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GCE History 9HI0 2E

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Introduction

It was pleasing to see candidates able to engage effectively across the ability range with the new A-Level paper 2E; with the choice of option – Mao's China, c 1949-76 (2E.1) or The German Democratic Republic, 1949-90.

The paper is divided into two sections. Section A contains a compulsory question which is based on two linked sources. It assesses source analysis and evaluation skills (AO2). Section B comprises a choice of essays that assess understanding of the period in depth (AO1) by targeting five second order concepts – cause, consequence, change and continuity, similarity and difference, and significance; questions can also combine second order concepts. Candidates appeared to organise their time effectively and there was little evidence of candidates being unable to attempt both answers within the time allocated. However, examiners did note that more scripts than has been usual posed problems with the legibility of hand writing; it is important to be aware that examiners can only give credit for what they can read.

In Section A, the strongest answers demonstrated an ability to draw out reasoned inferences developed from the sources and to evaluate the sources thoroughly in relation to the demands of the question on the basis of both contextual knowledge and the nature, origin and purpose of the source. It is important that candidates appreciate that weight is not necessarily established by a discussion of what is missing from a source. If the author of the source has omitted something intentionally in order to modify meaning or distort the message of the source, then it will be relevant to discuss that omission in reaching a conclusion regarding the use that a historian might make of the sources. However, comments on all the things that the sources might have contained, but failed to do so is unlikely to contribute to establishing weight. The question requires candidates to use the sources 'together' and it was pleasing to see that the majority of candidates were aware of this instruction and achieved it using a variety of different approaches.

Candidates are more familiar with the essay section of Paper 2 and in Section B, most candidates were well prepared to write, or to attempt, an analytical response. Stronger answers clearly understood the importance of identifying the appropriate second order concept that was being targeted by the question, although weaker candidates often wanted to engage in a main factor/ other factors approach, even where this did not necessarily address the demands of the conceptual focus. Candidates do need to formulate their planning so that there is an argument and a counterargument established within their answer; many candidates lacked any counter argument at all. The generic mark scheme clearly indicates the four bullet-pointed strands which are the focus for awarding marks and centres should note how these strands progress through the levels. Candidates do need to be aware of key dates, as identified in the specification, and ensure that they draw their evidence in responses from the appropriate time period covered by the question.

Candidate performance on individual questions for Paper 2E is considered in the next section. Please note that it is recommended that centres look at a selection of Principal Examiner Reports from across the different routes of the paper to get an overall sense of examiner feedback, centre approaches and candidate achievement.

Question 1

Section A

It was very encouraging to see that most candidates were well prepared to demonstrate the AO2 skills requirements and to consider both sources together. The question instruction is to use both sources together and as long as this is apparent within the structure of the answer, it is possible for candidates to use a variety of approaches in coming to their overall judgement. Many candidates integrated both sources into their discussion of 'how far... make use' while others looked at each separately and then brought the sources together; there were also variants on these approaches. High level responses were seen using all valid approaches. Those candidates who addressed the strengths of the source material for the investigation in relation to its limitations were often able to come to a clear judgement as to the weight of the evidence.

The question instructions clearly indicate that candidates should use the sources (source content), the information given about them and their own knowledge of the historical context. The higher level responses bring these three elements together to determine the extent to which the source material is useful. It was good to see that most candidates are clearly aware that they should be looking to interrogate the content of source material being presented inside the source box. Most are aware that they need to make reasoned inferences from the content in order to access the higher levels but fewer were confident in attempting to distinguish between what can be determined to information and what may be claim or opinion. Candidates who took the source material at face value and/ or focused on 'missing' material (see below) often failed to make inference or at best made unsupported generalised inferences (L1/L2). Several examiners commented that they had the impression that many candidates did not read or consider all of the source material leading to a failure to be able to make some of the more obvious inferences that might be made.

Candidates were also generally confident in using their knowledge of the historical context to both illuminate the strengths and discuss the limitations of what could be gained from the source material. However, the question is focused on how far the source material can be used and historical knowledge was often used to claim that the source material was virtually useless because the sources did not include everything about the enquiry being investigated; some responses claimed that sources were not useful because they 'did not mention' or 'failed to mention' events which occurred after the source was written. Source material cannot be expected to include everything, so 'fail to mention', unless being used for a specific example of deliberate omission (see Introduction above), is unlikely to be a valid criteria for judgment. However, responses which used the source content and the historical context along with the information given about the date of the source to establish (not just state) that it was only representative of part of the time period of the enquiry were more valid. Also please note that stand alone historical knowledge presented at the start of the response can only meet the requirements for Level 1 unless clearly linked to the source material in some way. Although most candidates go on to integrate their knowledge at a more rewardable level later in the response the time spent on introductory contextual knowledge might be spent more profitably analysing the source material. These responses often lose focus and end up answering the investigation rather than deploying AO2 skills in relation to the enquiry.

The use of the information given about the sources (the provenance of the sources) was

perhaps the most disappointing aspect of candidate responses. A small but significant number of responses merely copied out the information given, often without even asserting that this made the source useful or unreliable. A significant number also just asserted that the source material was unreliable because it was biased or that any statement by an individual was biased, without reasoning or justification. The majority did consider the provenance in some way but in focusing on what was 'missing' from the sources often missed the opportunity to use the provenance in conjunction with contextual knowledge to establish reliability or accuracy. Many candidates also judge the utility/ reliability of the provenance (assuming that this is the 'source') rather than using the provenance to aid the interrogation of the usefulness of the source content.

Please also refer to pp. 31-37 of the Getting Started document and pp. 7-8 of the Applying Criteria document that are to be found on the Edexcel Pearson History subject website.

Most candidates had good contextual knowledge of the Hundred Flowers Campaign and were able to place the two sources within the chronological development of the campaign. These candidates were usually able to comment on how the sources were able to reflect the rapidly changing nature of the campaign and that the sources together reflected the move from more open criticism to the crackdown on intellectuals and forced recantations. However, a significant number of responses suggested that the sources were unable to provide evidence across the whole period of the campaign despite the opportunity to make inferences from both sources about the early period of the campaign. Many responses only referred to Lin Xiling's awareness that there was the possibility of a 'reining in' of the openness without showing an understanding that the opening section of her speech clearly alludes to the climate in which she is actually able to speak. A few responses were able to use Fei's recantation to make inferences about the earlier nature, or 'Early Spring', of the campaign. Some weaker responses stated that Source 2 was of little use at all because, as propaganda, it was completely biased whereas some higher level responses used contextual knowledge of the recantation process to show how useful the source was in providing evidence for change. A few responses also claimed that the sources were very limited in their use because they did not include Mao's motivations for launching the campaign. Those responses which focused on how far the sources could help the investigation, weighing up the strengths in relation to the limitations, rather than focusing limitations tended to be able to meet the higher level descriptors more fully.

