, as contest to succeed Lenin in the years 1924-1928, if anything it was an element of ~~the~~ the controversy over Leninism. Other ~~factor~~ factors were responsible, such as their own ~~ambitions~~ ~~to~~ ambitions and Lenin's testament.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The answer sets the contest of 1924-28 into some context with reference to the nature of the NEP, and of Lenin's failure to name a successor. There is some appreciation that NEP emphasised the split between left and right in the party, but there is some lack of clarity when discussing Leninism. Relevant references are made to the personalities of some of the contenders and the shifting alliances which were made. Some points lack extensive development, but there is a clear attempt to frame an explanation. Mid Level 4.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

This question is not about the causes of the contest to succeed Lenin! Note the importance of the dates given in the question.

Question 8

The question was about the outcomes of Stalin's purges, not the causes: yet a significant number of answers focused on why Stalin embarked on them and may therefore have only dealt with outcomes implicitly. Having said that, plenty of candidates did write fully about the removal of the Old Bolsheviks perceived as rivals after the Congress of Victors in 1934 and then went on to discuss the varied impact that the purges had on the military and on the economic capacity of Russia. Better answers discussed the ambiguity of the outcomes which deterred opposition but removed capable experts and led to a culture of covering up the truth with damaging results. Some weak candidates saw the question as an opportunity to offload knowledge of the economic policies, while others got sidetracked into discussing the personality cult as an alternative way that Stalin strengthened his political dominance: true, but not the question.

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(This page is for your first answer.)

Stalin's political dominance

Economic

- Managers of factories killed

Political

- Wiped out St
- All ranks of the NKVD abolished
- Lagoda killed
- Old bolsheviks killed (knew about testament)

The great terror

↓
social

- families broken up
- orphaned children
- Left women + children impoverished

'The repression'

(This page is for your first answer.)

The repression of 1934-38 was engineered by Stalin due to his paranoia, he trusted no-one and his aim was to use mass killing of ~~political~~ anyone who might oppose him, to strengthen his position. Some might argue that the greatest effect that these purges had was the strengthening of Stalin's ^{political} power. It is to consider ^{find} the most important consequence we must consider the Economic, social & political ~~consequence~~ impact of this Great Terror, and only then can we justify this statement.

The ~~Great~~ main consequence of the repression of 1934-38 was the way in which it strengthened Stalin's political dominance. During the Great Terror Stalin had his political opposition removed, in the show trials of the 16 ~~opponents~~ ~~in~~ in 1936 ~~and~~ he had Zinoviev & Kamenev tried and executed ~~and~~. To follow in the show trial of the 17 in 1937 he had Trotsky's former allies killed. By ~~doing~~ killing all opponents Stalin would increase his

(This page is for your first answer.)

political control because no-one would oppose him. During the Terror killing all these party members would then give him the opportunity to promote younger members of the party, who would then all be loyal to him. He also increased his political ~~part~~ power by ~~abolishing all ranks of the NKVD~~ purging the NKVD and the army, Stalin believed they had too much power and might be likely to overthrow him. ~~He~~ Stalin also purged the old Bolsheviks who were of serious threat to him because they knew Lenin's testament, which was

kept a secret in 1934 by Zinoviev and Kamenev. The testament said Stalin did not deserve to have the position of General Secretary, and therefore should not be in power. The ~~repression~~ ^{the} repression of 1934 allowed Stalin to erase the testament of Lenin and destroy anyone who he thought might oppose him, ~~and~~ giving him ultimate power.

(This page is for your first answer.)

Another consequence of the Great repression of 1934-38 was the social on the lives of the Russian people. The purges led to families being split up. All together 330,000 people were arrested for being 'enemies' of the people, most of these people had families who they provided for. In Moscow women ~~lined~~ ^{queued} queued up outside government buildings demanding to know where their husbands were. It left families with no source of income, leaving wives and children impoverished. Numbers of orphans rose dramatically and a big hole appeared in society. People would also make up fake identities to avoid being

purged' for example kulaks and priests, people began to were living in fear. The terror inflicted havoc on families and society, income for families disappeared ~~everywhere~~ - along with the government income

(This page is for your first answer.)

