

Examiners' Report  
January 2012

GCE History 6HI01 D

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# Introduction

## Unit 1 - General Comments

Candidates and their teachers are to be congratulated on the amount of knowledge shown and the serious application given to answering almost the entire range of questions across the six options. Legibility was generally good and very few scripts were difficult to read.

The standard of English and spelling is a perennial concern. Colloquialisms were commonplace and the use of abbreviations, perhaps linked to the universality of text messaging, seems to be on the increase. Some abbreviations might be tolerated where they are in general use, such as MLK for Martin Luther King. However, to link MLK to JFK and LBJ, and to credit him with the passing of the CRA and the VRA, not to mention the success of the MBB, can be confusing and often obscures the point being made.

It is interesting to note that long narrative answers, which were once common, no longer appear very often. Fewer candidates reiterate the question at the beginning of their answers, and more are attempting to engage with the question from the outset. Some groups of candidates, however, appear to bring a learned response to the examination room, with a succession of scripts offering the same factors and the same supporting evidence. While this approach may produce an acceptable level of attainment, it can be a limiting tactic because candidates have difficulty in accessing a wider pool of evidence and ideas in order to show their own initiative and thinking; such answers find it difficult to meet the direct focus and explicit understanding required for Level 5 marks.

Answers at Level 5 require elements of sophistication in which students can provide analysis, inter-related links and judgements using evidence which reflects their own opinions and thoughts on the specific question asked.

Stated factor questions were generally approached with a discussion of the stated factor in the first paragraph and a consideration of other factors in the following paragraphs. However, some candidates were not able to play the factors confidently one against the other as the answer unfolded. Also a substantial number of answers applied a stated factor approach where none was needed or desirable. Question D9 asked 'How successful was Martin Luther King's campaign for civil rights in the years 1955-68?'. There is no invitation in this question to consider other factors influencing civil rights, such as Malcolm X and Black Power, but many answers dealt only briefly with King's campaign as one of several, often irrelevant, factors.

A number of answers displayed an imbalance between content and analysis. Many of these were answers with a great deal of relevant content but with limited discussion of the effects or the significance of events, which thereby hindered the development of a detailed and focused analysis. Some perhaps considered the significance self-evident. For example, some answers on the Provisional Government (Question D5) contained much relevant detail about the continuation of the war, but then simply stated that this 'made them unpopular'. Lenin's slogan of 'Peace, Bread, Land' was apparently so popular it made the outcome of the October/November revolution a foregone conclusion. However, there are also an increasing number of responses which provide secure analysis, and often very good conclusions, but do not provide sufficient relevant and accurate factual supporting material to justify their argument.

Overall, however, there were few overtly weak responses, with most finding their home somewhere within Levels 3 and 4.

## **Question 1**

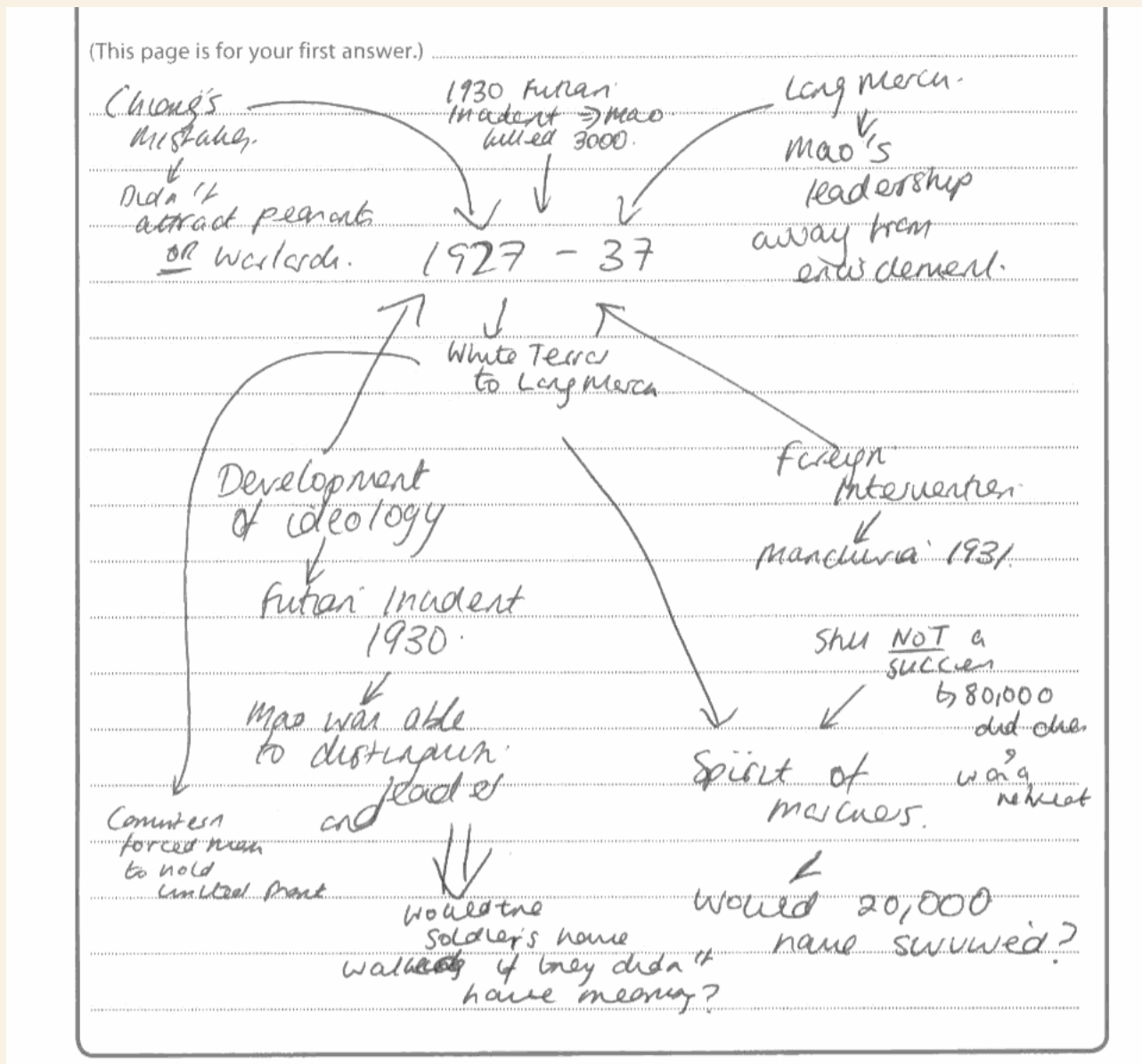
Question 1 was significantly more popular than Question 2. Many candidates appeared to be well prepared for a question on the fall of the Qing dynasty, but a number of responses pushed the question back to the mid-nineteenth century rather than concentrate on the period after 1900. This approach has been mentioned in previous reports. While contextual knowledge which is outside the option's timespan of 1900-49 can be appropriate, especially perhaps on foreign involvement in China's affairs, some candidates provide so much information on matters such as the Opium Wars that their answers become unbalanced and self-limiting. Candidates' treatment of foreign involvement was sometimes patchy, though stronger candidates were able to argue that this extended to ideas and people as well as the Boxer Uprising and the foreign concessions. Key elements of foreign involvement, such as foreign loans and economic intervention, were side tracked. Of the other factors that led to the fall of the Qing, the shortcomings of both the Dowager Empress Cixi and the young Puyi figured strongly, and whilst these were perfectly valid, they were not necessarily linked to other factors, such as lack of reform, nor were they analysed in much detail. Some scripts included material on Chinese mores and customs to explain the country's insularity, but connections to the revolution of 1911-12 were not made clear.



## Question 2

Chronological range was a significant factor in differentiating between different levels of attainment. Many answers noted the importance of the Nanjing massacre of 1927 and the CCP's retreat to the relative safety of the Janggang mountains. While most candidates considered the GMD's encirclement campaigns, few mentioned the number of campaigns or the extent of their success. The timescale in the question required candidates to consider the importance of the Long March, though this was, surprisingly, often ignored, along with the growing power of Mao Zedong in the years 1934-35. Stronger answers noted that the CCP came perilously close to defeat several times during this period. They noted that the Autumn Harvest uprising, the Nanjing massacre and the defeat of the Canton rising in 1927 all contributed to a substantial weakening of the CCP, but that Chiang's distractions elsewhere meant that he failed to achieve complete success. They were equally strong on the course of events during the Long March of 1934-35, with the remnants of the CCP reaching the relative safety of Shaanxi in 1935.

The following is a Level 4 response to Question 2.



(This page is for your first answer.) The CCP were able to survive between 1927 - 1937 due to many factors. However I believe the main factor was Chiang Kai-shek's mistakes and his inability to completely remove them. If Chiang had gained support of the peasants and actually reformed China, the CCP would never have been able to revive itself after the White Terror in 1927. Furthermore as a definition of 'survive' it is not to become extinct / disbanded.

It can be argued that the CCP survived due to Mao's leadership. During the GMD's encirclement campaign on the CCP base (Jiangxi) many members believed that they should remain in ~~the base~~ Jiangxi and die heroes. However under Mao's leadership they were able to survive, escape from the base and travel 6250 miles to Yenan. Therefore it can be argued that they only survived the GMD attacks due to Mao's leadership and successfully made it to Yenan. However it can also be argued that the CCP were only able to escape from the Jiangxi base due to Chiang's mistakes. Warlord Zhang had allied with the CCP and allowed them

through his land

(This page is for your first answer.) Safe passage Zhang only did this due to Chiang's inability to attack the Japanese and remove them from Manchuria. Furthermore it is more likely that without the CCP's help from the world they would have been caught by Chiang's <sup>(the man)</sup> military. Therefore it can be argued that Chiang failing to gain full control of the world and solving the dispute with Japan enabled the CCP to survive.

In the Jiangxi Base Mao developed the land policy, believing that the Chinese revolution should come from the peasants and not the urban workers. The peasants were 80% of China's total population. ~~However while it can be argued that Mao won through the peasants~~ Mao was able to find safe hiding places for the CCP in the Long March. However while it can be argued that Mao won the peasants with his reforms, it can also be argued ~~that~~ that Chiang lost them. Chiang failed to provide any help from the peasant community instead focusing his attention on the urban workers of China in doing so he failed to take control of all of China, only controlling  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the population. This would mean that

(This page is for your first answer.) China was less united and ~~therefore~~ the peasants were more inclined to go to the CCP ~~and~~ and help with the Long March

It can be argued that it was Chiang's mistakes that allowed the CCP to survive 1927-1937. After the Northern Expedition Chiang launched the ~~the~~ White Terror 1927. However his support base was mainly the Chinese underworld such as 'The Green Gang' who focused on opium trade and prostitution. It can be argued that in associating himself with them and only holding a small powerbase of his own, he was unable to enforce reforms that would damage their business such as central control of opium. This would show his powerlessness to the whole of China and show he wasn't the true leader. Furthermore in retaining a small select powerbase Chiang was unable to appeal to the majority of the Chinese people, who therefore turned to the CCP.

It can be argued that it was the spirit of the mercenaries that allowed the CCP to survive. After all they could have easily been defeated by the 6250 miles and 11 provinces that they



(This page is for your first answer.) had to cross. They could have easily been defeated by ~~the~~ Chiang's attacks and heavy weather caused none of the 100,000 to survive. However it can be argued that if Chiang had attacked more ferociously and created man man 15 pitched battles with mi huge army that he would have been able to destroy the CCP.