This is a Level 5 response. As with many of the Level 4 and 5 responses there are elements of the response which reflect the lower rather than higher level descriptors that have been noted above.

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2

Prov 1: ~~Who & Why~~

Prov 2: ~~When & What (purpose?)~~

The Hundred Flowers campaign was launched by Mao in 1956 ~~at~~ and brought to a swift halt in June 1957. It is unknown whether Mao's actions afterwards had been planned or not, but it allowed for the purging of half a million intellectuals nonetheless. While the sources do not necessarily support each other, they were written at different times during the campaign, and so are useful for looking at how it changed over time.

~~Source One is useful because it was spoken to university students, and so~~

Both sources 1 and 2 together are useful because of the differing circumstances in which they were recorded. For example, source 2 is from a university debate, which infers that some young students agreed with the view presented. It was spoken

by a communist revolutionary, Lin Xiling, who had "become critical of the communist party". Source 2, however, was written by a conspirator who ~~was~~ ^{was} being forced to apologise. This was commonplace in struggle sessions, and although this means the content cannot be completely trusted, it ~~does~~ ^{does} mean it will show what the CCP wanted.

When used together, sources 1 and 2 are also very useful because they were written either side of June 1957, when Mao delivered "On Handling Contradictions". Source 1 is from May 1957, a point in time where intellectuals still believed the Hundred Flowers campaign was a platform for true reform. This is useful because it shows a historian the feeling for the campaign only days before the truth came to light. Source 2 is useful when put with source 1, because it was written a month after "Handling Contradictions". This will show a historian the attitudes of intellectuals immediately afterwards.

Sources 1 and 2 are very useful when used together because of their prevalence of differing times and the attitudes shown because of that.

The content of sources 1 and 2 are very different, but this is useful because they show a historian the changing elements of the campaign. For example, source 1 starts "I am very excited", showing a historian that those involved in the campaign genuinely thought it was a way of voicing their concerns. This is supported by context, as it is known that after some initial hesitation, Mao and the CCP received hundreds of thousands of complaints from intellectuals. Source 2 differs drastically, and starts "I admit my guilt". This shows that within two months, the attitudes of the CCP and the nature of the campaign had changed so much that a leading member of the Democratic League could be forced to apologise for his participation. This is in stark contrast to source 1's "there has been a loosening up here", as source 2 shows there has been a tightening. Source 1 tells a historian that the speaker was "not afraid to speak out in this way", showing the feeling of participants, whereas the tone of source 2 shows a historian that the participants soon became scared of the consequences. 500,000 intellectuals like Fei Xiaotong were purged after the campaign, and sources 1 and 2 show

how quickly and effectively this took place.

Sources 1 and 2 do, at points, seem to agree with each other, which is useful for a historian to see how much of Mao's U-turn was predicted. For example, source 1 says that "there are still too many guardians of the rules", which both agrees with source 2, and is historically accurate. Although official CCP stance only changed in June 1957, those loyal to Mao still defended him and the party throughout the campaign.

Source 1 also says that she noticed there were "signs of ~~turn~~ reins in" the campaign, which happened the next month as seen by source 2. This is useful for a historian because it shows that even those keen to offer suggestions to the Party were wary that the nature of the campaign was about to change. Source 1 also says that "there is ... a possibility" of her going to jail for what she is doing, which is explicitly supported by source 2, in which the writer was almost certainly humiliated in a struggle meeting and branded a "rightist".

In conclusion, a historian using sources 1 and 2 together would gain a valuable insight into

the changing nature of the Hundred Flowers campaign due to the different views and content of each source. Unfortunately, the sources only show a historian the situation after May 1957, and the campaign had been going on for half a year by then. Despite this, the sources are still useful, because they 'were written before and after the biggest turning point in the campaign; Mao's "On Handling Contradictions".'



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Examiner Comments

This response draws on the source material to make inferences and deploys both knowledge of the historical context and aspects of the provenance to determine how far the source material can be used as evidence.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

The overall judgement here could still do more to reflect the evaluation of the source material seen in the main body of the answer. Use the conclusion to reach an overall judgement by weighing up the strengths and limitations of the source material as evidence for the investigation.

Chosen question number: Question 1

Question 2

These two sources are useful in showing how the nature of the Hundred Flower's Campaign changed in such a quick ^{time} period. They show how the intellectuals viewed the changes from being encouraged to criticise, to being attacked for their criticisms of the party. The sources will be judged by their value but also their weighting.

Using these two sources a historian would be able to examine how the nature of the Hundred Flowers Campaign changed in two months. Although these two sources are limited by the lack of reference to how the campaign started, where in February 1957, Mao's contradiction's speech encouraged intellectuals to criticise ^{the} party in order for Mao to purge the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The first source does imply the effect of this speech, as the campaign had ^{made} given her ~~optimistic~~ 'optimistic', showing how the beginning nature of the campaign was quite positive. However the source moves on to focus on how there were 'signs of reigning in the Hundred Flowers campaign'; this implies that in May the signs began the CCP had changed their minds on the Hundred Flowers campaign.

This is valuable for showing when the intellectuals became aware that the nature of the campaign was going to change, as the speaker, Lin Xiting, is aware that there is such a possibility of his going to prison. This suggests the intellectuals no longer feel encouraged and that the campaign's nature is becoming more dangerous. However it is interesting that this particular individual, still feels like the campaign could 'establish genuine socialism'. This is useful for the historian to see that the intellectuals did not immediately retreat when they first sensed the changing nature of the campaign. However you argue that because this is a speech it is intended to be persuasive, so the majority of intellectuals may be backing down but a few individuals are trying to keep the campaign going. Therefore the source is limited by its persuasive nature and the lack of knowledge on how many people supported it.

The next source is written in July 1957. This gives the historian an impression of how quickly the nature changed due to the two separate tones. The first is still positive, whilst this one shows how the criticisms are no longer directed at the party but at themselves (known as self criticism). Fei Xiaotong accuses himself of having 'encouraged the uncritical growth and spread of backwards thought' and of having 'influenced moderate

league members. This shows how the campaign changed from the Hundred Flower's campaign to the anti-rightist campaign, when the party turned against the intellectuals as they were believed to have gone too far in their criticism specifically against the party. You could argue that these two sources show how the control of the nature of the campaign came back into Mao's control. In the first source ^{we suspect} Mao appears to have lost control of the campaign as the intellectuals (or at least a few) appear to be coming more revolutionary when they talk of 'uniting and being vigilant', whereas the second source presents to the historian how Mao gained control of criticism by condemning it as the statement draws the 'article arouse anti-Party and anti-socialist feelings'. This can be argued as showing how the party believe the nature of the criticism and therefore the campaign has changed. This is useful in showing how the self criticisms can demonstrate the feelings behind the change in nature.