The purges also had a devastating effect on the economy. The terror targeted anyone many in positions of power many experienced factory managers were purged meaning skill was lost in industry and production fell. There was also a significant number of intellectuals and bureaucrats killed to erase the middle class, and this stopped all scientific inventions and technology, ~~for~~ those that did survive were too scared to bring new ideas as they thought they too might be purged. Therefore the economy was greatly effected by the violence of ~~through~~ 1934 through to 1938 because it meant technology came to a standstill preventing Russia from creating nuclear weapons and new technology to catch up with the west, the decrease in production

meant income dropped and therefore
those ~~resources~~ ^{resources} ~~production~~ for the war economy were
limited

In conclusion the ~~Great~~ repression of
1934-38 had a serious effect on
every aspect of Russia. The production
& exports fell, society crumbled &
politics were transformed. However the
most significant effect was the way
in which it increased Stalin's political
dominance because he completely wiped
out any opposition and government was
no longer a team of people working to
govern it was Stalin governing Russia on
his own, from then on only Stalin's decisions
mattered, he achieved ultimate power. Although
people were living in fear due to the Great
Terror ~~per~~ the government did always use
the NKVD to scare people into conformity, and
although the economic climate was changed
they still managed to win the war, therefore
the political impact was the greatest

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

The answer maintains a focus on the outcome of the repression of 1934-38. The candidate notes the importance of the show trials in destroying the old Bolsheviks and promoting Stalin's supporters. The references to the consequences of the Great Terror, and its impact on the lives of the Russian people, are reasonably secure, but would have benefited from more developed material. There is a clear understanding of the effects of the purges on the economy. Most points made are supported with reasonable material: high Level 4.

Question 9

Most candidates had little trouble weighing up the contribution of the NAACP to civil rights, alongside the other factors of presidential support at certain times, the role of other pressure groups and of King towards the end of the period. Weaker candidates sometimes got bogged down in narrative accounts of the classic legal cases and the chronological parameters of the question caught out some people, who wrote about events well after 1957, in some cases right through to 1968: there were, for example, many references to the Greensboro sit-ins and the Freedom Rides. The importance of significant individuals was recognised, especially Thurgood Marshall and Rosa Parks, but very few noted the impact of the murder of Emmett Till.

Put a cross in the box indicating the FIRST question you have chosen to answer .
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Plan Years 1945-57

- ① → NAACP → ~~Brown~~ Brown, invol. in cases through SC.
- ④ → Presidents → Truman, Eisenhower → least
- ② → ↑ Black consciousness post WW2 → major (TP)
- ③ → MLK, other groups

The NAACP's membership grew from 50,000 members to 450,000 members by 1945. They were the largest civil rights organisation at the time and they worked through the Supreme Court to make legal changes that would eventually end de jure segregation for Blacks in America. They had significant success in the years 1945-57 and they can be seen as the most important ~~the~~ factor. However, their work alone ~~is not~~ ^{is not} solely responsible, and it must be judged multiperspectively. Other

(This page is for your first answer.) factors that led to the success's were the presidents and the work of the federal government, the work of Martin Luther King and other civil rights groups. However world war 2 must also be seen as a significant reason for the success's and the work of the NAACP can be seen as inexorably linked with the increase in Black awareness and consciousness post world war 2.

World war two helped advance the black civil rights campaign significantly. During the war, the US government needed the support of all US people, including Blacks and this gave them significant bargaining power. The FEPC was therefore set up to ~~assist~~ help Blacks gain

employment ~~and competition with~~ and fairness in government hiring. However this ~~was~~ gained little and its success was largely overexaggerated, for example it suggested a 100% increase had be made, in reality only 2 blacks were employed. The war also mean a large number of Blacks were serving abroad and became increasingly aware of the discrimination that existed in the US, this led to the Double V campaign, for victory in the war, but also victory in the form of Black equality. The US government was also trying to highlight the persecution of Jews by the Nazis and

(This page is for your first answer.) Therefore couldn't treat Blacks as inferior. The war also meant prosperity for Blacks and 3 times the amount of Blacks now had some form of employment. ^{in 1945} Therefore the war can be seen as a turning point and largely awakened America to the civil rights cause. However it was not the most significant factor because of the negative effects. Post-war over 4 million Blacks moved from the South to the North. This migration was largely due to the need for employment after the mechanisation of the cotton picker. This led to tension in Northern Ghettos and riots were widespread, for example in Los Angeles.