It can be argued that the CCP were able to survive due to the development of ideology. In 1930 Mao purged ~~the~~ a rival red army group killing 3000 officers. This was known as the Purge Incident. It can be argued that without Mao's ruthlessness and development of a clear party ideology that gave foundation for the party, the CCP would never have had the common cause to march North instead of West (where they would have been surely caught) just to get closer to the USSR. The USSR were funding the GMD and if the CCP had continued to follow Comintern and arrived would surely have been caught and handed over to Chiang where they'd have been destroyed. However mi isn't completely correct as Mao's reunification campaign

(This page is for your first answer.) In 1942-4 shows that the CCP weren't completely agreed on a peasant revolution. This meant that though Mao was pushing his ideas forward in 1927 to 1937 they were not made the solid foundation of the CCP till after the war with Japan.

In conclusion, while it is accurate to say that Mao leadership in starting the Long March and his tactics in remaining North and avoiding pitched battles (focused on guerrilla warfare) it was ultimately Chiang's mistakes that led to the CCP not being destroyed or disbanded. If Chiang had changed his policies about the peasants and not aimed ~~at~~ at the urban workers he could have easily won their loyalty thus removing from Mao. Furthermore if he had effectively followed Sun Yat-sen 'Three Principles of the Party' and effectively removed Japan power in Manchuria in 1931 he could have created a more united China and then focused that unity on destroying the CCP to a point where they could never regroup and ultimately be named extinct.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The answer has some chronological range, and sets Chiang's mistakes against some qualities of Mao's leadership. Some passages are sketchy, notably on the early part of the given timescale, and Mao's ideology is not securely linked to the question. This is an analytical approach with accurate development, but selection and range of material is not always secure.

### Question 3

Most candidates approached the question through considering a number of social, economic and political factors which contributed to the establishment of Communist power in the years 1949-57, though few were able to address all these factors with equal confidence. Answers were generally clear about the PLA's role in terrorising opposition and could weigh the importance of this against other relevant factors, notably the appeal of particular policies that appeared to be working and the personal role of Mao. Some, however, failed to dwell long on the PLA, preferring to use it simply as an expression of control and fear. Thus the army's role in the establishment of power was left loosely defined, with only limited reference to its use in Tibet and the outlying provinces. The attacks on landlords and the importance of the First Five-Year Plan were addressed and, although many discussed the Hundred Flowers movement, there were fewer references to the Three and Five Antis campaigns. Contrast with the unpopularity of the corruption of the GMD regime was sometimes effectively cited as a factor in the establishment of CCP power.

The following is a Level 5 response.

(This page is for your first answer.)

Plan = PLA (violence) → Revitalisation comm  
→ Organic law controlled  
→ Camp against counter-revolts

Gen Imprisons → 1950 marriage  
→ 1950 land lords  
→ criminals

Caution → National capitalists GMD 20,000  
→

Fear → Natchers  
→ Denunciations

(This page is for your first answer.) The PLA was the most important factor as ~~the~~ it was the CCP's main instrument of violence in consolidating communist control from 1949-57. However consolidation was not achieved by violence alone. Indeed, there was genuine improvement in social policies and from economic improvement felt by the majority. Though the PLA was not the only <sup>instrument</sup> form of violence and fear, ~~the~~ mass mobilisation was also employed in encouraging the Chinese people to purge themselves.

One of the most important uses of the PLA in the years 1949-57 was in the 'Reunification campaigns'. The nature of China as vast and ~~rich~~ more populated in the countryside than in cities meant that once the CCP seized power in 1949 there were still pockets of wholly non-communist ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup>. In 1950 the PLA targeted Hainan Island, which had been a stronghold of the GMD, and Tibet which was deeply religious (a practice contrary to Marxist theory) and Xijiang Province. The campaign into Tibet proved wholly necessary to establishing communist control as over 60,000 natives fought the PLA to defend their religious rights for 6 months.



(This page is for your first answer.)

Xinjiang Province also needed resisted as it felt that positioned on the far North reach of China it should be independent, Mao could not accept Xinjiang's independence as its weakness and position would likely have led to absorption by the USSR. Indeed the PLA seems was wholly essential in extending communist control to the reaches of China, however its role was also essential in maintaining control. As a compromise Mao introduced 'Organic Law' as a party system that supposedly allowed 'Democratic centralism'. In reality the PLA had two officers in every local government ~~man~~ of four. This dominance manifested itself in no parties ever winning any elections apart from the CCP.

Mao had won the CCP's control of China through violence, so naturally a large portion of the Chinese ~~res~~ population resisted, though often secretly, the communist control. In 1950 the Korean War assailed Mao's paranoia as ~~against~~ Capitalist Nato was in-marching ~~on~~ towards the Korean-Chinese border. In addition to sending PLA troops to assist the North Korean army, Mao used the PLA extensively in China ~~to~~ in the

(This page is for your first answer.) 'Campaign against Counter revolutionaries'

The PLA organized the 'Lao Gai' ~~given~~ 'Labour Reform camps' and arrested those who were identified as 'counter-revolutionaries'. It is important to note that Mao did not rely wholly on the PLA for ~~their~~ encouraging Fear and Violence. Though the PLA ran the 'Lao Gai' campaigns were run to encourage Chinese citizens to 'inform' on each other. The ~~so-called~~ 'watchers' identified 'counter-revolutionaries' and 'intellectuals' to be reformed and in exchange were given guarantees of food in the later coined 'iron-rice bowl'. This 'mass mobilization' of the Chinese population worked in union with the PLA to identify 1,200,000 'counter revolutionaries' and 6000 intellectuals in 1950 and 1951 respectively.

The PLA further excited fear by sending the bullet used to execute the ~~estimated~~ 700,000 in 1950-1 and a bill for it to the rest of Kin. This relationship between Violence and consequent fear suppressed any vaguely disgruntled Chinese citizens, ~~and~~ and owes largely to the PLA.

It would be a misjudgment and overstatement to claim that the Chinese population had communist control exerted over it purely by violence or

(This page is for your first answer.) indeed that that violence was wholly unwelcomed. In another instance of mass mobilisation the CCP encouraged peasants to hold public executions of landlords in 1950. One million landlords were killed, some reported to have been thrown into the crowds of peasants to be literally ripped apart. This violence co-incident with the release of 40% of China's land from 4% of the population to be spread equally amongst the population, from 1949 until 1954. Similar gains welcome improvement was in the 1950 Marriage Reform Law.

Maoism is founded on equality and this appeared to be underway as concubinage, foot-binding, arranged marriages were all outlawed. Women were also allowed to divorce from existing arranged marriages and to join the workforce. Genuine improvement also came from the 1950 'Three anti's' campaigns and the 1951 'Five anti's' campaigns. They targeted Corruption, waste and inefficiency, and Fraud, Industrial Sabotage, Tax evasion, Bribery and Theft of Government Property, respectively. In practice there saw a decline in gambling, drugs and organised crime and the ~~mass~~ arrest of some 27,000 criminals in Shanghai and 50,000 in Canton. This social reform was enjoyed

(This page is for your first answer.) alongside a steady 9% growth rate and a 70% rise in light industry and household consumer goods. ~~this large improvement~~ In addition 26 million children joined primary schools from 1949 to 1957. This vast social and economic improvement meant that there was less resistance as many began to see communist control as a good thing from 1949-57.

In conclusion, the PLA was the most important factor in establishing communist rule from 1949-57 for its role in eliminating opposition and encouraging fear. However, it was not the only significant factor in the period. Social and economic improvement was also instrumental in making communist control seem a positive and welcomed change.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

The answer displays clear range and depth of relevant material. There is a substantial section on the activities of the PLA, and a discussion of other factors which ensured that CCP power was effectively established in the years 1949-57.



## Question 4

Question 4 produced some perceptive responses that addressed social equality in terms of the fate of different social groups and could see that for some (notably peasants and intellectuals) this changed during the years in question. Medical provision and land ownership also featured, and there was some useful discussion of changes in education and rural life. Weaker answers were restricted to examining changes in the position of women, but most candidates could at least show the difference between the theory of legal change and the reality where traditional prejudice lingered on, especially in outlying rural areas. Some candidates however, made things more complicated by confusing 'equality' with 'fairness', which led to a loss of focus in their answers. Others insisted on including material on the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, without always making their points clearly relevant.

The following is a Level 5 response to Question 4.

(This page is for your first answer.)

**EQUAL SOCIETY** : • Reforms + policies for women

- 1950 marriage law
- better education
- property rights

• Wanted to free people from Emperor rule

- better education and health
- poor saw doctor for first time

• Peasants could own land, state run factories

**UNEQUAL SOCIETY** : • Women's laws forgotten w/ The Great Retreat

- had to balance work + family
- never reached top positions in the party

• Peasants lived terribly - seen by youths as they visited in campaign

• Big propaganda but it was all words

(This page is for your first answer.) Communist ideology focuses on the equality of people in a state and the abolition of the class system that always oppressed the lower classes. Mao and the Chinese Communist Party wanted to free the peasants and the workers from the dominant Chinese rule of the 19th century and create an equal class under the 'proletariat'. The start of Mao's rule saw improved rights for women and more opportunities for peasants in farming. Education and health was re-evaluated and many saw a doctor for the first time. But as the years rolled on, Mao retreated on his policies to create a society that wasn't much more equal than before 1949.

At the start of his rule, Mao tackled the issue of women's rights head on. He had seen first hand the oppression of women when he was almost forced into an arranged marriage, so one of his aims was to make women equal to their male counterparts. A female section of the CCP was introduced in 1950, ~~led by first~~ promoted by Chinese feminist Ling Lang. This saw the first time women had been involved in party politics. With his experience in mind, ~~the~~ Mao introduced

(This page is for your first answer.) The Marriage Laws of 1950 which banned concubination, meant all marriages had to be official and women could initiate divorce. This led to what's more, women were able to have property in their own name and had access to higher education. By the late 1950s, 40% of all students in university were women. Therefore, the Communist Party were successful in creating an equal society as women were given the same rights as men, something they hadn't experienced before.

Not only women benefited from more equal opportunities, but also peasants. Chinese agriculture had always been dominated by rich peasants and greedy landlords according to Mao. The land reforms of 1950 saw more poor peasants being allowed to own land. The land of the landlords was distributed among the worker peasants while they were denounced for their capitalist crimes. Never before had peasants owned their own land, so this is a definite sign that life was becoming more equal for the Chinese people. The poor peasants were also given access to doctors for the first time in their lives under the barefoot doctor scheme and

(This page is for your first answer.) Mao made it his duty to improve education. 20% of Chinese could read in 1949, and this figure rose hugely to 70% by the time Mao died in 1976.

This shows the peasants being more welcomed into China, and shows that society really was becoming more equal.

However, as was common in Mao's ruling of China, he often changed his mind about policies. As the years went by, divorces were more frequent as women were exercising their new rights. Mao responded by making child support more expensive, banning women's rights to initiate divorce and giving financial incentives for families that stuck together and had more children. This was known as 'The Great Retreat' in women's rights and shows that Communist society wasn't as equal as it had intended to be at the start. Women had to balance work and family and despite promising beginnings, a woman never achieved a high position within the CCP. Despite Mao's apparent concern for the conditions of women, Lin Biao said the men of the CCP were hypocrites and regularly exploited women.



(This page is for your first answer.) working within the party.

This highlights that although Mao intended to make the Chinese society more equal for men and women, the party slipped back into its old ways and women were still being oppressed in 1976.