The reliability of the second source in particular is limited though. Although the self criticisms allow for historians to see how the campaign is changing from the party's perspective, as they would be the ones forcing the intellectuals to criticize themselves. One of the values to these source is that they show the

people who supported the campaign, yet here we see less of what the intellectual believed and more of what the party believed. The party after the Hundred Flowers campaign made 300,000 letters as a result of their criticisms, therefore the reliability of the second source goes down due to it being an officially published statement. This is ~~could~~ could have been a propaganda attempt to show the effect of what ~~anti~~ rightist actions could do and because it was released in the press, it is likely to be heavily censored by the party. Along with the likelihood that this criticism would be written out of fear rather than what they genuinely believe.

Overall, these two sources would be useful for ~~my~~ a historian investigating the Hundred Flowers campaign, ^{changing} ~~nature~~ to see how the intellectuals were presented and how quickly the nature changed due to the proximity of these two sources in dates. The first source may be slightly persuasive but it does still show the initial opinions whilst the campaign was at its height. The second source shows how the campaign changed so drastically into the anti-rightist campaign. However the historian would have to be aware that it is limited in its reliability of whose opinions the source is expressing.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This response clearly makes reasoned inferences from the source material and deploys contextual knowledge in determining usefulness. The conclusion considers the strengths and weaknesses of the source material as evidence for the investigation in reaching an overall judgement.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Inferences are drawn when the responses considers what the evidence of the source material can tell the historian rather than just what the source material says.

Question 2

Examiners commented that candidates answering the GDR questions were generally well prepared. Most candidates were able to discuss use of the sources together by pointing out that the sources were both from a western perspective and that, indeed, both could be used to an extent to corroborate each other. Some candidates argued that the sources together were of limited value because they did not include an East German perspective or the views of the East/ West German authorities. However, there was scope within these sources to select some key points and make some reasoned inferences about both. For example, using their knowledge of the 'accidental' authorisation to open up the border some candidates were able to use both sources to draw attention to the lack of certainty shown by those on the East German side. A disappointing number of responses used the information provided to any great effect; most merely pointing out that both were eye-witness accounts written from a western point of view. Higher level responses were able to deploy awareness of the provenance and contextual knowledge to discuss the content of the sources. For example, that despite being written by spectators from the West both sources are mainly informational in tone rather than emotional and their description of events accurately reflect what is known to have happened at the time.

This is an entry Level 5 response.

Chosen question number: **Question 1** **Question 2**

The opening of the Berlin wall on the 9th November 1989 came to many as a surprise and only really came about from the misinterpretation of Schabowski's report on new travel laws. Both sources indicate it was a joyful event describing "running" and "cheering" but source 3 also refers to the fear of the unknown and the remaining reservations of Ostalgie when people weren't sure whether to go over. Of course the reactions were to be mixed however both sources are from a western influence and so likely to paint a more jubilant picture of the wall falling - of course ^{to them} people were escaping to ~~be~~ a better life in the west. To be able to judge the utility of sources 3 and 4 I will have to weigh up their provenance and influences alongside their date of publication ^{and overall content} ~~and~~ motives, furthermore the influence of one being ~~not~~ written by a 'journalist'

and one an eye witness account is significant to the reliability of each source ~~factor~~. It's important to note how these sources are very immediate accounts following the opening of the Berlin wall, when considering the reactions overall a historian would also need to understand the reactions internationally of other countries and also over a longer period of time. For example many westerners may say their reaction was ~~to~~ ^{in the} end ~~the~~ resentment because after reunification - caused by the opening of the wall - they were saddled with a country with a failing economy which held them back.

First of all source 3 is from the 'far' newspapers initially ^{you} would have to consider that although this is likely to combine a lot of key information from different reporters covering the story, the goal of the article is to sell newspapers and entertain so it's likely some details may have been exaggerated for a shock factor. One useful factor is that it comes only two days after the opening of the wall which is likely to lead to more accurate accounts. Furthermore the fact that it's a West Berlin and left-wing paper gives this article motive to paint the East Berlin's as struggling horrendously in such terrible conditions while an escape to the much wealthier west was freedom beyond belief, in reality ~~although~~ ^{while} there was growing demand to travel to the East due to worsening economic problems and environmental pollution causing industrial smog many Eastemers ^{did} appreciate the advantages of extensive social

welfare with full employment, lots of childcare and health provision. Source 3 accurately describes the chaos of running and jumping towards the border many guards had no idea what to do the lack of communication led them to genuinely believe free travel was now in operation. While there was confusion over it as many jumped at the opportunity for an escape. Source 3 is much more veiled from a westerners perspective - for example 'we want in', while many were desperate to reconnect with loved ones it was largely the FRG press that had spread the story and so indeed in some cases westerners were more aware of the situation than the Easterners. An important factor that only source 3 mentions is the ~~ex~~ exclamation of 'I don't even want to go' this shows awareness of the fear, the confusion and balances up the reactions with some negative ones too. Although many of these people did cross ^{the border}, there was ^{not} fear of being able to return and ^{what} some sentimental appreciation for the life the GDR had provided. Source 3 does seem slightly weighted towards all the positives and for westerners but the final paragraph makes for a more well founded, considered piece.

On the other hand source 4 is an eyewitness account, this obviously has to be treated with caution as it's a single opinion that could be very subjective, as a South American he's likely to give, again, a more western account from his experiences and influences. However his proximity to events could be a very useful ^{factor} ~~account~~. It is possible living in

Denmark and writing later that this passage of time has made the facts less reliable but the accuracy of timings would largely prove this to be a useful piece. Just like in source 3 he describes the abandoned cars, which improves the reliability of the statement. Similarly he describes positive reaction of cheering and clapping of thousands of people. A noticeable difference between source 3 and 4 is that source 4 is describing the reactions on the eastern side while source 3 the western side. This results in source 4 describing more difficulties with 'east german soldiers with rifles' but later they were shaking hands over the border. This account seems to offer a lot more detail and also more reality to events with the way things were 'out of control and people were pouring through. However along with source 3 it accurately describes the 'indefinable joy' people felt they were finally getting the freedom and choices they had been asking for. Although often eyewitness accounts can sometimes be quite narrow in their coverage of events in this case he accurately describes the sequence of events with the 'drilling and cheering' the opening is indeed often referred to as the biggest street party in history and indeed both ^{sources} ~~sources~~ evoke the jubilant nature of events.