The increase in Black consciousness helped the NAACP due to increased membership and support. The NAACP supported Blacks through Supreme Court rulings to try and end de jure segregation. The NAACP helped in rulings such as Morgan vs Virginia in 1946 to try to end segregation on transport and Shelley vs Kraemer, to try to end segregation in the housing market. However these were largely unsuccessful, proved by the Journey of Reconciliation in 1950 that can be seen as the first freedom rides. However in 1954 the NAACP supported a legal case that has been seen as unprecedented.

(This page is for your first answer.)

Its significance would provide the basis of the rest of the civil rights movement. The Brown vs. Topeka case in 1954 overturned the Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896 case that allowed Jim Crow segregation on the basis of "separate but equal". This was overturned and led to some desegregation in Elementary Education, sparked by Linda Brown in Topeka and her father taking the case to court.

As with each of these cases, the NAACP did help the campaigns however it was ultimately the Supreme Court rulings that made the

significant changes, as with the Sweatt vs. Painter case in 1950 which aimed to reduce segregation at a Texas law school. Brown then set the precedent for future cases such as Browder vs. Gayle ~~and~~ which accompanied the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and Cooper vs. Aaron after Little Rock, 57.

Little Rock, Arkansas can be seen as an example of where presidential involvement led to civil rights success. Eisenhower sent the National Guard and then 6,000 troops to defend Elizabeth Eckford and her 9 Black friends as they attempted to attend Little Rock High School. President Eisenhower, however through

(This page is for your first answer.) The rest of his presidency did little to advance the Black cause. His refusal to comment on the Emmet Till and Autherine Lucy cases, where a black boy was murdered and mutilated shows he was neither emotionally or intellectually in favour of civil rights. Truman, however, despite being a racist himself saw a political opportunity and did slightly help the Black cause. To slow these rights was published in 1947 as a response to the post war attacks on Black servicemen.

This led to the abolition of lynching (which had killed nearly 7,000 Blacks in the years 1880-1950) and ended segregation in the armed forces. This was a significant achievement given Southern opposition, largely from Dixiecrats. This opposition was also encountered with the Civil Rights Bill of 1957 where Strom Thurmond led a Southern filibuster for 24 hours.

Martin Luther King largely came to prominence through the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, the year long campaign and went on to be the most iconic figure of the civil rights movement. He, therefore must be credited with some of the early successes, as with other organisations such as the MIA which

(This page is for your first answer.) helped during the bus boycott. The SCLC was set up in 1957 and went on to help Blacks. However during the early years the NAACP can be seen as predominantly the most successful organisation.

Thus, the NAACP can be seen as the most important factor for the successes from 1945-57. However it was only able to operate so efficiently due to the increased awareness post war and the work of the SC. Presidents may have been increasingly successful towards the end of the movement, with Johnson and Kennedy but they only enacted minimal change in the early years (45-57)

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

There is a strong focus on the question sustained throughout this answer, and a well-organised introduction highlights the range of factors to be discussed. There is extensive detail on the impact of World War II, and the growing consciousness of African Americans is clearly linked to the NAACP. The latter's role, especially in court cases, is well understood and there is a very good point made that, ultimately, legal change came from the Supreme Court. The role of the presidents, and, towards the end of the period, Martin Luther King, are both considered. A well formed evaluation which ranges over the whole chronology: high Level 5.

Question 10

A significant number of candidates wanted to twist the question and write about reasons why people in general were not in support of the civil rights movement, rather than discussing the extent to which particular forces opposed it, which was not quite the same thing. Nevertheless, candidates were aware of the role played by the Ku Klux Klan, the police and notorious individuals like Bull Connor. The role of the FBI was rarely considered but the behaviour of different presidents at different points in time was often referred to, as was the opposition from Congress. Most candidates realised the need to broaden out the discussion to consider the counter-productive role of the Black Panthers and some of King's northern policies and the negative effect of these on the movement. Surprisingly few highlighted the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

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(This page is for your second answer.)

~~US State govt - 1960s
Internal Dispositions
Forces opposed
1960s
Police
Internal Dispositions
1960s
FBI govt~~

Opposing forces to ~~the~~ ^{civil} rights such as: state government and ^{the} local police in the South were responsible for failures in the movement; however, it was also due to internal divisions and ineffectiveness in the federal government.