Peasants were also a victim of the unequal society Mao had created. The enjoyment they had for owning their own land was short-lived as during the 1953 collectivisation campaign, they were forced to live on communes, working long hours for a fixed wage. In theory the commune scheme may have been equal, but in reality the peasants faced great hardships such as the famine. The youths realised the difference between the propaganda and the actual reality when they went to the countryside as part of the 'up to the mountains down to the villages' campaign. They witnessed for the first time the terrible conditions of the peasants and began to question the equality of Chinese society.

In conclusion, although there were advances in the conditions of women and

(This page is for your first answer.) presents at the start of Mao's leadership in 1949, conditions for both deteriorated and by 1976 only 1% of the country had a university degree. This shows the inequality of a society Mao intended to communise, and therefore the Comm. Party wasn't very successful at all at creating an equal society.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

The answer targets 'how successful' directly. The candidate considers actions taken to promote equality, notes a range of contrary evidence, and comes to a well organised judgement at the end of the answer.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Tip**

This candidate has taken the time to produce a clear and effective plan, which has been followed successfully throughout the answer.

## Question 5

The stated factor of reformist groups posed something of a problem for many candidates tackling question 5. While weaker candidates knew that they existed and could name some groups, they found it hard to explain what they actually contributed to the outbreak of unrest. Consequently there were many inaccuracies about the status, support and programme of these groups, and their role in revolution tended to be overstated. Few candidates were able to link the familiar causes of the 1905 revolution with a political agenda or group. Long-term causes of the revolution were handled better, and most were able to address the social and economic problems attendant on industrialisation and the desperation of the peasantry. The weakness here was in terms of exemplification: there were few factual details about the high levels of economic hardship or natural disasters, such as the famine of 1891. The short-term causes of the revolution centred on the Russo-Japanese War and Bloody Sunday. It would have been worth emphasising that Bloody Sunday had such serious consequences because it showed the futility of peaceful protest in a situation where other channels of voicing discontent through trade unions or political parties were illegal. The repressive policies of both Alexander III and Nicholas II were often deployed quite effectively here, though there was only limited reference to the Okhrana.

This is a Level 4 response to Question 5.

(This page is for your first answer.)

Plan → How accurate that growth of reformist groups in 1881 - 1905 = 1905 Revolution

Intro → 1905 revd 1st time Romanov dynasty threatened

The growth of reformist groups important → SDs + SKs → provided direction  
+ alternative to autocracy  
1901 1898

but more ST trigger R.J. war + BS

① The growth of reformist → once created 1901 → could work for workers + peasants  
but many in exile creation of soviets after 1905 trade unions  
Lenin + Trotsky, Mayak speeded alternative 80%

② LT factor → economic problems in agriculture - taxation, no rule MIC w/c  
working conditions

③ ST factor - bloody Sunday + (R.J.) war  
after this reformist very important

34 million 14%

(This page is for your first answer.)

5 The 1905 Revolution was the first event that shook the Russian autocratic rule and provided a potential for the fall of Tsarism in Russia, the end of 300 years of Romanov rule and a plunge into anarchy. The revolution occurred spontaneously and many <sup>are</sup> <sup>therefore</sup> <sup>disagree</sup> about its causes. Some historians argue the influence of reformist groups including the newly formed Social Revolutionaries + the Social Democrats encouraged the Russian people to fight for an end to autocracy, however others argue that it wasn't until after the 1905 revolution that these reformist groups began to play a large part in Russian politics. Therefore arguing that short term trigger events such as the Russo-Japanese War and Bloody Sunday could more accurately be named as causes of the 1905 Revolution.

The reformist groups had been steadily growing in pace + attraction as the conditions of industrial workers + tax burdens on peasants increased. As 80% of Russia's population were peasants in the early 1900s, it was in any government's best interest to protect their needs + wants. The Social Revolutionaries understood this + created manifestos that they knew would be appealing to this great mass of people + planned eventually to create a communist state with them as the revolutionaries. This provided an attractive prospect for the peasants + so it can be said it was the policies of the reformist groups that were a cause of the 1905 Revolution. However many historians would argue that the influence of ~~social~~ reformist groups was more obvious after the 1905

(This page is for your first answer.) revolution, as the prepared for another revolution, eventually occurring in 1917. This is shown by the fact that pre-1905 many reformist leaders were in exile ~~as they~~ <sup>and</sup> therefore could not have directly encouraged the radical action that occurred during the 1905 revolution. These historians would say a more accurate explanation of the cause of the 1905 revolution would come from either examination of long term ~~stressors~~ <sup>&</sup> short term triggers. <sup>\*</sup> In fact not returning until after Bloody Sunday.

Many historians would argue that the long-term pressures placed on the Russian people could more accurately explain the outbreak of the 1905 revolution. ~~Both~~ Agricultural workers, although previously freed from redemption payments by Stolypin, still were taxed heavily and had little grain left for feeding their families. This was shown by the devastating outcomes of numerous famines in 1898, 1901 and 1902 in which millions died. In industry, workers were expected to both live + work in appalling conditions and for extremely long hours, for little pay. These long term stressors were shown in Bloody Sunday in which Father Gapon led a group of 100,000 strikers among their Tsar for a 7 day week and 8-hour day. ~~However~~ The upper class and the middle class, the Tsar usually supports ~~appears~~ also suffered under his autocratic governing as they had no political power. This led them



(This page is for your first answer.) also to seek a change in the governing of Russia. These historians could cite these reasons as more accurate explanations for the outbreak of the 1905 revolution over the growth of reformist groups.

Finally, the most damning trigger for the eventual outbreak of the 1905 revolution came as the Russo-Japanese war and the events of Bloody Sunday. The events fell on a country already riddled with long term stresses and active alternative offers + so can be used accurately to explain the outbreak of the 1905 revolution. During the Russo-Japanese war, the Russians faced humiliation <sup>in a war they thought to be easily winnable</sup> at ~~the~~ Manchuria and at Port Arthur in which they <sup>navy</sup> ~~navy~~ were trapped in the port and then on the 27th May 1905 at the battle of Tsushima in which they lost 25/35 battleships in hours. This led the upper + middle class to seriously question the Tsar's leadership and led to his usually trust ally of the armed forces to question his authority. During Bloody Sunday it was the vast peasants + workers that lost faith in their 'little father' after he ordered his ~~se~~ Cossack troops to fire on Father Gapon + his campaigners. These events led to widespread revolt, with 2.7 million people being on strike by the end of 1905. Therefore it can be <sup>accurately</sup> said that the short term triggers and how the Tsar coped with them that brought Russia to revolution in 1905.

(This page is for your first answer.) In conclusion, ~~the~~ although the ~~sets~~ reformist groups may have planted seeds of revolution, its spontaneity shows that the 1905 revolution was not ~~caused by an~~ <sup>caused by an</sup> organized reformist group. Instead ~~it~~ <sup>because of eruption after</sup> numerous triggers + on going repression. The reformist groups I believe had more involvement straight after the 1905 revolution as leaders - Lenin + Trotsky for the social democrats - returned and soviets in Moscow + St. Petersburg were set up to co-ordinate a further revolution.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

The answer has some range and depth of supporting material, though is more effective on the short-term factors which led to the 1905 Revolution. The selection of material is not always appropriate, but there is a focus maintained on the question overall.

(This page is for your first answer.)

How accurate is it to say that the growth of reformist groups in the years 1881 was main cause of 1905 revolution?

Appears to be spur of the moment

Reformist	Other causes
+ Social Demos	+ Bloody Sunday
+ Social Revo	+ Repression
+ Liberals	+ Russo Japanese
- want of new leader or governing body in cities	+ lack of governing body
	- Weakness of Tsar
	- backwards of economy
	- tensions
	- rapid pop growth

The buildup to the 1905 revolution was made up of a combination of political, social and economic factors. An expansion of reformist groups and opposition is no doubt a strong argument in the overall picture, ~~of Russia's~~ however whether

(This page is for your first answer.)

or not it can be defined as the main cause is debatable. There are many other long and short term significant factors into the outbreak of an attempt to ~~refo~~ revolutionise <sup>the</sup> a country, for example the Russo-Japanese war, the lack of a governing body and the weakness of the Tsar.

~~The~~ Any government encounters some form of opposition, the reoccurring theme that the Tsars faced being groups such as "The Peoples Will". Arguably ~~not a strong~~ a powerful force within Russia, as they created fear <sup>and pressure</sup> <sub>towards</sub>



Alexander the second as the ruler especially for Alexander III, who unnecessarily attempted to annihilate them through a series of laws such as the increased rise in university fees and creation of statute of state security but he ultimately failed. However although this group was ever present it is hard to arguably say they were a true reformist group or that they ultimately grew in size.

Additionally, between the years 1881 and onwards in Russia, mainly St Petersburg, Moscow and other major cities began to rapidly grow in population size and the feeling of resentment towards the Tsar also grew. This feeling resulted in a growth in revolutionary and reformist groups.

(This page is for your first answer.) The main 3 being Social democrats, Social Revolutionaries and liberals. These groups all want reform of the ~~system~~ governmental system however the extent of the change and means of reaching their goals varied. For example liberals favored the idea of an elected government body but weren't extremely radical compared to the other two groups. The growth in size and support of these groups did indeed create pressure and maybe united the people together to enable a revolution to occur, but it is perhaps not the most significant factor into the 1905 revolution.

One of the more prominent factors that allowed the 1905 revolution to occur was Nicholas II weak personality. It is apparent

that he was a "family man", and seemed did not seem particularly interested in sufficiently ruling the country. This meant that a lack of authority could be enforced, and social, economic and political unrest was able to go unresolved and therefore escalate in size. Russia needed to keep its status as a Great Power yet it was the most backwards economy out of all of them in Europe, with 80% of the population peasants. The lack of policies to

(This page is for your first answer.) try and solve this problem along with all the additional problems such as the recurring famines, led to unrest and therefore the weakness and incompetence of Nicholas can be viewed as a significant factor into the causes of 1905 revolution.

A short term cause of the 1905 revolution was the Russo Japanese war. After the initial positivity <sup>towards</sup> of an oncoming victory was shattered, the troops and the people on the home front began to get restless and infuriated. The assumption of victory made the troops unprepared, and they experienced a humiliating defeat to the Japanese who were a surprisingly strong front. This negativity was turned on the Tsar and as he was the figure head of the country, people began to increasingly view him as weak and therefore the larger groups were able to exploit him, arguably ~~leading~~ to contributing largely to the revolution.

~~However~~ Nicholas's image was further ~~was~~ damaged with his actions towards a peaceful ~~process~~ <sup>mass strike</sup> led by Father Gapon, where 150 000 people demanded relatively small changes. However Nicholas ordered his troops

(This page is for your first answer.) to open fire on the group killing 100 people. The day was therefore named the bloody Sunday, and when news got round it further angered the Russian people. This event was arguably the spark of the revolution and was the point where the uprising and strikes began, therefore a strong contender into the ~~for~~ <sup>causes</sup> of 1905 revolution.

In conclusion, it is accurate to say that ~~a~~ <sup>revolutionary</sup> reformist groups did play a key role into the 1905 revolution, as they were able to build and increase tensions within society however it is perhaps not the main cause. The main cause is perhaps more accurate to say the Russo Japanese war as a key player and ~~the~~ Bloody Sunday which ~~tipped~~ was essentially the tipping point and therefore perhaps the crucial factor.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The answer has some understanding of the focus of the question, and attempts analysis in places. However, supporting material is lacking in depth in places, and there are some apparently irrelevant diversions, such as a discussion of Nicholas II's character.