Largely ~~however~~ source 3 and 4 offer useful accounts for investigating reactions to the opening of the

Berlin Wall in 1989. While it's important to consider the limits of their provenance, like Source 3 being a newspaper, ^{perhaps} they would be highly motivated to generate feeling in the West that the FRG were ~~rescuing~~ people in the East and perhaps exaggerate how desperate they were to escape. However, it does seem to offer a fairly balanced account considering both positive and negative reactions to the opening. Compared to Source 4 it is somewhat more sparse on accurate details but by ~~reviewing~~ ^{reviewing} the situation from the West it's likely they would have had less awareness of events. Equally being a workers' paper rather than state run is likely to improve the validity and reduce motive for twisting events. Source 4 offers equally useful detail. Although it's important to consider it's only one person's ^{account} ~~person~~ where his own influences are likely to come in, perhaps he could have got swept up in the jubilant moment and details maybe less accurate? Overall he seems to offer a fairly factual summary of reaction that would be very useful for any historian. Source 3 seems more useful in balancing positive and negative reactions but both would be useful to consider.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

As with many Level 4 and 5 responses, this answer still displays weaker elements such as some questionable remarks about the provenance but there is sufficient interrogation of the source content and awareness of the historical context to be able to come to valid overall judgement.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

It is helpful to reach an overall judgement on the usefulness of the two sources together by weighing up the strengths and limitations of the sources in the conclusion.

This is a Level 4 response.

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2

Both sources are useful in investigating some reactions to the opening of the wall i.e. the reactions of the East & West Berliners, & the chaos on the night of the opening. However, there is little indication as to the ~~entire~~ international responses to the ~~opening~~ following the opening.

Source 3 projects the idea that the entire night was "chaos" - no-one, including ~~the~~ border control, really knew what was happening. This is true, as ~~the order to open~~ there was no official order to open the Wall - in a confused meeting, it was announced that the Wall opening would take place effective immediately. This, however, was not told to the border control, so when people began to flood the gates, they were confused as to how to react. This is shown in the Taz' description of how the guards tried to operate as they normally would with border crossings - "visa & money changing are

still compulsory". Because of the utter chaos, they were still proceeding on the assumption that [^] Berlin ~~Germany~~ would remain divided. Source 3 also shows the uncertainty of the Wall opening, i.e. whether it would actually remain open - "many are afraid they will not be allowed back". This ~~is~~ Again, this shows that no-one in ^{this} the situation knows whether the supposed reunification of Berlin would be permanent. Source 4 is very much along the same vein.

Source 4, as like Source 3, also portrays the chaotic ~~nature~~ reactions to the opening of the Wall, simply stating "No one knew what was going on". Alongside this chaos, Ramos portrays the tension which accompanied the opening of the Wall. "East German soldiers ~~also~~ [stood] with their rifles" - this shows that upon first opening of the Wall, there was still a possibility of a violent repressive reaction on behalf of the military.

Krenz, the current leader of the GDR after Honecker's dismissal, even praised the "Chinese solution" i.e. in Tiananmen Square, the government massacred a group of protesting students. Therefore, when the leader of the GDR holds these kinds of repressive views, it's ~~easy~~ easy to see why the atmosphere surrounding the Wall was filled with tension. Furthermore, Gorbachev gives a sense of relief on behalf of all Berlin citizens, by by stating that "the Wall was FINALLY breaking." This implies that there was a desire for the Wall to come down from both sides for a very long time. This is proven by the escape of many East Germans to Hungary & Czechoslovakia in order to escape to the West - and in the initial reaction of the West to the Wall when it was erected (they called it the "wall of shame").

Both sources are very useful for studying the immediate reactions of West & East Berliners, as they both portray the sense of tension & chaos surrounding the event. As first-hand accounts, they are more accurate in capturing the image of the Wall opening - as both people who wrote the sources were actually there. However, this could also be a weakness of the sources - as they both only capture immediate responses, they aren't particularly useful in investigating the responses of the other superpowers e.g. the USSR, & the UK, the US, etc. Neither source mentions the reactions of the world & how it led to the reunification process - but because of the name & provenance of these sources, it's obvious to see why.

In conclusion, both sources could be used to investigate the immediate reactions of the citizens on both sides of the Wall, and the ~~large~~ border guards, plus the uncertainty and chaos

that surrounded the Wall. Source 4
is particularly useful in investigating
the reaction of relief, as the opening
of the Wall followed months of
months of tension & fear. However,
these sources couldn't be used alone as
they only study the immediate
reactions - in order to create a bigger
picture of the reaction to the Wall opening
accounts from people like Margaret Thatcher,
Ronald Regan, & Mikhail Gorbachev
must be used alongside the reactions of
the people. They are useful for the general
reactions of chaos & followed by relief,
but can't really be used past that.



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Examiner Comments

This response relies mainly on its evaluation of the source content to establish how far the sources could be used by an historian. Greater deployment of knowledge of the historical context and consideration of the provenance of the source would have seen greater progression in bullet points 2 and 3 of the Level descriptors.

Question 3

Section B

As suggested in the introduction (please see above), both centres and candidates are often more confident with the AO1 skills essay structure. Candidates are aware of the need to produce a response which uses historical knowledge to support an analysis of the key issues relevant to the question asked. Examiners noted that there were many excellent responses which explored the issues raised in the question with discrimination and detailed knowledge which were a pleasure to read. There does, however, appear to be a tendency for some candidates just to rewrite practice questions on a similar theme or topic and even, in some cases, evidence of candidates apparently having a prepared answer that generally engages with a theme or topic. It is very important to note that the mark schemes, particularly in relation to Level 4 and 5, clearly indicate that candidates should engage with the specific question being asked – in terms of the second-order concept(s) being addressed, the specific wording, and, where indicated, the time period. Responses do not always require a multi-factor approach but a small number of candidates do try to shoe-horn all answers into this approach. Historical knowledge was generally very good, particularly in the context of the qualification being linear. It is important to note though that major inaccuracies may undermine the ability of the candidates to reach an overall supported judgement and/or affect the logic and coherence of an argument. Finally, some candidates assume that the key issues/ factors discussed are also the ‘valid criteria’ applied when coming to a judgment, ‘valid criteria’ are the indicators/ measurements used to determine whether change has taken place, a ‘given factor’ is the main reason, significance (impact/ difference made) etc.