Firstly, Southern state governments were ^{highly} responsible ^{for} in ~~detering~~ ~~local~~ ~~activists~~ and resisting change. For example, refusal to accept and implement the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate education meant that by 1968, 58% of ^{important} Southern black children were still in segregated schools. This is an ~~notable~~ failure of the movement as it shows that even after the

(This page is for your second answer.) important 1964 Civil Rights Act, ~~de facto~~ change could not be implemented. It further show the intransigence of white state governments that used the constitutional allowance of state rights to resist change and ensure that black Americans remained in an inferior position to white Americans. Therefore, state government were significant in ^{resisting change} ~~creating~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~effect~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~majority~~ ~~of~~ ~~states~~ ~~that~~ ~~benefiting~~ ~~from~~ ~~federal~~ ~~legislation~~ ~~that~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~enacted~~ ~~since~~ ~~1954~~ ^{by 1968} ~~still~~ and ensuring that black Americans experienced a lower quality of life than white Americans, a notable failure of the movement.

Secondly, another ^{highly} ^{responsible} opposing force was the Southern local police that similarly resisted change. ~~For example, the 1963 Birmingham campaign was important in displaying respect,~~ ^{The most}

employed Police Chief, Laurie Pritchett during the 1961-1962 Albany campaign. This was significant as it limited the campaign's media attention that had proved so useful to other campaigns and denial of publicity meant that the federal government paid less attention ^{to the movement} ~~to such a non-violent campaign~~. On the other hand, violence from local police had acted to augment media attention and federal government support such as the use of water cannons by 'Bull' Connor during the 1963 Birmingham campaign. ~~Thus~~ Therefore, although some police action has ironically acted to increase national awareness of civil ^{rights} ~~rights~~ such as the 1963 Birmingham campaign, the local police ^{generally} acted as a deterring force that, in most cases, limited the effectiveness.

(This page is for your second answer.) of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Conversely, failures in the civil rights movement were ^{significantly} ~~also~~ caused by internal divisions ^{in the movement itself}. For example, conservative groups such as the NAACP and SCLC ~~disagreed~~ disagreed with the radical CORE and SNCC over whether to follow peaceful or militant methods and whether to collaborate with whites.

This led to destructive tensions that burst in 1966 when the SNCC and CORE ~~are~~ refused to work with the NAACP or SCLC anymore that limited the movement's effectiveness. Firstly, it was limited because King was no longer regarded as a representative spokesperson for all black Americans, which acted to limit the effectiveness of his largely failed Northern campaign from 1966, and

of his largely failed Northern campaign from 1966, and ^{suggested} ~~showed~~ that the Civil Rights Movement was incapable of dealing with its internal disagreements & let alone force concrete change. It must be noted however that the leader of the NUL regarded the internal divisions as positive in that ~~the~~ radical discreditation of the NUL meant ~~the~~ more conservative groups seemed more respectable to the federal government. Therefore, ~~on~~ on the whole, internal divisions worked to decrease the effectiveness of the civil rights movements.

Moreover, failures of the President were moderately responsible for the failure of the movement. Firstly, it must be noted that Presidential support was largely

(This page is for your second answer.) ^{shown by his 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act} positive, particularly from Johnson, ^{For example,} however it was flawed. In the 1960s, support from Kennedy was ^{not so significant} ~~relatively weak~~ until the violence of the 1963 Birmingham Campaign and in his early Presidency, he criticised the methods of the protesters, for example during the 1961 Freedom Rides. ^{Although he supported} ~~Furthermore, both Kennedy~~ their aims, he criticised their methods, which suggests that Kennedy did not initially assign much government time or resources to the movement, which would limit its effectiveness. Furthermore, ~~where~~ where Kennedy was distracted by the 1962 Cuban Missile crisis, Johnson was distracted by the Vietnam War and distanced himself from the movement following King's ~~critic~~ criticisms of the war. Therefore,

Presidential initial criticisms and international distractions ensured ~~the~~ failures and ineffectiveness of the movement in the 1960s.