## Question 6

Some of the best answers understood the reasons for the failure of the Provisional Government, and could link these reasons into an integrated response. Many answers were highly sophisticated, marrying both detail and breadth, though the one caveat to such laudable efforts lay in over-emphasising the failure rather than the longevity of the government. Many candidates had no difficulty explaining the many mistakes made by the Provisional Government, but they found it more difficult to explain precisely why these various problems shortened their stay in power. Having an accurate knowledge of chronology was essential here to show that power slipped out of their hands after a promising start: there was a tendency for weaker candidates to assume the new government was universally unpopular immediately and made no effort to tackle Russia's problems. It was also common to exaggerate the appeal of Lenin and to depict October as a hugely popular change that was somehow inevitable as soon as the April Theses were known. Having said that, better informed candidates did explain how Lenin worked to extend his influence over the Bolsheviks, and their influence over the Petrograd Soviet, and could highlight the role of specific events in loosening the Provisional Government's hold on power. The Kornilov Affair was well known in this respect, but again, it needed to be put in the context of declining army morale after the June Offensive and the damage to the Bolsheviks inflicted by the July Days. Trotsky's role in the events of October/November was well known, though a few confused his role within the Military Revolutionary Committee with his leadership of the Red Army, and thus included irrelevant material on the Civil War of 1918-20. Some candidates simply considered the role of the Provisional Government and its own weaknesses. A handful of very strong answers pointed out that any government which was 'provisional' was not going to last long in any case.

This is a Level 5 response to Question 6.

Why was the provisional government so short-lived?

After the February revolution Russia was under the control of a dual authority: the Provisional Government and the All-Russian Soviet. Provisional Government (PG) had many weaknesses. At the same time, Lenin's actions forced the Bolsheviks to act. Finally, Trotsky played a big part in the fall of the Provisional Government. Although it was a combination of factors, it is important



to compare 'their importance' to decide which one was more important in PG's downfall.

(This page is for your first answer.) The PG had many problems which it inherited from the Bar's government. Firstly, the PG was forced to stay in the First World War, as they were receiving a substantial amount of funds (in form of loans) from allies such as France. The war was blamed for shortages in the cities as well as problems in the countryside. As a result, PG was not able to keep control over large areas of the country.

Secondly, loans taken from foreigners made the PG an easy target for propaganda created by the Bolsheviks. While it have mattered less to the men in countryside, urbanized population was an easy target for such propaganda. People in the city saw PG as ~~an~~ a traitor, trading Russia's sovereignty for money. This meant that PG lost support to the Bolsheviks.

(This page is for your first answer.) Another problem of the Provisional Government lay in the local-authority. All-Russian Soviet was a body that represented peasants, soldiers and workers, whereas PG was not elected. Particularly, after Soviet Order No. 1, PG lost its only leverage over the Soviet, namely the army. All-Russian Soviet commanded more authority, which meant PG could take little action to stop the October Revolution of 1917.

Kornilov's Affair was a more short-term reason for PG's downfall. July days showed that Bolsheviks were not strong enough to overthrow PG. However, Kerensky panicked during Kornilov's Affair when army was moved towards the capital. By giving Bolsheviks, who were previously imprisoned, weapons and turning them into militia, Kerensky gave up the only big advantage he had. Bolsheviks became heroes in the eyes of the people and won support

(This page is for your first answer.) with the All-Russian Soviet.

By allowing Bolsheviks to influence the Soviet, Kerensky weakened the life of the PG.

Lenin's contribution was also important in the downfall of the PG. It was through his efforts that Bolsheviks became united. In his April Thesis he denounced the PG, calling for a proletarian revolution. Considering the ~~low~~ living and working conditions of the workforce, Lenin won a lot of support for his party. He also ensured in 1912 that only most dedicated revolutionaries could lead the party when Social Democrats separated into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. This gave Bolsheviks a greater ~~focus~~ focus as they became a united opposition. Finally, Lenin won support of a larger part of the population by adopting popular slogans such as "Peace, Bread, Land." After a long period of war, constant shortages and difficult living conditions, people were ready to take more active



(This page is for your first answer.) measures to ensure a better life. This meant that they wanted the PG to abdicate, by force if necessary.

Kerensky ordered the return of a large portion of the army back to Moscow to suppress the uprisings. This is when Trotsky's role became important. In fear that PG was planning to usurp all of the power, a MRC was established with Trotsky as its chairman. This meant that all ~~deserted~~ deserters who joined the MRC came under Bolshevik control. This gave Bolsheviks a big leverage over PG and the power over the All-Russian Soviet. Trotsky took action and was the main tactician throughout the period of dual-authority, an important contribution considering that Lenin came to Russia only after Petrograd was taken by the Red Guard.

All in all, the weaknesses of the Provisional government was the



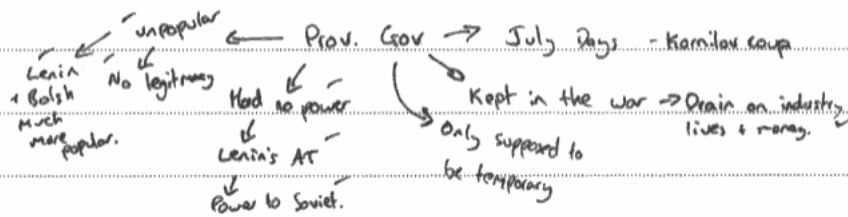
(This page is for your first answer.) main reason of its downfall. Although Lenin and Trotsky put a lot of effort into uniting the opposition, the mistakes and inherited problems meant that PG was short-lived. Inability to establish authority over the country resulted in the PG collapsing on itself, while Bolsheviks were there to take an empty seat.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

The answer notes the problems which the Provisional Government faced from the outset, including the continued involvement in the war and the power of the rival Petrograd Soviet. There are some well developed comments on Lenin and the Bolsheviks, including perceptive points on Trotsky and the MRC.

(This page is for your first answer.)



After the revolution of February 1917, Russia and their people had finally evicted Tsar Nicholas the Second from power, and, ultimately, the end of tsarist autocracy. This then called for a change of leadership, which saw the Provisional Government, headed by Prince Lvov, take control. However despite the desperation for a different form of leader, the Provisional Government was very unpopular and short lived. Lenin and his Bolsheviks took over from the Provisional Government and that was the end of anything to do with the Provisional Government.

In 1917, Russia was locked in battle with Germany on the Eastern front, whilst the British French and Belgians were fighting hard on the Western Front. However despite Russia not losing the war, they were very close to doing so. All of Russia's poor and backward industry was involved in supplying the war effort. When the Provisional Government

(This page is for your first answer.) took control after February 1917, they didn't surrender to Germany and pull out of the war. This move made by the Provisional Government eventually turned out into one of their biggest mistakes, and also explains why the Provisional Government were so short-lived. The Russian people were almost begging for an end to the war; Russia was just not equipped well enough to fight a war on such a large scale.

As well as this, the Provisional Government was so short lived for a number of other factors too. One such factor can be seen through their amount of legitimacy. The tsar was an autocrat; he wasn't voted into power and never asked what the population wanted to do over a certain issue. The Provisional Government were

also much like the tsarist system; they weren't dethroned they merely took control of Russia after the revolution of February 1917. As a result of the tsar's removal of power, competition amongst political parties was allowed to grow, and the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's control, received a lot more support from the population than the Provisional Government did. Because of their lack of legitimacy, they were unpopular and subsequently removed from power in October 1917.

Another reason that can prove to why the Provisional Government was so short-lived was that, compared to the Soviet, the Provisional Government had almost no power. After Lenin dramatically returned to Petrograd in April 1917 and delivered his infamous infamous April Thesis, the Provisional Government would have almost no power at all. Order Number 1 was established shortly after the February Revolution in 1917, and stated quite clearly that any law or act the Provisional Government wants to pass had to be authorised and approved by the Soviet. This Order rendered any self-reliance and independence as a governing body, useless. The fact that they had next to no power over the Soviet can also be attributed to the reason why the Provisional Government were so short-lived.

(This page is for your first answer.) As well as having no power, no legitimacy and being the unapproved governing body of Russia, the Provisional Government weren't established to be a permanent, long-running governing body. The name 'Provisional' Government shows that they were only a temporary governing body, and were in power simply to be set up to the next government. As it happens, the Provisional Government was out to establish an elected All-Russian Congress and a Constituent Assembly, to enhance capitalism and representation for the population. Had they managed to hold the Constituent Assembly and the Congress vote, maybe historians would not have taken such a negative viewpoint on the achievements of the Provisional Government.

Throughout the 1900s, and up until 1917, people knew that the tsarist system was weak and could be toppled with Nicholas II at the helm. Ever since the October Manifesto in 1906, political parties have been struggling to claim any power. Now that the tsar had been removed

from power, political parties were very eager to take control from the Provisional Government and rule Russia themselves. One such example can be seen in the form of the Kornilov coup. General Kornilov was reportedly returning to Petrograd with some of his right-wing loyal soldiers to remove the Provisional Government from office. To prevent this attack, Alexander Kerensky, now the leader of the Provisional Government, released and armed significant Bolshevik figures to help defend from this potential attack. As it later turned out, this was a mistake, as the Provisional Government later fell victim to a Bolshevik-led attack in October 1917. The sheer amount of political pressure and opposition proved to be too much for the Provisional Government and explains why they were so short-lived.

(This page is for your first answer.) To conclude, the Provisional Government were so short-lived for a number of reasons, they had no legitimacy, no power compared to the Soviet and were under a great deal of political opposition. Most importantly, however, the Provisional Government were hugely unpopular, the actions and decisions made by the Provisional Government didn't help their chances of improving their time in power, and explains why they were so short-lived. Had the Provisional Government been allowed the chance to exist during the Constituent Assembly, maybe historians would not have viewed the Provisional Government in such a negative ~~and~~ demeanour.



## ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The answer has some range, including the war, the problems with the Petrograd Soviet, and the Kornilov affair. However, selection and depth of material is not very secure, and references to the legitimacy or otherwise of the Provisional Government is not strongly focused.



## Question 7

Many candidates struggled to focus their responses with sufficient clarity: it was on the extent of change in the aims and key features of the plans, not the extent to which they changed Russia or the success or otherwise of the plans. The focus on aims and key features should have led candidates to address the two parts of the question fairly equally, but many focused on one to the exclusion or detriment of the other. Most candidates did have a working knowledge of some of the key features involved, but tended to mention them in passing, rather than focusing specifically on matters such as target setting, central control, incentives and the use of forced labour. In terms of aims, it made sense to establish the overriding aims of rapid industrialisation and defence which stayed fairly constant, and then modify the aims of the three plans as circumstances changed. Some candidates wrote too much about agriculture, and while most were informed on the differences between the three plans, the second plan's aim of improving education and the communications infrastructure was often neglected. Many appeared to overestimate the extent to which the second plan targeted consumer goods, and asserted that defence requirements were a feature only of the third plan. Some candidates included irrelevant references to the fourth plan, and some responses included statistical and numerical evidence which was not well remembered.

This is a Level 5 response to the question.

(This page is for your second answer.) In 1928, Stalin broke from the NEP, in favour of rapid industrialisation, and made 'The Great Turn'. He did this for a variety of reasons. Firstly Stalin knew that in its current state Russia would be crushed. He asserted in 1931 that 'we must make good the gap between us and the west in 10 years, or we shall be crushed'. He also wanted Russia to be self-sufficient and not rely so heavily on the west as they already did, importing 51% of their grain from USA and Canada. A last key reason was that the NEP was not ideologically correct. It went against the Communist principles and Stalin knew that a socialist revolution was only possible in a highly urbanised, industrialised society where the majority of people were workers.