Please also refer to pp. 23–7 & 37–38 of the *Getting Started* document and pp. 2–6 & 9–10 of the *Applying Criteria* document that are to be found on the Edexcel Pearson History subject website.

Question 3

This was the more popular of the two China AO1 questions. This question allowed candidates to make a judgement as to the impact of the movement towards communal living in the rural areas in the years 1949–62; from the period of the voluntary establishment of collectives through to forced collectivisation and mass communal living. There were a variety of different but valid criteria used by candidates to determine whether communal living was more beneficial than harmful based on both economic and social measures. There were also different interpretations of communal living but as long as these were clearly valid in relation to a shared agricultural lifestyle, then such responses were rewarded at the skill level shown. Those responses that were able to clearly establish the impact across the time period were rewarded at the higher levels. Most candidates argued with some passion that they did not agree with the statement. There were some excellent answers that were able to establish impact by comparing the early benefits of shared resources and the theoretical advantages to the later consequences of forced collectivisation and the harsh realities of the Great Leap Forward. A few responses at Level 2 just described conditions during the Great Leap Forward. Many responses at Level 3 just explained the changes rather than trying to discuss the extent of the impact.

This is a Level 5 response.

Chosen question number: Question 3 Question 4
Question 5 Question 6

From 1949 at the start of communist rule to the end of the second 5 year plan in 1962, Mao was continuously committed in establishing a genuinely socialist, communal economy. Indeed, he made the telling statement in 1953, before that: "the peasants want freedom, but we want socialism." It can be argued that there were some benefits to the peasants in communal living; the freedom from landlord control, as well as the health benefits that did to an extent increase. However, the harmful effects in the increasingly lowered agricultural production, the abuse that women were exposed to, as well as ^{most importantly} ~~most importantly~~, the effects of the great famine that killed 30-50 million peasants must be considered. The benefits against costs in each of these areas will show the overall effect it had.

Firstly, it can certainly be argued that the move to communal living removed the harmful subjugation of the peasant class under the landlords. Indeed, Mao described the peasants as "vanguard of the revolution" because of this class. During the ^{Agricultural Land Reform (1950)} ~~move to mutual aid teams~~ ~~in the beginning of the 1950's~~, party cadres organized peasants into 'Poor Peasant Associations' to gauge their class, oversee struggle meetings which saw the deaths of 1-2 million landlords, and handed over 43% of the land to 10% of the population. Indeed, because of this benefit, agricultural production increased 15% per year in the years 1950-52. However, this apparent freedom is severely limited given how rapidly

Mao took away all private land. Indeed, by 1953 Mao had begun to launch the 'Agricultural Producers Cooperatives' that shared the land between 20-50 people and introduced a point system. It is telling of how much Mao hated the peasants by their response; only 14% (16.9 million out of 110 million) joined freely, and it took continuous pressure by Mao to form the APC's and then the later communes. Hence, immediately any claim of freedom or liberty that was given to the peasants by the removal of the landlords was reduced by the control the party then exercised.

Further to this, within the communes themselves there was little 'freedom' at all. Most predominantly, all peasants were organised into military style 'platoons' of workers, whilst all 15-50 year olds had to serve in the communist militia. All the produce was controlled by the local cadres, and they were constantly plagued with communist propaganda as they were so compelled, as Mao stated: "no whined voice cannot be hidden." In addition, before the effects of the Great Leap Forward even took over, the peasants were kept in a constant state of subsistence as grain was requisitioned to fuel and pay for the industries 1st 5 year plan; Mao had a \$300 million dollar loan to repay the USSR. Thus, any claim of the former benefits of freedom is also entirely discharged by the control the ^{CCP} party then operated over peasant lives.

Moreover,
~~without a doubt~~, it can also be argued that the communes were a great benefit for the peasant masses. Mao had expressed his desire to "arouse the great masses of women" to help build socialism, and to

offer them equality through labor, as well as the removal of childcare through communal kindergartens. Yet, in almost every case, that was an overwhelming harm to women. Firstly, they were constantly unable to match (or be rewarded) for agricultural production at the same level of men, and this were given a maximum of 8 workpoints (compared to the male ~~to~~ 10) that meant they ate less food. What is more, sexual abuse was rampant in communal lodges as women were separated from husbands; the historian Frank Dikotter wrote how: "rape spread like a contagion through a morally distressed landscape." Two party secretaries near Gaozhen forced themselves on 34 women, factory bosses in Hunan forced women to work naked, whilst pregnant women were forced to work. Firstly, the kindergartens designed to liberate women from child-bearing, not only caused great distress to the mothers through separation, but also had terrible conditions: babies in Beijing slept and ate on the floor, in a Beijing 90% of babies were sick, small pox, measles and rams were prevalent, and in Shanghai few equipped beds and most nappies were unchanged. Thus, it cannot be ~~argued~~ ^{denied} that the communes were anything but harmful to peasant women, and thus to half the peasant population.

Moreover, it ~~is also~~ ~~of~~ ~~do~~ can also be claimed that the communes brought health benefits to the peasants through greater control. Indeed, medical clinics were set up in each commune, whilst patriotic health teams taught preventative measures to the peasants, wiping out diseases like typhus and leprosy, and raising peasant life expectancy from 36 in 1949 to 57 in 1952. There were undoubtedly benefits to the peasant people, and credit must be decided here. However, it must also be

greatly limited by the effects that the Great Leap Forward from 1958 to 1962 had on health. In total it generated 30-50 million deaths due to the deprivation of food from conscription, and lowered production due to Lysenkoism and the four years campaign. Indeed, death was also widespread: 9 million died in Sichuan, 8 million in Henan, and 1 million in Tibet (the highest proportion); overall the death rate per thousand rose from 10.07 in 1957 to 28.68 in 1962. This alone is enough to dismiss any claims that the communes were beneficial to the health of the Chinese peasants. Yet, even if it were not for the calamity of the Great Leap Forward, in themselves the communes regularly failed to produce good enough food in the commune canteens, and large amounts of this were wasted feeding to them. Thus, health benefits, although initially beneficial, were not compelling, and certainly did not endure into the 1958-1962.