In conclusion, it could be said that opposing forces such as ^{Southern} state governments and local police were most significantly responsible for the failure of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. However it was coupled with weaknesses in the federal government that did not overtly oppose the movement or its aims and methods, ^{but its methods} within the movement itself, ^{by weaknesses}



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The answer begins with a pithy and focused introduction. The given factor of forces opposed to civil rights is illustrated with detailed reference to the role of southern state governments and the local police forces in those states. A number of other relevant factors are handled well. The candidate points out the divisions within the civil rights movement and growing failures of Martin Luther King's campaigns in the mid-1960s. An interesting point is made that both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson distanced themselves from the civil rights movement to some degree: this change is explained well. This is a balanced and well-informed answer at mid Level 5.

Question 11

The question made candidates think about the outcomes of the Korean War and led to some very focused answers detailing its impact on the various combatants - mostly negative, but with some relative successes depending on the aims that a particular state had for getting involved. Japan was seen as the main beneficiary, with limited pay offs for the United States and Chairman Mao, if not for China itself. However, the credibility gained by the UN was an outcome that few acknowledged. Candidates brave enough to tackle the question head on usually produced valid answers; it was the unfocused accounts of the military action that tended to fall short. The sign of a very good answer tended to be an evaluation, not just of each nation involved, but the presence of a two-sided evaluation within that. For example, candidates noted that the USA succeeded in containing Communism, but failed to achieve rollback.

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(This page is for your first answer.)

Political successes

no winners → stalemate

Military successes.

Korea - no winners

Communist for China

The Korean War ended in a seemingly meaningless stalemate in 1953, with little to show for three years of hard fighting. However, there were some discernible winners from the conflict, most notably China and the military and political successes of the United States.

It could be argued that there were no winners at the end of the Korean War. North Korea had suffered 18 of its cities being 50% destroyed, and the destruction of 80% of its infrastructure. China had been weakened

* (over 100,000 casualties)

(This page is for your first answer.) by the massive casualties to its 'Volunteer' Army*, and needed to ~~well~~ disengage from the conflict to pursue its domestic Five-Year Plans. The United States had also suffered political failures as a result of the war, such as Truman withdrawing from the 1952 election race, the Democrats being criticised for the war's cost (\$54 billion, 34,000 American lives lost), and the high civilian casualties of 1 million Koreans dead. The U.S. United States and UN had endured military failures by underestimating China, not realising that holding the 38th Parallel was the only attainable objective, and being routed in a 300-mile retreat into South Korea before the Chinese forces. From then on, the war descended into a grinding stalemate, with no decisive breakthrough for either side.

On the other hand, it could be argued that China was a key 'winner' of the Korean War. In the short term, Chinese forces changed U.S. policy from rollback to containment, and forced the UN forces into a humiliating retreat in October 1950, with over 11000 UN casualties. In the long term, China gained significant political victories by preventing North Korea from being destroyed, and demonstrating that it remained a dangerous and powerful threat to the United States. Furthermore, the United States' political and military victories must also be considered as a 'winner' of the conflict.

The U.S.A achieved great political successes

(This page is for your first answer.) during the Korean War. It's defence of South Korea and ~~the~~ keeping it a non-Communist state indicated ~~that~~ a successful example of containment, while the sacking of MacArthur showed that the United States was willing to stick to containment without direct confrontation, and unwilling to risk a Third World War. The Soviet Union never fully intervened, but let the North Korean and Chinese armies do much of the fighting. Moreover, China did not intervene until the war was under way, and only after multiple warnings. The halting of the Chinese offensive in 1951 was a major one of the U.S.A's major military successes, which shall be explored below.

The U.S.A. was a 'winner' of the Korean War due to its military successes. The successful Inchon landings, the reestablishment of Rhee's government, were an immense military triumph and also had huge political significance, in that the morale of the Republic of Korea troops (ROK) was boosted, and the alliance was strengthened between the UN, USA and South Korea. The UN forces eventually halted Communist aggression, and incurred a much higher price in casualties upon the China and North Korea. They had successfully held South Korea without using the atomic bomb, and the damage of the air war on North Korea's supply lines eventually forced the Communists to the negotiating

(This page is for your first answer.) table.