Therefore in 1928, Stalin began his first 5 year plan. He centralised all industry and targets, centrally set by the government had to be met.

(This page is for your second answer.) It focused on improving ~~heavy~~ heavy industry, mainly coal, oil and steel whilst also initiating the craze of 'Gigantomania'. This involved huge engineering projects, in which size mattered, such as the building of Magnitogorsk, the Moscow Volga Canal and the Soviet Palace, as massive propaganda experiments. During the Plan, steel production ~~also~~ almost doubled from 3.3 million tonnes to 6.2 million tonnes.

The second 5 year Plan, whilst still focusing on heavy industry, also focused on the development of pet-chemicals and infrastructure. This led to the construction of thousands of miles of roads, railways and canals being built, in order to make the industrialisation more efficient.

The 3rd 5 year Plan devoted a lot more time and energy to wartime production, with the second world war on the horizon. Many more aeroplane factories were built and the MiG-21 fighter was developed, whilst the focus on heavy industry remained.

Therefore, although it is clear that the emphasis of the 5 year Plans was largely different, even though heavy industry was the basis of all 3, the key aims and features of the Plans were largely very similar.

In all 3 Plans, targets were centrally set by Moscow, even though it had very little <sup>economic + industrial</sup> knowledge. Targets had to be met and sustained or there would be consequences. Stalin's terror meant that figures were

(This page is for your second answer.)

often massaged just to please him and therefore targets appeared to be being met. This led to an increase in targets which caused even more problems for workers and officials. Therefore it is hard to accurately gauge the success of all 3 plans, even if they were clearly a success in transforming Russia's economy.

Terror was a common theme during the 5 year plans and as a result figures were exaggerated and lied about. Wreckers and saboteurs were severely punished by the NKVD and lateness became a criminal offence. There was no real incentive for the workers to work and often they were only driven by fear of the kuzaks. These guards incidentally played a key role in all of the 5 year plans, with 'White Collar' making up a great deal of the workforce and allowing the plans to be so successful.

Another common theme was unhappiness of workers. Whilst there were some who were proud to be doing their bit for mother Russia, most were very unhappy. They lived off poor wages, had no incentives, often lived in poor conditions, especially at Musmagorishk where there was no sewage system and the shelters were rickety huts, and due to the terror, they were treated extremely harshly.

The ideological aims behind the 5 year



(This page is for your second answer.) Plans also remained constant. Each Plan sought to urbanise and industrialise Russia, until the majority of the population were workers. These were the only conditions in which a real socialist revolution could take place and each Plan sought to create this.

Each Plan also sought to protect Russia from a war scare. Russia had many enemies, especially China and Japan, as well as emerging rivalry in the west. Heavy industry was the key to a wartime economy and so Russia was seeking to protect herself and get ready for any future war. She also wanted to become more self-sufficient and become less reliant on western powers, so that she could stand alone comfortably as a 'communist island in a capitalist sea'.

Therefore we can see that although the specific aims and targets of the 3 5 year Plans were very different, the broad aims, especially long term, and features were incredibly consistent. Stalin's power remained constant thanks to three things. His terror forced targets to be met and the NKVD made sure that people were working as hard as they could. Everyone conformed and ~~there~~ no one dared to speak out. The people were bombarded by communist propaganda as well as huge engineering projects. The ~~propaganda~~ propaganda added support to those who already supported his



(This page is for your second answer.) policies and were proud to  
be doing their bit for mother Russia. Therefore,  
I feel that although the specifics of each plan changed,  
the general long term aims and the key features remained  
remarkably similar from 1928-41



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

The answer is securely focused from the outset, and considers both the aims and the key features of the three plans. There is a strong analytical focus throughout the answer, with well-selected and accurate material deployed in depth.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Tip**

If you intend to use statistical or numerical evidence in any answer, make sure that you are certain that it is correct!

## Question 8

Candidates wrote extensively and confidently about the wider factors that contributed to Russia's victory, but were not well informed on the stated factor of lend-lease. A minority neglected it entirely, and many made general and inaccurate assumptions about what it was and its value to the war effort. Food and transport were the essentials, rather than military equipment. A significant number of candidates misread the question as being concerned with 'land-lease', which they believed referred to the movement of factories and people to the area beyond the Urals. Others confused lend-lease with the Grand Alliance, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and even the government's earlier policy of grain requisitioning. The clarification of content notes that 'students should appreciate ... the importance of lend-lease', and future candidates are advised to address this aspect of the Great Patriotic War in some detail. Some answers devoted too much attention to the failings of the German army and its leadership, often exaggerating these shortcomings. Other relevant factors which were addressed well included the leadership of Stalin and his generals, the role given to the Orthodox Church, and the massive contribution made by the Soviet people on the home front.

This is a Level 5 answer.

(This page is for your second answer.)

Lend lease was }  
reason for }  
success }  
- Provided 80,000 jeeps and  
75,000 trucks  
- Spain 'reason they won the  
war'  
- US manufacturers + Soviets going to  
America  
- better transport

wasn't }  
Size of the Red Army  
Five Year Plans  
Patriotism of the people  
Battle at Stalingrad won,  
90,000 arrested

(This page is for your second answer.) Nazi Germany was the evil regime that was attempting world domination, while took the pressure off of Stalin's much feared Communist regime. This helped ~~retard~~ international relations, and in 1940 America and the USSR agreed on the lend-lease programme to supply Russia with resources they required to fend off German attacks. Although this proved very useful, Stalin insisted it wasn't lend-lease that ~~had~~ led to the defeat of Germany but the prepared industry of Russia and the patriotism of the Soviet citizens.

Operation Barbarossa struck Russia hard in 1941. Germany invaded the Ukraine, a valuable resource for heavy industry from the Donbass region and one of the USSR's biggest grain resources. Starvation was already sweeping through cities and the Red Army was in need of food. The USAC's intervention with the sending of spam, a processed meat, saved the Red Army from starvation and meant they could continue fighting the war. Later in the 1950s, Stalin's successor Khrushchev admitted that

(This page is for your second answer.) 'Spam was the reason we won the war'. This shows how essential the US provision of food was to the Russian success in the second world war, without it the soldiers wouldn't have been strong enough to fight.

The provision of transport can also be seen as a reason for the USSR's wartime success. Germany had destroyed telegraph lines and railways as they progressed through Russia, making communication and transport very difficult for Soviet forces.

The USA helped the situation by shipping 50,000 jeeps and 75,000 trucks for use on the warfront. Along with the shipments of new tracks and train carriages, soldiers could be rapidly transported from one battle zone to the next with ease. This was certainly a help to the battered Russian army and can ~~be~~ definitely be attributed to their success and subsequent defeat of Germany.

However, not everybody agrees that the lend-lease programme was the reason



(This page is for your second answer.) The USSR were victorious in the second world war. Certain historians question its impact and Stalin himself ignored it in his propaganda and instead sighted the five year plans as the reason for Russia's success. Stalin had ~~been~~ worked on industrial miracle and turned Russia into a world power. For each year of the war Russia was outproducing Germany in armaments and weapons. Over half of government spending was on the military and a special economic war-economic board (Stavka?) was created and were allowed to spend whatever they saw fit on the war effort. The war economy may have left millions in towns hungry, but it put Russia in good stead for the German attacks with plenty of raw materials despite losing the Donbass region. This was a definite attribute to the USSR's success.

The military was also a reason for the success of the Russian army. At the Battle of Stalingrad, the Red Army successfully trapped the German army in the city, leading them to surrender.

(This page is for your second answer.) 90,000 ~~men~~ German soldiers were put in Russian labour camps. In their next battle, Germany had employed 750,000 men, an ~~small~~ insignificant number compared to Russia's 1.3 million men employed at the same battle, leading to a clear defeat. Decisions such as the scorched-earth policy and the strength to invade Berlin Nazis to power and 'T' tanks and the massive Red army are some reasons why Russia succeeded.

The war was also helped by the patriotism of Russian citizens. They saw the racism and brutality of Hitler and decided to support Stalin, opting for a 'fight to the death' method with every citizen in Stalingrad being issued a rifle. Propaganda labelled it 'The Great Patriotic War' and women's work and children's work in factories contributed to the success in 1945.

To conclude, although lend-lease was a definite aid to the Russian forces, it wasn't the main reason for their victory.

(This page is for your second answer.) Stalin had made sure his nation was ready for an attack he ~~had~~ believed was imminent, and despite the losses after Operation Barbarossa, the Red Army were able to use their increased power and strength to push Germany back and eventually take hold of Berlin, making them victorious in the Second World War. Despite the loss of the army and loss of the Donbas region, the USSR could still hold their own against Germany who weren't spending as much on their military.



**ResultsPlus**

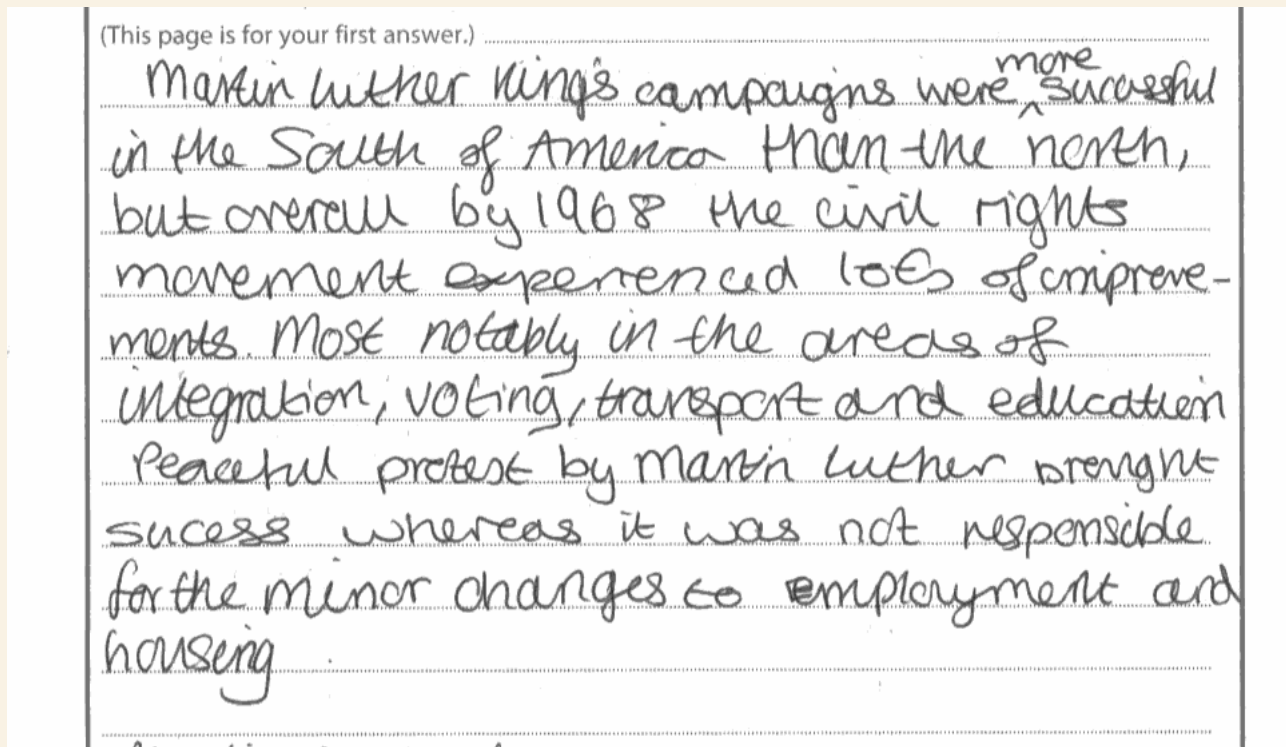
**Examiner Comments**

The answer includes some accurate material on lend-lease, with development that is adequate rather than extensive. Other relevant factors explaining the USSR's ultimate victory are considered, and there is an effective conclusion which reaches an overall judgement.