Where the communes failed the peasants most however, and it was the greatest cause of their later deaths, was in the continuous ^{dropping} fall in ~~the~~ agricultural production they caused. Ever as early as 1955, when the peasants were moved to APC's, agricultural production had dropped to 38% increase (compared to the 15% in 1950-52 when land was privately owned), with only 1% increase in grain production and cotton rationing. This was not the superior socialism Mao had promised. While this effect is even more telling however, was ~~it~~ during the Great Leap Forward. Due to the 'inrush of exaggeration' amongst cadres, more food produce was reported than could be sustained, the policies of Lysenkoism caused

Crops to be planted close together and destroyed, backyard forests and the hunting of 'four pests' (mainly sparrows) nested (the, whilst the disturbance to the ecological cycle destroyed all the crops through caterpillars. The effects of this were catastrophic, as rice production dropped 33.3 million tonnes (1958-62), grain 37.5 million tonnes, and meat 9.65 million. Thus, not only were the peasants forced to use terrible methods, the little they did produce was almost entirely taken away, much of the grain even being sent to North Vietnam and Korea as a free gift. The peasants therefore, had their only means of survival ~~was~~ taken away from them by the communes.

Thus overall, it seems far more convincing that the communes were entirely harmful to the peasants, with any slight benefits overshadowed by the enormity of the calamity of the Great Leap Forward. Women were subjected to continuous abuse and starvation, ruling out benefit to half the population immediately. Agricultural production consistently fell, ~~then~~ plummeted in 1958-62, just as the breeders they were initially granted were removed. Communal living brought a great extent of death, lowered health, ^{reduced} lowered ~~lowered~~ breeders, and widespread immoral practices; ^{there} ~~there~~ is little benefit that could outweigh this.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

There is a sustained focus on the statement in the question with most paragraphs considering the extent to which communal living was beneficial or harmful.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

High Level responses focus clearly on the wording of the question.

This is a Level 4 response.

Chosen question number: Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Question 6

It is clear that communal living first in the form of co-operatives and then in the form of collectives had a great impact, to Chinese peasants. Communal living in the early years of 1949 up until collectivisation, benefited most ^{poor} peasants as MATs and APCs allowed for peasants to share ~~goods~~ tools and be productive but collectivisation led to inefficiency and significantly harmed peasants with the Four Pests campaign that created imbalanced ecology and hygienoicism, which as agricultural science did work, the ultimate harm to the Chinese peasants living communally was the Great Famine 1958-1962, which killed 9 million in Henan province alone. Therefore, despite some early benefits to communal living it can be seen that communal living was significantly more harmful than beneficial.

to Chinese peasants in the years 1949 - 1962.

The ~~policy~~ ^{one of the} first policies of Communist living, was Mao's encouragement of Mutual Aid Teams, which were collectives of 10 or 50 households, who shared a pool of tools. This benefited many of the peasants as most already lived this way and it encouraged a significant amount of crop growth. Therefore, the initial policy of communal living was beneficial to the peasants as they were allowed to keep their land and it encouraged crop growth.

Furthermore, this policy developed into Agricultural Producer Collectives, which were 30 or 40 households, the state owned the land but it still was effectively private owned due to the reward system. Despite lack of support from rich peasants APC's were widely supported and benefited peasants as grain in 1953 was growing at roughly 5%. Ergo, it can

he seen that both the policies of MATs and APC were beneficial for peasants as it boosted production and gave more power to poor peasants.

However, there was a shift in the benefits of communal living in 1956 when Mao, proposed collectivisation of the countryside, to allow there to be "socialism in the countryside". Mao proposed that all ~~peasants~~ ^{peasants} should be part of communes of 2000-5000, they would be split in to brigades and platoons. This negatively affected peasants as it broke down the family structure, as there was no family meals time and communes were often segregated along gender lines. This negatively affected many peasants as they now lacked basic freedom. As Mao said "the peasants want freedom, I want socialism", it is clear that collectivisation negatively affected all peasants as it broke down the family and took away any rights they still had left for to land.

In contrast, collectivisation can be seen as beneficial to peasants, at least in theory. As all communes were meant to have health care, laundries and kindergartens, this would mean liberalisation of women and better social care for peasant. However, in reality a very small amount of communes had these facilities, and many women had a worse experience as they had to both raise children and suffer intense physical labour. Ergo, it is clear that the policy of communal living in the collectivisation era, was widely harmful to peasants as the vision of communes and the reality were very different.

Moreover, the harm of communal living can be reflected in the Great Famine in 1958-62, which could be considered the biggest human catastrophe as Historian Robert Holt predicted 20 to 50 million people could have died. This is because the production of grain fell from ^{roughly} 250 million tonnes in 1956 to

just 146.5 in 1959, the policy of collectivization had led to ineffective farming, worsened by the agricultural policy of hyzenkoism and the four parts campaign led to mass starvation of millions of peasants, there were some cases of cannibalism and women turned to prostitution. Henceforth, it is clear that communal living significantly harmed peasants as the Great Famine in 1958-1962, killed millions of people and 1/4 of the population of Tibet.

There were small benefits to communal living, there was occasional shows put on for the peasants by the PRC party propaganda, but ultimately this was a small luxury for peasants as many of these lines were destroyed in the Great Famine.

The failure and harm of the communal system of living can be seen by how the Liu and Deng reverted back the policy to private ownership after the

Great leap forward. It shows how collectivised communal living did not work and was more harm than benefits for peasants.

Overall, it is ultimately clear that communal living was more harmful than beneficial for the peasants as, ~~despite~~ despite benefits from the initial reforms of agriculture with MATs and APCs, the harm and loss of collectivisation significantly outweighs this as it led to so much death and destruction. Ultimately, it is ^{obvious} ~~clear~~ communal living in 1949 - 1962 was more harmful than beneficial.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This response uses a narrative-analysis approach in contrast to the more narrative-descriptive approaches seen at Level 3. It covers the whole time period of the question but has a less sustained focus on benefit and harm than the Level 5 response.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

This conclusion could have been strengthened by establishing more clearly the criteria being used to measure benefit and harm.

Question 4

Most candidates had a good knowledge of the events of the Cultural Revolution but many found it a challenge to consider its nature over the period stated in the question. Indeed some candidates just stated that it finished in 1968 with the 'up to the mountains' campaign and seemed unwilling to consider that their argument then still needed to consider providing supporting evidence that the different aspects of the Cultural Revolution were not apparent or did not re-emerge in the period to Mao's death. A small but significant number of candidates also seemed only prepared to answer a few questions on the motivations for the Cultural Revolution and were unable to discuss the nature or course of the Revolution. Some responses at Level 2 wrote narrative of the events while Level 3 responses tended to explain different features of the period. The majority of responses measured intensity with reference to terror and violence but some also considered intensity in terms of commitment to different policies. Some higher level responses felt that the Red Terror of the Red Guards had been dissipated by 1969 but that the PLA just continued to inflict terror in a different form. Others charted the fluctuating campaigns against political and class enemies noting later attempts by the Gang of Four to reinvigorate revolutionary policy.