Overall, there were winners of the Korean War, despite its seemingly pointless descent into a grinding war of stalemate and the cost to both sides of the conflict. The China gained political military successes in the short term, and demonstrated that it remained a major threat to the USA in the long term. The United States was also a key winner, having successfully contained Communist aggression and kept South Korea a viable, non-Communist state. Its

military successes include Inchon, the impact of the air war, and the defeat of the Chinese Offensive. Therefore, I ~~do~~ ^{stalling} ~~do~~ do not agree that the Korean War was a 'conflict without winners'.

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

The answer is characterised by clear thinking and a secure focus. The candidate notes the successes and failures, both military and political, experienced by China and the United States. This conclusion is not especially secure, but the level of thought and the quality of supporting evidence makes for mid Level 5.

Question 12

On the importance of the Tet Offensive was perhaps seen as more straightforward, with most candidates able to comment on the changes in public perception that media coverage produced, while acknowledging that in purely military terms it was something of a success for the USA. Candidates generally wrote more effectively about the impact of Tet, than about the other potential turning points in the given period. Some weaker answers took every military event to be a turning point, while others included events outside the time period.

Put a cross in the box indicating the **SECOND** question you have chosen to answer .
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Plan 68

Tet = key turning point BECAUSE → opposition
(pub + congress)
→ agreement of comm → victory
Aitku? bombing Cambodia

Other key turning points → 64 → Tonkin

The Tet offensive, 1968 can undoubtedly be seen as the key turning point in the Vietnam war in the years 1965-73. Previously the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964 can be seen as the main turning point as it enabled Johnson to receive

a blank cheque' from congress and the war escalated even further. However during the later part of the war, the Tet offensive can be seen as hugely significant because of the opposition it sparked from both the public and the decision-making elite and

(This page is for your second answer.) ~~because it~~ ^{strengthened} communist ~~forces~~ ^{forces}. However there are also other substantial turning points, such as; the first combat troops in 1965 and the bombing and extension of the war into Cambodia by Nixon.

During the Tet offensive, over 20 million people worldwide watched the head of the police shoot a ^{North} Vietnam man in the head. This received international condemnation and was seen as an undemocratic and barbaric action. This was seen as even ~~more~~ more hypocritical as the US involvement was under the UN flag, promoting freedom and independence for the Vietnamese. This sparked widespread opposition to the war, both from the public and the decision-making elite and the Gallup polls the next day suggested opposition to the war had risen to 60%.

The public were outraged and it became part of the Vietnam Quagmire and Syndrome where the public were shocked at the body bags that carried home the dead soldiers, around ~~10,000~~ 6,000. They were also shocked at the men who returned disfigured and wounded (10,000 in total) this was due to the NV tactics. The media exacerbated this by widespread coverage and in colour ~~text~~ which led to graphic coverage of the war.

(This page is for your second answer.) There were various protests against the war, including a Quaker man burning himself to death, mirroring the struggle of Buddhists such as Quang Duc. This sparked demonstrations in over 250 cities. The youth also protested, largely because of the draft and the average age of a soldier being 19. ~~The invasion~~ The Tet offensive also provoked a change in attitudes of the decision making elite. After seeing the footage of the Tet offensive Walter Cronkite ~~was~~ said "What the hell, I thought we were winning this war." This view was echoed and the NV capturing the US embassy in Saigon led the US to think they were going to lose the war and face humiliation from withdrawal. Johnson then said "If we have lost Cronkite we have as

good as lost 'the war.' This is highly significant + marked a change in attitudes from the very top. Congress then repealed the Tonkin resolution and embarrassment followed from the leaked Pentagon papers which contained McNamara's reports that it was "becoming a US war" and details of the wrong tactics being used. For example trying to fight guerrilla warfare with conventional weaponry. George Kennan, who originally supported the war then

(This page is for your second answer.) opposed it. This made it a significant turning point because it demonstrated the futility of the whole war. Johnson and Nixon needed to escalate the war in order to push the NV into negotiations. They tried to do this through operation Rolling Thunder, carpet bombing and the use of Napalm and defoliants. However they faced large-scale opposition from the public and from congress. This is something that the SU, China or NV had, due to the totalitarian states. A NV ambassador released a statement saying "We do not need to force you to withdraw, your opposition and McGovern will do that for us". This seemed largely the case after the Tet offensive.

However, despite the Tet offensive being the main turning point there can also be other turning points. The first combat troops being introduced in 1965 could be seen as important as the US entered a full scale combat war. However they were already significantly involved in the conflict before hand with the 4500 special forces, "Green berets" under Kennedy.