## Question 9

Question 9 asked for a judgement of 'how successful' King's civil rights campaign was, so it would have made sense to have established the criteria on which such success could be based. The same advice applies to Questions 4 and 13, which also asked about the extent of success. In this case, changes in the law and its application at a local level, and in people's attitudes, might have been appropriate yardsticks to use. Some of the best answers took a thematic approach to King's work, but it was more common and perfectly acceptable for candidates to address the campaign chronologically, looking first at success and then at failure. The key episodes were generally well known, although Selma less so, and there were explanations of why success was less evident later on. Some weaker candidates assumed that whatever progress in civil rights was made must automatically have been due to King, and decided that he must have played a key role in Little Rock, and even in the Brown judgements. However, there were many whose knowledge allowed them to be far more discriminating and to highlight areas where credit belonged elsewhere as well. One reasonably common error was to lose focus on the question set, by addressing other reasons for the success of the movement (in addition to King's input) but this was not the question. Such answers devoted the majority of the essay to other factors which advanced racial justice such as the legal campaigns of the NAACP, Black Power and the support given by white politicians. However, some answers were very well judged, with detailed arguments for and against the success of King's campaign. These went beyond a chronological and event-driven structure to address matters such as King's character, his relationships with successive presidents, organisational skill and the use of the media. Even some of these answers tended to attribute all events and actions during the civil rights campaign to King himself. This led to some inaccurate conclusions drawn on, for example, the Greensboro protests and the Freedom Rides.

The following response is somewhat uneven but is a Level 4 answer overall.





Martin Luther King's campaigns for civil rights regarding the integration of black Americans into white society was <sup>the</sup> very most successful. King organized the Birmingham campaign which as a result of violent white reacts by Mayor Bull Connor, led to

(This page is for your first answer.) Kennedy proposing the civil rights bill. Also King's integrated March on Washington in 1963 meant Congress passed the bill into an act under Johnson in 1964. Despite the Albany campaign, where Mayor Laurie Pritchett was calm and non-violent to protesters, this was one bad and unsuccessful campaign by King in the South. Lots of improvements to black Americans took place because of this new legislation, Jim Crow laws were now a thing of the past.

Martin Luther King also organized campaigns to improve the voting rights of black Americans, which was achieved by 1965. The Selma Campaign again, was chosen by King because of its strong racist views, hence white violence instigated by Sheriff Jim Clark made the protest a success. King orchestrated this protest to get legislation clarifying the

Voting rights of Black Americans as it was unclear on the Civil Rights Act 1964. The chaos and brutal

(This page is for your first answer.) violence that took place at this event gained the media attention King had hoped for. Therefore the Selma campaign led to the Voting Rights Act 1965 which was a success for the civil rights movement by 1968 as a result of King. His organisation had resulted in new laws on both integration, ~~Martin Luther King~~ and voting, thus he was very important to the change made.

The improvements made to public transport in regards to the Civil Rights movement were influenced and partly involved with King. He spoke in Montgomery and his inspirational speech resulted in the bus boycott there lasting one whole year. He also influenced the Freedom Riders who included CORE, SNCC and the SCLC. Their campaign to get interstate transport integrated compelled Kennedy to put the law into force, thus bringing about de facto change. Martin Luther King was very successful in the civil rights

(This page is for your first answer.) movement as he was involved in revolutionary new changes to transport and voting rights, which used the 1964 Civil Rights Act as a basis.

The Education system ~~was~~ <sup>benefitted</sup> from the civil rights campaigns and involvement of Martin Luther King to a great extent. He was heavily involved with the work of the NAACP who funded many lawyers in court cases such as Sweatt vs Painter where all black Americans were allowed the right to higher education as a result. Also the Brown case which also funded by them ruled for no segregation in Education, but this was partly ruined by Brown Two which saw the integration of schools being done 'with all ~~del~~ deliberate speed'. Despite only 780 out of 6,300 school desegregated by 1968 Martin Luther King made founding changes to Education for



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(This page is for your first answer.) black Americans, that later led to helping cases such as Little Rock and James Meredith getting equal teaching. Therefore because of the ~~vetera~~ civil rights act outlawing segregation, the education system was improved through Martin King's <sup>successful</sup> efforts.

The employment of black Americans becoming equal to whites was a problem Martin Luther King did not fix so successfully by 1968. His ~~involvement~~ involvement in the Memphis Workers Union campaign descended into violence and the rights they were protesting for were thus not met. His fleeing of the scene did not make matters better. The Poor People's campaign King planned before his death did not want to get government funding to stop discrimination in the workplace. It became violent and with government money tight due to the Vietnam war, they were not going to give into violence to improve





(This page is for your first answer.)

white reactions did not get the change from the government as King desired. His ruined relationship with the government and the fact that it appeared he was advocating violence meant the 1967 fair housing act was weakened by Congress. Therefore Martin Luther King was unsuccessful in the north in the Bage Park and Chicago campaigns because of violence and the wrong tactics. The fair housing act was a minor improvement but it did not have the same success as the other earlier campaigns of King.

Martin Luther King was mainly ~~successful~~ successful in his civil rights campaigns up to 1968. Education, transport, voting and integration all benefited greatly. Although the Housing Act was weak and Employment was only improved by the badly funded FEPC and

(This page is for your first answer.)

Federal purchasing power that the government could not interfere. MLK shows he tried to improve civil rights of black Americans in every aspect of their life and was more successful in the south rather than the north because he was supported by many Christians like him, and carried out these campaigns before his relationship with the government fell apart.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Although the answer has a good range of points addressed, the development of material is uneven. Albany, Selma, Memphis and the Poor People's Campaign are all effectively investigated, though events in Birmingham and Montgomery are more patchy. It is a mistake to attribute educational change to King.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

In any answer on civil rights it is better to use the present-day usage of 'African Americans' rather than 'black Americans'. Referring to people as simply 'blacks' and 'whites' should be avoided.



From 1955-1968, there was a large-scale Civil Rights Movement in America. African American people were becoming more activist and were mobilising to provide a united front against discrimination and segregation. A church minister from Montgomery, Alabama, was at the head of this movement and Martin Luther King became famous across America before his assassination in 1968. It is argued that King was a pawn for white people and he was not successful

(This page is for your second answer.) in his attempts to gain racial equality because he was not active against whites. However, from the evidence it is clear that ~~the~~ without Martin Luther King, the Civil Rights Movement of 1955-68 would not have had the impact that it did.

In 1955, Rosa Parks, a lady from Montgomery, Alabama, refused to stand and give up her seat to a white man on a bus journey home. This action led to her arrest and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, seen as the start of the Civil Rights Movement. The boycott was started by the NAACP (National <sup>Association for the</sup> Advancement of Coloured People) but another organisation was formed, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and King became the leader. The bus boycott was a success in many ways because it led to the desegregation of all buses in Montgomery and also inspired



blacks across the nation. The boycott caused a \$1 million loss for white Montgomery businesses, which showed the economic power of African Americans. After this success, King started campaigning across America for equality but he only advocated the use of peaceful protest. This was a good strategy

(This page is for your second answer.) because it highlighted white racism towards unprovoked blacks, gaining huge media coverage and support. King's peaceful protest methods were used across the USA in the Sit-ins, which started in Greensboro, Mississippi and spread, with 70,000 students joining the cause. The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating (SNCC) was then set up to organise further protests and was King's organisation, Southern Christian Leaders Committee (SCLC) provided essential support to the student protesters. The <sup>Albany Sit-in</sup> Freedom Rides of May 1961 were another example of peaceful protest advocated and supported by King. CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality organised for black people to sit-in in the Albany Bus Station as the company refused to desegregate its buses, despite General Attorney Bobby Kennedy's decision that it had to be desegregated, after the Freedom Rides in the South. Albany was the first time that CORE, SCLC and SNCC had all joined together to protest and their efforts proved successful. King had brought

together the organisations with the use of peaceful protest.

However, King's most famous protest was

(This page is for your second answer.) his march on Washington where he captured a lot of support with his "I have a dream" speech. Although there was not the turnout that King had expected, - only 36,000 attended, - President Johnson was urged to help the civil rights campaign. With the backing of the President, the civil rights movement slowly gained more successes and this was due to Martin Luther King's organisation, leadership and public appearances.

However, some people argue that King's peaceful protest was not radical enough and he was in fact just the pawn of white people. A more radical group of blacks formed from the black power movement. The Black Panthers, set up by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, was an all-black, all-male organisation that policed the streets of ghettos to stop whites persecuting African Americans. They were a militant unit and took fully believed in the idea of black supremacy, which had evolved from the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X. This violent organisation of black African Americans went against King's idea of peaceful protest and to some extent lost a lot

(This page is for your second answer.) Of influential white support. However, the militant movement helped mobilise blacks and provided a united front against violent whites, such as the Ku Klux Klan.

King was also criticised for his actions in the Birmingham protest of 1963. King chose Birmingham because he wanted to show the media the extent of segregation in the South and the violence that African Americans had to endure. "Bull" Connor, the police sheriff of Birmingham was an aggressive and short-tempered man so King knew that the protest would receive a violent opposition, exactly what he had hoped for. However, King was criticised for allowing young children to join in the protest as images of the children being scolded by fire hoses were broadcasted. Some argue that his actions at Birmingham were did not follow his idea of "peaceful protest" and this reflected badly on the movement.

Finally, it can be argued that some of the successes of the civil rights movement were not due to King and he was in fact led by other people and organisations and he took the glory and publicity wrongfully.



(This page is for your second answer.) The NAACP was one of the most influential groups during the movement. Thurgood Marshall, an elite lawyer who represented the NAACP, was one of the most influential individuals during the movement, having fought for Oliver Brown in 1954/55 to overturn the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling on desegregated education, as well as representing Rosa Parks during her trial of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. King's organisation, the SCLC, also attempted to gain credit for the sit-ins, organised by the SNCC and the Albany protest, formed by CORE. This interference caused tension between the organisations and may have hindered the movement.

In conclusion, I think that Martin Luther King's campaign for civil rights in the years 1955-1968 was successful to an extent but other factors aided the success that they did have. <sup>such as other organisations and opposition response.</sup> Although full-desegregation and equality was not realized before King's assassination in 1968, his advocacy of peaceful protest inspired other groups and provided a direction for the movement and the legacy he left behind after his death provided an incentive for African Americans to gain full civil



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

The answer does not sustain a clear focus on the question set. There is some relevant material on King's campaign, but other information, such as the role of CORE, Black Power and the NAACP is not made directly relevant.



## Question 10

While only tackled by a small number of candidates, the question elicited some excellent answers focusing on the limited success of Hispanics and American Indians in improving their political, economic and social positions at a time when the civil rights campaign for African Americans was achieving considerably more. Answers noted the significance and the successes of Cesar Chavez and the National Farm Workers Association, though the role of Alianza was not often mentioned. There was some interesting discussion about Eisenhower's policy of termination, and on the extent to which the Civil Rights Act of 1964 improved the status of American Indians. A few candidates were able to assess the extent of change for both Japanese and Chinese Americans by focusing on their growing economic power during this period. A small number of candidates misunderstood the question entirely because they appeared to believe that 'black Americans' were quite different from 'African Americans'.