This is a Level 5 response.

Chosen question number: **Question 3** **Question 4**
Question 5 **Question 6**

Plan:

Initially = v intense: mass rallies; attack on 'four olds'
↳ anarchy + cultural destruction.

Slowed down in 1968 - 16 million → countryside,
clear not as much as before.

Gang of 4 tried to revive it but never = the same,
much less intense.

Intensity = NOT

Throughout the period of the Cultural Revolution, starting in 1966, it is evident that there were varying degrees of intensity as Mao wanted to change the aims of the Cultural Revolution to meet his own needs. The

intensity appeared to lessen when the Red Guard was disbanded but the Gang of ~~4~~^{Four} did attempt to bring it up again to meet their own needs.

Firstly, the initial phase of the Cultural Revolution was arguably the most intense as a million young people turned up to Mao's first mass rally on 18th August 1966. This was significant as Mao wanted them to 'Bombard' the headquarters and basically to fight against traditional authority, an action which went against all principles of Confucianism which the Chinese had learnt.

These mass rallies were significant as they raised the youth into a revolutionary fervour making them want to fight for Mao and for his Communist values. These first few months led to the launching of the attacks on the 'Four olds' which could be said to be the most intense and violent part of the Cultural Revolution as the youth were told to stand against, 'old ideas', 'old habits', 'old traditions', and 'old cultures', something which they did enthusiastically. This campaign led to huge destruction throughout the country, all whilst Mao and the police stood aside. In Beijing alone ~~two~~^{with high party members like Liu + Deng being purged.} two thirds of the historical and cultural sites with only Zhou Enlai's foresight having the PLA ~~from~~ defend the Forbidden City from having its treasures destroyed. As well as the destruction of objects, Mao's Red Guard tortured and

attacked old teachers etc... who were linked to 'old' China, leading to many fatalities, although the exact figure is unknown. For this reason, we can see that the first phase of the ~~1966~~ Cultural Revolution was very intense as the destruction of all of this shows ~~the~~ the youths need to prove their loyalty to Mao and their enthusiasm to fight for the cause. The young people's willingness to attack everything they'd been brought up to believe in shows the adoration they had for Mao and the intensity of this phase also shows this. ~~the first~~ ~~phase~~ Until 1968 these attacks intensified, with the January Storm in particular being significant as it showed the power ~~the~~ the young people had gained and the chaos they'd caused which would haunt China for years in the future.

Arguably, that was the peak of the violence and from then on the Cultural Revolution began to wind down as Mao realised the chaos had gone too far. The PLA's 'February Crackdown', although not initially successful suggests that the Cultural Revolution could only carry on for so long before it needed to end. The PLA were worried the anarchy would turn to them, ~~and~~ especially when the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCRG) said no group was to be exempt from attack. ~~From~~ Soon after, although initially Mao didn't support the PLA at first, he realised he needed their help to end the chaos.

particularly as it was destroying China's economy. The launching of the 'Up to the mountains and down to the villages' campaign in 1968, sending 18 million to the countryside to live with peasants suggests Mao wanted to lessen the intensity of the Cultural Revolution. Arguably from then onwards it did become less intense, as the government itself tried to bring back some form of stability + the young started to become disillusioned with Mao. It is clear from this campaign that the peak of the Cultural Revolution had passed and it is difficult to argue that the intensity was maintained

as at this stage it became clear that the government and Party wanted to slow down the chaos. By this point they'd achieved what they wanted, this generation, later to be called the 'lost generation' had experienced Revolution by 1968 and the Party pragmatists like Liu + Deng had been purged, meaning there was not as much need for chaos to continue. For this reason I'd say that from 1968 the Cultural Revolution didn't maintain as much intensity, in particular as it didn't appear to suit the Party of Mao anymore.

Despite this, there was another brief moment where the Cultural Revolution was revived, in ~~1972~~ 1973 when the Gang of Four (led by Mao's wife Jiang Qing) launched the anti-Confucius campaign. Zhou Enlai had managed to bring Deng Xiaoping back into

government + back to Party Secretary by 1974, the Gang of Four though, wanted to take over after Mao's death so wanted to remove any pragmatist or people who opposed them. They launched the Anti-Confucius campaign in an attempt to solidify more power and thus, as a result, the Cultural Revolution was revived again, though not as intensely as before. Initially Mao supported them, thinking they wanted to follow his policy of continuing revolution but he soon withdrew his support, realising they were simply jockeying for power. So, although the Gang of Four tried to revive the intensity of revolution, the lack of support from Mao + also the fact that ~~the~~ people didn't seem up for it as they were tired or chaos suggests the intensity was never really revived, enough destruction had happened from 1966-68 for people to want more.

To conclude, it is clear that the Cultural Revolution did not maintain its intensity from 1966 till Mao's death in 1976, it actually gradually wound down. The most intense phase was during the first two years, as Mao wanted the Red Guard to attack all old culture and also his rivals in the party and opponents. Evidently, the intensity lessened from 1968 onwards as people, including Mao, wanted to end the chaos as it was beginning to go too far and threatened China as a country. Finally, despite attempts from the Gang

or far in the 1970's, ~~it~~ the intensity could not be brought back up to the 1966 level for a variety of reasons. For these reasons therefore, it is obvious that the intensity was not maintained through these 10 years but rather it started out as a very strong movement and then gradually went downhill in terms of intensity from ^{late} 1968 onwards with only a small ~~rise~~ and quick ~~the~~ change in intensity in 1973 when the Gang of Four attempted to start it again with no real success.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This response is clearly focused on the concept of continuity and change and the extent to which the intensity of the Cultural Revolution was maintained over time. Key points in the timeline are selected and discussed in relation to the statement made in the question.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

To establish an argument it is always useful to use the beginnings of paragraphs to make a point about a key issue. These sentences can create the basis for a coherent and logical argument.

This is a Level 3 response.

Chosen question number: **Question 3** **Question 4**

Question 5 **Question 6**

The Cultural Revolution left a strong stand on the Communist Party, even after its official end, but I do not fully agree with the statement that it 'maintained its intensity' until Mao's death. I feel that if the Cultural Revolution had always been as heavy in purpose and violence as it was at the beginning, China may have fallen apart by the time Mao died. I do feel that elements of the Cultural Revolution continued throughout the time until Mao's death and therefore partly agree with the statement.