Another important turning point could be the Pleiku incident of 1965 where there was a direct attack on 8 US representatives. This, along

(This page is for your second answer.) with the Gulf of Tonkin incident was seen as a direct attack of the US and therefore justification for the escalation of the war.

~~The~~ The war reached its height in 1965 in terms of troops and weaponry. However Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia was also a main turning point and led to full scale bombing. The invasion of Cambodia was a breach of the Geneva peace conference and unpopular within the US. It sparked riots and protests within the US, the most prominent being the Kent State protest in Ohio where students protested and 4 were shot by the National Guard. Many in the

US failed to see how escalating the war would lead to withdrawal. However, this eventually occurred with the policies of "peace with honour" and "Vietnamisation".

Therefore, although there were many significant turning points in the latter part of the Vietnam war, for example the combat groups, the Pleiku incident and the invasion of Cambodia. The Tet offensive of 1968 can be seen as the most important turning point, due to the opposition within the public + congress.

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

The question addresses the extent to which the Tet Offensive of 1968 was the key turning point in the war between 1965 and 1973. The significance of Tet is dealt with very extensively, with effective and well-chosen detail in support. Other possible key turning points are suggested, and are considered with varying levels of support. The conclusion, which agrees with the question, is established very well. Mid Level 5.

Question 13

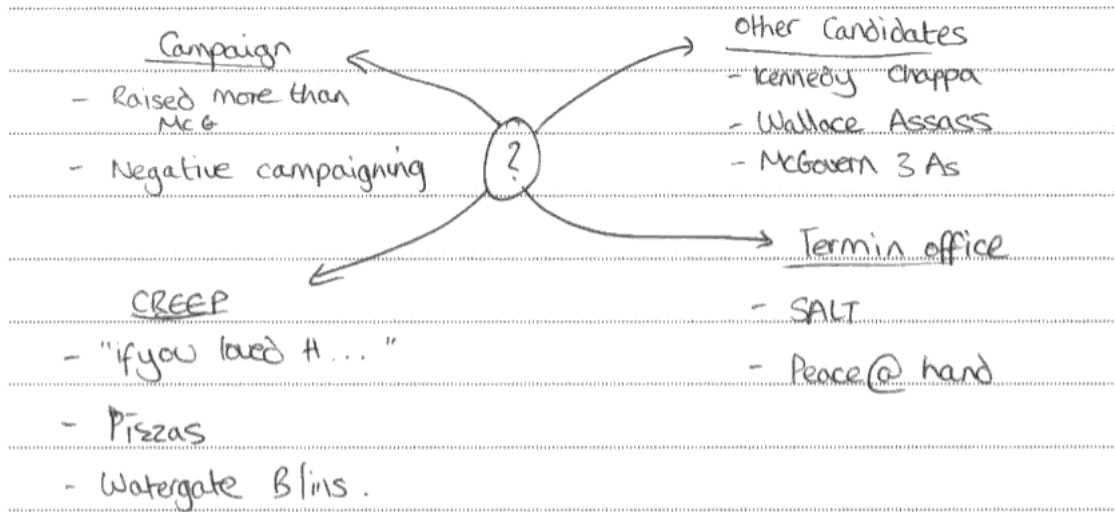
Candidates with the relevant knowledge wrote some impressive accounts of the reasons for Nixon's re-election by a landslide, citing and explaining the impact of a wide range of factors, internal and external. Coverage of why the Watergate scandal brought him down was usually less explicit and developed, often explained in broad brushstrokes, but some candidates were able to discuss Nixon's motives in deciding to stand down early.

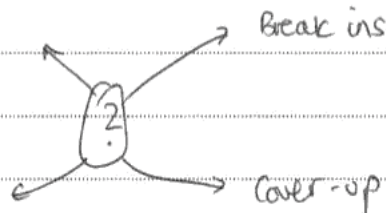
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(This page is for your first answer.) Richard Nixon was elected by landslide in 1972 for four main reasons. Republican Campaigning, Nixon's personal "CRIMP" campaigning, the shortcomings of other candidates and the successes of his previous term in office. However, Nixon's personal "CRIMP" campaigning and the underhand tactics he pursued to ensure his 1972 election victory, alongside the enquisitiveness of the Washington Post newspaper and the horror of his lies and cover-up were what led to his resignation in August 1974.