The following is a Level 4 response.

(This page is for your first answer.)

It is fair to say that the status of ethnic minorities other than African Americans ~~did~~ <sup>experienced</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>minor</sup> improvements in the 1960's. These groups are the native Americans and the Hispanic Americans that lived in America during this period.

In terms of land and segregation, this is an area where little improvement took place during the 60's. The Native Americans had their land taken away due to Eisenhower's policy of termination. A committee funded later managed to retrieve back compensation for this land but this was a mere 47 cents per acre and despite being owned millions of acres, this was the rate in 1861. Hispanic Americans also had very little land, Chicanos were the name given for

(This page is for your first answer.) Mexican Americans, and they also had land taken from them. Any land they did own was of very bad quality and this made production of crops very slow. There were no major improvements for Hispanic Americans in terms of land and this coupled with the fact that native Americans were merely 'tokenised', meaning they were given a bit of their full demands and not the entirety, shows that there were some improvements, although life mainly stayed the same during the 1960's.

In terms of living conditions both groups again had very harsh realities. <sup>in the 1960's</sup> Native Americans had outbreaks of TB, trachoma, alcoholism and illiteracy. People aged 16 to 25 were much more likely to commit suicide than the national average, native Americans average age of death was 20 years lower than the ~~us~~ US average. Birth ~~rate~~ rate was also a growing problem as the population was growing when the land was not. During the 1960's these conditions did not improve, over crowding was still a major problem as were the illness and addiction. Hispanic Americans also had high rates of disease and hunger, a case of a young

(This page is for your first answer.) Chicano man, was that his family were so poor that they lived in tents on low quality rented accommodation, he also had no shoes on his feet where his family could not afford to buy shoes for him. ~~The~~ ~~set~~ Both these examples clearly show that in the area of living conditions, despite attempts by the native Americans to move to small towns, there was little or no improvement in the 1960's, ~~even~~ even the fair housing act of 1968 could not stop discrimination as the fine was a mere \$1000 which some companies were willing to pay. This therefore shows the in the area of living conditions there was no improvement which adds to the lack of change in status for ethnic minorities

An area related to mainly Natives was pride. This breaks the tradition set by the other factors, in as much as it was an area where their lives <sup>in the 1960's</sup> excelled. Natives started using the slogan 'Red Power', a spin off from 'black power' and they found themselves thinking much more highly of themselves. Pride helped Mexicans as well although to a lesser extent than the natives and they began using the word 'chicano' as a positive ~~word~~ word and not the derogatory meaning it held initially. However this is

(This page is for your first answer.) The only area where ~~major~~ improvement can be measured and this in itself is not enough to change the status of ethnic minorities during the 1960's.

Police treatment during the 1960's of ~~one~~ especially Hispanic Americans <sup>had no improvement in,</sup> was very brutal and harsher than treatment to other races. A case where a Hispanic man was shot and killed by a white policeman was dropped on the terms that a conviction in the case, of the <sup>white</sup> policeman seemed unlikely and the case never went to court. There are also similar records of police brutalities against Hispanics in harsh assaults and near deaths. This clearly shows that the ~~status~~ status of ethnic minorities, in this case ~~the~~ especially the Hispanics, there was ~~no~~ ~~improvement~~ no improvement and their lives left unchanged.

It <sup>also</sup> is important to consider employment. Many native and Hispanic ~~and~~ Americans had part time work. However this was only seasonal and was mainly in California. It was all very low pay with people working on average of 134 days with average annual income being \$1078 which in 1967 was around ~~\$26~~ \$26,000 lower than the average man in the US. Hispanics in California were responsible for 43% of all fruit.



(This page is for your first answer.) and vegetables sold in the whole of the USA but despite this received ridiculously low wages and were only employed seasonally. This again shows that the status of ~~black~~ ethnic minorities in the 60's did not improve, despite some of them holding employment this was usually seasonal, ~~the~~ low paid farming work, and this was not enough to say ~~an~~ improvement had place.

¶ The final aspect is voting rights. In the 1960's very few, if any native americans voted, whereas if they could hispanics took the opportunity to vote. They tried to vote for a hispanic representative however due to 'gerrymandering' the process of white people making districts to stop a hispanic majority this proved very difficult and they failed numerous times. However in 1965 a hispanic representative was submitted into the house of representatives but this was a very very small scale success as it was in one district where he could be overruled by white representatives. Therefore it is clear to see that ~~hispanics and~~ the status of ethnic minorities did improve to a ~~an~~ tiny extent but this was very small scale and ~~there~~ no major improvement in their lives.

Combining these factors it is very clear to see

(This page is for your first answer.) That the status of ethnic minorities in America in the 1960's did <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ experience ~~small~~ ~~scale~~ successes ~~despite~~ ~~the~~ increase of pride, and the election of a hispanic official as the other day to day elements such as living conditions, land and employment did not experience the small successes that these areas did. Therefore it is fair to say that overall the lives of ethnic minorities during the 1960's did not improve.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

The answer considers appropriate factors such as land, police treatment, living and employment conditions, rather than dealing with Hispanic Americans and American Indians separately. A secure range of accurate material is provided, though there is a tendency in places towards narrative rather than explanation.

## Question 11

Many candidates were more confident explaining general reasons for the USA's involvement in Vietnam than in pinning these down precisely to the context of the situation in the mid 1950s, when presidents were under pressure at home to take a tough line against Communism and the domino theory was in the forefront of their thinking. Some answers proved to be quite fragile from the outset because of candidates' limited understanding of the decisions reached at Geneva in 1954. Where valid points were raised, such as the division of Vietnam and the requirement for elections in both North and South Vietnam, they were not consistently developed and discussed in terms of growing US involvement. Knowledge displayed was not always secure. Some confused Korea and Vietnam, the terms served by successive US presidents, and the extent of US involvement in these years: many believed that both Eisenhower and Kennedy sent ground troops to South Vietnam, and thus overestimated US involvement in the region.

The following is a Level 3 response.

(This page is for your second answer.) <sup>outcome of the</sup> The Geneva conference was responsible for a small extent for US involvement in Asia by 63. The <sup>context of the</sup> cold war combined with the domino theory and desire for influence in the Pacific were ~~the~~ major factors as to why the USA participated in South-East Asia. In Korea protecting Japan was of great importance and in regards to Vietnam the initial surrender of the French and ~~communist insurgency~~ in Malaya increased the desire to get involved in both wars.

The Geneva conference ~~left VI~~ was only responsible for a small extent for America's involvement in S-E

(This page is for your second answer.)

Asia by 1963. The conference splitting up Vietnam worried the US that communism would take over if Ho Chi Minh won and unified the country under communism. The ceasefire allowing French to leave did put pressure on America to now step their involvement up a gear. However this did not affect the Korea war involvement and the US were likely to have become involved without it. Therefore the outcome of the Geneva conference may have given the US the chance to prep up Dien in the South, but it did affect involvement in Korea.

In the context of the cold war, the US were locked in a ideological war with the USSR. The US's desire for influence in the Pacific and the fear of the domino theory coined by Eisenhower on a Press conference resulted in involvement ~~by~~ in South-East Asia. The



(This page is for your second answer.) Truman doctrine had outlined the US premise to the world of containing communism, hence this policy was used in the involvement of both wars in Korea and Vietnam as America feared the communist North of Korea and Vietnam would continue into the south. America became involved in Southeast Asia because of the outcome of the Geneva conference to a small extent, ~~which was also influenced~~ and also their concerns over their sphere of influence in the Pacific, as Russia had Eastern Europe and China, in the context of the Cold War.

Japan was a factor that contributed to why America got involved in South East Asia by 1963, as well as the Geneva conference and the cold war, political context. As America was ruling Japan as a satellite state and was

(This page is for your second answer.)

benefitting with their economy and trade, it was in the US's best interest to keep it non-communist. Therefore the Korean war experienced US involvement because of a fear for economic reasons and the close proximity of South Korea and Japan being only 160km away. The domino theory appeared very possible if the North were allowed to continue into South Korea. Therefore America's desire to protect Japan and its economy lead to US involvement in South East Asia by 1968. Like the outcome of the Geneva conference which attacked US intervention in Vietnam, this led to their involvement in South East Asia in regards to Korea.

The initial surrender of the French of Indo China was a contributing factor that led to

(This page is for your second answer.)

the involvement of the US in South East Asia. The surrender after General Navarre's defeat of 6-1 against the Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu and a lack of support from the French public meant the US financial support was over. This led to a step up of involvement by Kennedy to introduce military advisers and the Green Berets as America were strongly believed in not letting communism take over their sphere of influence. The surrender of the French led to the outcome of electing that the US then cancelled prem the Geneva Conference. Therefore both of these factors led to the US involvement of South East Asia as a whole, but most directly Vietnam.

~~The communist insurgency in~~  
~~Malaya~~



(This page is for your second answer.)

To conclude the outcome of the Geneva conference was responsible for the involvement of the US in South East Asia since 1954 to a small extent. This outcome only regarded the Vietnam war, however it is still significant as SEATO and ANZUS treaties were subsequently set up and united many had the single aim of containing communism. This can be put into the context of the Cold War as the ideological war with Russia led the USA to 'defend democracy' as its justification for intervening in both Korea and Vietnam. Their sphere of influence was threatened by communist threats present and their satellite state of Japan was of great importance. The surrender of the French led the Geneva conference



(This page is for your second answer.)

and ~~set~~ subsequently the actions and US involvement that followed. The Geneva conference was responsible to a small extent, however the other factors portray the overall argument for why America was involved in South East Asia by 63.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

There is much confusion within the answer which weakens its impact overall. There is some understanding of the outcome of the Geneva Conference, but there are some clear misunderstandings over Korea, which is not relevant to the question. The involvement of successive US presidents is not effectively addressed, though there is some relevant discussion of Japan and SEATO.

## Question 12

Question 12 attracted more answers than Question 11. Many used Cronkite's comments well to illustrate the credibility gap that the Tet Offensive immediately produced in the minds of the public and politicians, and then went on to link this to Johnson's decision not to seek re-election. The longer term impact of the stated factor was developed substantially in many answers that examined Nixon's subsequent efforts to achieve 'peace with honour', though some candidates' knowledge of the years 1969-73 was sketchy at best. Other factors responsible for US withdrawal were usually well known, although weaker candidates often wrote in general terms about why the USA lost the war, rather than setting their answers clearly in the chronological context of the situation after 1968.

The following is a Level 5 response.

(This page is for your first answer.)

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graph TD; TET["TET (1)"] --- Q["?"]; FinancialCost["Financial Cost (3)"] --- Q; AntiWar["Anti-war Movement (4)"] --- Q; FailureViet["Failure of Vietnamisation (2)"] --- Q;
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**TET (1)**

- Significant as it made US realise they couldn't win war
- People r/s. Walter Cronkite undermined it.

**Financial Cost (3)**

- War cost \$120,000,000,000 killed "war on profits"
- Congress refused to hand out more by '73, troops being withdrawn
- Ultimately more important

**Anti-war Movement (4)**

- 58,000 US casualties
- 1000s of protests & riots occurred in major cities

**Failure of Vietnamisation (2)**

- Realised they couldn't build up ARVN
- Led to Nixon arranging peace talks.

The USA's involvement in Vietnam was a long, brutal conflict that didn't end until 1973. The Tet Offensive is a key factor to consider when discussing America's involvement withdrawal, however there are also other key factors, such as the failure of Vietnamisation, the financial cost and the anti-war movement.

The Tet Offensive of 1968 was certainly an important factor in influencing America's withdrawal. This was when the Viet Cong invaded and took over many South Vietnamese cities on the Vietnamese celebration of Tet, and it was a significant event as it was what led to America

(This page is for your first answer.) ~~They were~~ ~~already~~ ~~struggling~~ ~~despite~~ Johnson telling the public that America were gradually winning the conflict, the ease with which the Viet Cong took over the South Vietnamese cities was a reality check. ~~Moreover~~ this meant it led to influential figures such as the journalist Walter Cronkite opposing the war, and it certainly influenced Richard Nixon's decision to start withdrawing American ground troops after his election victory in 1968, as he was as stunned as anyone about how successful the Tet offensive had been for the Viet Cong.

Linked to the Tet Offensive, the failure of Vietnamisation was another factor which influenced America's withdrawal from Vietnam. Vietnamisation was Nixon's policy which aimed to build up the strength of the South Vietnamese Army (or ARVN) to enable them to defend themselves. He tried this policy to try and speed up peace, as throughout the war the ARVN forces struggled against the Viet Cong and the People's Army of North Vietnam (PAVN), for example at the Battle of Ap Bac in 1963 when ARVN forces refused to shoot at their Viet Cong counterparts, so Vietnamisation was a desperate plan by Nixon to try and bolster them. By 1972 it still had not worked as the ARVN were still weak, and this certainly influenced America's withdrawal as they knew that no matter how long they were in Vietnam they could not strengthen ARVN sufficiently, so chose to withdraw when they could, however it is less significant than the Tet Offensive as it was this that led to Nixon bringing the policy of Vietnamisation in the first place.

The financial cost of the conflict was also a key factor in influencing America's withdrawal. The Vietnam War cost America \$120,000,000,000, and by the early 1970s Congress were requiring to fund more of the war effort, particularly as Nixon had started

(This page is for your first answer.) Withdrawing American troops to could no longer use the well-being of American soldiers as a reason for Congress to continue their support, as he and Johnson had both done. Also, the amount of money spent on the war was so astronomical that Nixon could no longer justify it, particularly as he knew victory was now impossible. Furthermore, it is said that the cost of funding the Vietnam War was what killed the 'war on poverty', so both Johnson and Nixon came under pressure from ethnic minorities for continuing to fund what was increasingly looking like an unwinnable war.

Ultimately, the financial cost of the war was more influential than the Tet Offensive with regard to American withdrawal, as Congress deciding they could no longer fund the war sped up troop withdrawal and peace talks, which the Tet Offensive didn't do as it took five years after that for America to withdraw.

The financial cost of the war was also ~~the~~ reason for the growth of the Anti-war movement, which in itself was a very important reason for America's withdrawal. Despite the fact that in 1964 70% of the public were behind Johnson's policy to escalate in Vietnam, as the numbers casualties was increasing ~~more~~ public opinion started to turn against it, particularly those families who had lost loved ones in the conflict. There had always been opposition to the war, for example in 1964 when McNamara saw a man burn himself right outside his Pentagon window in protest, but by 1968 when 38,000 Americans had been killed there was growing opposition, and throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s there were protest marches in major cities with banners proclaiming Johnson as a 'war criminal', and also protests at colleges, most notably at Kent State where four ~~more~~ students were shot dead in the protests. Despite its significance it was not as important as the Tet Offensive as it was this which led to an increase in the anti-war movement, to withdraw



(This page is for your first answer.) The Tet offensive the protests may not have been as strong. Vietnamisation

In conclusion, the Tet offensive was a key reason for America's withdrawal as it convinced them they could not win the war, however it is not as important as the financial cost of the conflict as this was the bigger cause for their withdrawal as Congress could not justify spending so much money on an unwinnable war.



## ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The answer notes the significance of the Tet offensive, especially on media reporting of the war. There is a useful discussion of some aspects of Nixon's policies, notably Vietnamisation, though more might have been made of his diplomacy. The financial costs of the war and the growing disaffection displayed by the US public are also investigated, making for a Level 5 analysis overall.

## Question 13

Question 13 on Reaganomics produced some incisive answers that weighed up the positive and negative effects of these economic policies. Again, it was advisable to establish clear criteria for judgement in the introduction, so that success and failure could be easily justified. The best answers were able to differentiate between short and longer term effects, so once again accurate chronological knowledge was essential. Others related Reagan's economic policies very effectively to different social classes and groups. Less secure answers included generalised comments that gave way to inaccuracies. Some candidates tended to ignore evidence that was at odds with their overall answer, such as the recession of 1982.

The following is a Level 5 answer.

(This page is for your second answer.)

When Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1980, he had a clear vision on how he wanted to run the economy, which was christened 'Reaganomics'. It was a controversial system which had benefits and problems between 1981 and 1989.

One area which Reaganomics was successful with was unemployment. Reagan's huge spending on the military led to seven million new jobs being created during his time as President, and this contributed to Reagan being able to lower unemployment drastically during his two terms in office, and it was below 3% when

(This page is for your second answer.) he left office. Also, a key feature of Reaganomics was tax cuts, and this helped cause a decrease in unemployment as it meant there was an incentive to work, particularly as he was also greatly cutting back on welfare, so Reagan created a

societies where it was beneficial to be in employment, as he thought people relied too much on the State to help them out.

There were also other areas of the economy in which Reaganomics was a successful policy. One of these areas was inflation, which stood at a worryingly high 12.5% when Reagan replaced Carter, yet by 1988 had lowered to 4.7%. This was a big success of Reagan's as it stimulated public spending and boosted the economy. Another part of Reaganomics was to be tough with the unions, and this was best shown in 1981 when Reagan fired all the Air Traffic Control workers who were striking for higher wages. This firm stance pleased Middle America, who felt that the union demands were getting out of control, and Republicans, who thought likewise. It must also be considered that under Reagan America enjoyed its longest ever continuous economic growth, so clearly Reaganomics had some benefits to it.

However, there were some problems with Reaganomics, the main one being the increase in the gap between rich and poor in American society. In 1980, when Reagan had just won the election, the wealthiest 1% of the nation owned 8% of its assets, however by 1990 this had risen to the wealthiest 1% owning 13%. This, combined with an increase of 2% in people living below the poverty line, shows how Reaganomics was a good policy for the richer members of society, but a led to difficult times for those living in inner-city ghetto areas, and was particularly tough for ethnic minorities. This increase in the rich and

(This page is for your second answer.) poor divide was as a result of the 'trickle down effect', which was a section of Reaganomics as Reagan thought that if the rich got richer, they would employ more people and it would therefore benefit the poor as well, however in reality this was not realistic and the opposite effect occurred. The fact that Reagan also greatly cut down on welfare to be able to afford tax cuts and increased military spending meant that the poor were hardest hit, particularly again ethnic minorities who struggled for employment opportunities.

Another problem with Reaganomics was the huge federal deficit that it caused. Clearly a <sup>disadvantage of</sup> ~~problem with~~ Reaganomics was that his \$43 billion increase in military spending and large-scale tax cuts (which helped get him elected) would not be balanced out by simply cutting back on welfare, so by the end of his Presidency the deficit was at a record high and was over a trillion dollars, combined with a balance of payments crisis. This shows how Reaganomics was, in reality, a short-term fix, as although it led to economic prosperity it was also an unsustainable policy.

In conclusion, it is clear that in some areas of the economy, for example unemployment and inflation, Reaganomics was successful, as Reagan lowered both of these and created seven million new jobs. However, this is more than balanced out by the fact that the gap between rich and poor greatly increased, causing further divisions in society, and also led to a huge deficit, however ~~the~~ ~~consequences~~ <sup>true</sup> consequences of this weren't felt until after 1989.



## ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is a targeted and tightly argued answer. The candidate notes the successes of Reaganomics by referring to falls in unemployment and inflation. However, the downside to these policies is noted, especially the growing gap between rich and poor. An interesting conclusion contrasts the short-term successes of the policy with the long-term debt burden incurred.



The following response is a Level 3 answer.

Ronald Reagan, was an ex-Hollywood actor, was elected President in 1980, having defeated President Jimmy Carter. Reagan, 69 at the time, was plagued with jokes from the media about his age and lack of experience but despite this, he was again re-elected in 1984. Some argue that this his re-election was due to his economic ideas, "Reaganomics", and the improvement

(This page is for your first answer.) America witnessed. However, the extent of "Reaganomic" success is highly debatable, due to controversy over his policies.

When Reagan took over power in 1980, he inherited an unfavourable economic situation. Unemployment was high at 10% and inflation was high at 7%. This was bad for America and Reagan proposed a new scheme to combat the economic problems. "Reaganomics" was based on reducing taxes and increasing government spending to provide more welfare and to also increase consumer spending and demand. This fiscal policy appeared doomed from the beginning as once Reagan had started his plans, the federal deficit grew at a rapid pace. By increasing federal government spending, Reagan wanted to increase the information available to people so that they could gain employment and therefore increase economic growth, hopefully. He also wanted to provide welfare to the homeless and disabled. However, by cutting taxes he was reducing revenue to the government which therefore created a huge federal deficit. This could be viewed as unsuccessful because it meant the government was in debt and did not have any funds

(This page is for your first answer.) for emergency situations.

However, "Reaganomics" could be seen as a success because after Reagan's first term, there was an increase in employment and a reduction in inflation, showing that Reagan's policies were successful. Reagan had also wanted to put less regulation on the economy and after creating improvements in its proceedings, Reagan left it to keep expanding and growing. His previous fiscal policies of reducing taxes and increasing spending were now favourable with the American public as it meant that they had more real personal disposable income (RPDI) and could therefore purchase more goods. This was again a success for Reagan because the increase in consumer demand meant firms were producing more and selling more, increasing revenue and hopefully profits which they could reinvest and use to hire more people, therefore reducing unemployment further. Reagan also kept interest rates low to provide an incentive for people to spend more money. When Reagan left the White House, he left George Bush with a favourable economic position.

Therefore, to conclude, "Reaganomics" was a

(This page is for your first answer.) Successful policy because it achieved the aims that it had set out to fulfil. Reagan, a moderate Republican, had a basic knowledge of politics but his administration were intelligent and experienced and they could therefore guide his policies into the correct path and decisions.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

The answer has some understanding of the essential features of Reaganomics, but the development of material is not secure. Some generally accurate comments are made on successes and failures, though there is little effective development offered which would make these points stand up.

### Question 14

Social issues and their impact on politics form one of the four bullet points in the specification. However, operational experience since January 2009 suggests that candidates very rarely choose to answer the questions set on these issues, and this session was no different from previous ones. Generalisations and sweeping assertions predominated here. Although most answers could point to social issues, notably abortion and gay rights, these were not pinned down by relevant and extensive historical detail. The importance of religious beliefs, notably the growth of the religious right, was known in general terms only. Some students applied their knowledge of the civil rights movement to the question, but usually with only limited effect.

## Paper Summary

Centres might consider the following areas to improve their candidates' responses:

- a) Answer the question set – are candidates concentrating on the specific wording in the question and the dates covered?
- b) Chronological awareness and application – do candidates know the key dates and are they able to explain/expand points made with accurate reference to the order in which events happened?
- c) Supporting material – are candidates using sufficient relevant, specific and accurate material to support their analysis and, in particular, the conclusions to which they come?
- d) Candidates appear more comfortable with questions in the form of 'How far was X the main cause of Y?', such as Questions 5 and 8, than those which look at patterns of change, such as Questions 7 and 9. Future candidates are advised to practise planning answers to a variety of questions, including those with a focus on change over time.



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Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru  
Welsh Assembly Government



Rewarding Learning