The three main candidates to run against Nixon in the 1972 election were Kennedy, Wallace and McGovern. However, all three suffered large blows during the course of electioneering. Kennedy was involved in the Chappaquiddick incident, and his failure to report the death of Jo Kepeche is likely to directly correlate with his failure to secure the Democrat Party nomination. Furthermore, an assassination attempt on George Wallace left him disabled and ruined his chances of Democrat nomination. Furthermore, McGovern, who did secure Democrat nomination was seen as far too liberal, for example he was known as the three 'A's' candidate, which stood for Abortion, Acid and Amnesty, which the voting public did not warm to. In addition, when Kissinger announced "peace is at hand" in Vietnam,

it took away McGovern's only realistically strong policy against Nixon. These shortcomings of candidates helped to enable Nixon's landslide victory in 1972.

Moreover, Nixon was also able to secure victory in 1972 through his personal campaigning. A Committee to Re-Elect the President

(This page is for your first answer.) was created, largely due to Nixon's fear of losing the election and his ~~want~~^{desire} to be President for America's centenary celebrations in 1974. "Creep", as the committee was called for short engaged in underhand methods to try ~~to~~^{and} win Nixon's votes, such as distributing cards at a George Wallace rally that read "if you loved Hitler, you'll love Wallace", and arranging for thousands of pizzas to be delivered to the Democrat Headquarters. The actions of "CREEP" certainly played a large role in Nixon's landslide victory in 1972, but also in his resignation in 1974. "CREEP" were organised to break into the Watergate Hotel and collect information on the Democrat campaign, and on the second time of doing so were caught, causing national outcry and ruining the prestige of the presidency. Therefore Nixon's campaigning through "CREEP" caused both his election victory in 1972 and his resignation in 1974.

In addition, Republican Party fundraising and campaigning was much stronger for Nixon than the Democrats' was for McGovern, and this gave Nixon a strong advantage. However, the inquisitiveness of two Washington Post journalists after leaking

Pentagon Papers ~~proved~~ ~~useful~~ uncovered the dirty secret behind Republican fundraising, in that "creep" had been backdating cheque donations to before Congress put a limit on party donations, so that they could raise more money than the Democrats. Therefore, whilst Republican fundraising played a part in Nixon's election victory in 1972, it also backfired due to the enquisitiveness off of the Washington Post, which led to Nixon's

(This page is for your first answer.) resignation in 1974. Lastly, the successes of Nixon's first term in office contributed to his election victory in 1972. He signed ~~the~~ the Soviet Arms Limitation Treaty with the then Soviet leader, Brezhnev, which the American public were pleased with as it seemed to be putting a brake on the Cold War. Furthermore, his 'Peace with Honor' strategy appealed to voters, especially when Kissinger announced that "Peace is at hand". However, these successes were somewhat overlooked when the full story of the Watergate Scandal was revealed, and when Nixon tried to claim executive privilege to withhold tapes he knew would prove his criminal activity. The lies and cover-up thoroughly ruined his successful term in office, memories of which were forgotten in favour of the idea of impeachment. Therefore Nixon's lies and cover-up led to him having to resign in 1974.

Overall, it is fair to say that, although his successful first term helped Nixon achieve a landslide victory in 1972, it did not prove at all useful when he ~~was~~ decided to resign in 1974. Instead, a far more important factor in both incidents was his underhand campaigning through "CREEP", which not only helped secure a landslide victory in 1972, but was also the reason why his administration crumbled and he resigned in 1974 before facing impeachment. Whilst other factors can explain one or the other incident, "CREEP" is the only factor which played a large part in both incidents.

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

The answer has a secure focus on the question. In considering reasons for Nixon's landslide victory in 1972, the candidate notes the weaknesses of his opponents, the strong Republican campaign compared with the disorganised response of the Democrats, and the importance of Nixon's significant successes in his first term. The Watergate affair is handled much less confidently and is focused on the Washington Post investigations: however, the candidate notes the importance of CREEP in linking these two events. Low Level 5.

Question 14

There were very few answers to Question 14, but these were usually written with genuine verve and enthusiasm.

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