On the 18th August 1966 Mao held the first of 2 mass rallies in Tiananmen Square, and officially began the Cultural Revolution. Lin Biao instructed the 1 million Red Guards who attended that, with their Little Red Book in hand, should attack the four olds. Tactically, Lin left these

vague as though to leave the Red Guards to attack any old customs, culture, ideas and ^{belongings} that they felt fit into the category. The Red Guards went on to ransack homes in search of bourgeoisie possessions, target and ridicule unpopular teachers and destroy whole places they felt were considered old. Zhou Enlai had to stop the Red Guards destroying the forbidden city, but they continued on to destroy the hometown of Confucius, Qufu.

Mao cleverly used young people, employing them as Red ~~the~~ Guards which gave them a sense of authority. The generation employed had not previously experienced any communist struggles, such as the Korean War or the Hundred Flowers campaign, so Mao felt as though they needed experience in order to be fully committed to the regime. The young people were told that their true parents were Mao and the Communist Party, and

were instructed to denounce their own relatives if they felt that they were holding on to bourgeoisie elements.

As the young people began to get out of control, with Red Guard factions being formed and turning against each other, the January Storm began. The violent outbursts seemed to prove to Mao and the government that the Cultural Revolution had gone too far, so the PLA were sent in to begin the February Crackdown. Once the Red Guards were under control Mao felt the need to send them 'up to the mountains and down to the villages' where they began heavy labour work in the agricultural sector. The work was tedious and the hours were long. The Red Guards were kept apart so they would cause less trouble, and they were constantly kept an eye on. Due to the very different atmosphere from that ~~then~~ during the Cultural Revolution where they were almost given free reign and

felt in control, the young people began to feel disillusioned with Mao as they felt he had used them as 'pawns' in his game to rid the country of anti-revolutionaries. Upon returning from the countryside, many young people ~~felt~~ found it difficult to reintegrate into society, and have been named by some as the 'Lost Generation'.

The government called the end of the Cultural Revolution once the young people had been sent away, and although I agree with this end date I can see that elements of the Cultural Revolution continued until Mao's death in 1976.

Once the young people had returned, schools and universities were reopened, but many teachers who came under attack ~~it~~ during the Cultural Revolution had fled, leaving a lack of professionals to teach. Jiang Qing, Mao's fourth wife, was a member of the Gang of Four and worked with the Central Cultural Revolution

Group to censor and control what work was being put out to the public through various art forms.

Jiang's work and heavy censorship continued until her arrest following Mao's death in 1976 where she described herself as 'Chairman Mao's dog' suggesting that she did not have a choice in the work she was completing. Despite this, she still seemed to use her role to her advantage by firing actresses who had won roles ahead of her during the 1930s.

Therefore, I feel that the statement is not completely agreeable as the intensity of the Cultural Revolution fired up at the beginning with the mass rallies, the attacks on the four olds and the encouragement from Mao and the government can not compare to the lower intensity following the February Crackdown and the Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages campaign. Following these events there is little evidence of

continued revolution at the level of during the 'official' got Cultural Revolution. Although some elements of the Cultural Revolution do appear to have continued following these events, seen mostly to be completed by Jiang Qing, the Red Guards did not continue at the level of intensity they had previously maintained. Therefore I can not fully agree with the statement as that it maintained its intensity until Mao's death in 1976, but can say that it is clear that some remnants of the Cultural Revolution could not be swept away and therefore continued until Mao's death, but with nowhere near the same level of intensity.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This response addresses the question through a narrative commentary with some elements of description. It is focused on change over time but it is telling the story and explaining the key features of the Cultural Revolution rather than addressing the key issues in relation to the intensity across the period.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

Try not to begin paragraphs with a statement of fact or descriptive sentence.

Question 5

This was the less popular of the two essay questions on offer. However, candidates were generally very knowledgeable about the events of the time period c1949-61. Some responses answered the question how successful were SED policies during this period but the vast majority attempted to consider both communist rule and communist policies, even if policies were more often dealt with in more detail. Success was measured in a variety of ways but most responses looked at the extent to which the SED was able to impose itself on the GDR. Many candidates used the June 1953 uprising to highlight both strengths and weaknesses in the ability of the SED to establish Communism and most referred to the 'need' to build the Berlin Wall as an example of the failure to be completely successful up to 1961. Level 2 responses tended towards narrative or limited explanation while Level 3 responses explained rather than explored the extent of success. The best responses were able to weigh up the degree to which the GDR could be defined as a communist state by 1961.

This is a Level 5 response.

Chosen question number: **Question 3** **Question 4**
Question 5 **Question 6**

From the formation of the GDR in 1949, it immediately aimed to implement communist economic policies, as well as establish communist rule through the pseudo-democracy off of which it operated. Although a communist ideology both in terms of policies and rule was undeniably present, the extent to which it was successful is highly debatable.

In terms of economic policies, the SED definitely ~~established~~^{demonstrated} a communist ideology which is shown through policies such as agricultural collectivisation, and a centrally planned economy. For instance, the policy of agricultural collectivisation saw the redistribution of

One 100 Hectares of land, to 500,000 beneficiaries, reflecting the communist ideology of ~~removing~~ removing power from the dominant ^{bourgeoisie} classes of society (the Junker) and equally redistributing it to the workers. However, this was inherently unsuccessful as the 500,000 beneficiaries of the land had little to no farming experience which

saw crop yields fall by 30% between 1960 and 1961 as well as the emigration of 15,000 farmers in the 1950s. From this therefore, although the SED were able to implement overtly communist policies, it was in no way successful as it had adverse effects on the agricultural industry of the GDR. As a result of these negative effects which did more harm than good, it suggests that the SED's implementation of communist policies was at the detriment of the economic and agricultural wellbeing of the state which makes them inherently unsuccessful in their effects. ~~but also successful~~ despite being ~~successful~~ their implementation being successful in the sense that they were ~~now~~ now a part of the GDR economy.

This is further shown in policies such as the first and second ~~5~~ five year plans from 1951-55

and 1956-59. The first five year plans saw the centralisation of economy, as well as high targets for production. Superficially, this appeared to be ^{one of the} more successful communist policies as it did result in increases in lignite which increased from 137,000 tonnes in 1950 to 201,000 tonnes in 1955. However, it must be noted that not only did

The first five year plan failed to meet its targets, ^{despite the fact} ~~at best~~ ^{that they were} unrealistic, it failed to ~~add to~~ instigate any substantial growth and success to the GDR economy, besides in the production of heavy industry which was ~~becoming~~ becoming obsolete ^{in Western economies} anyway. ^{which made it unsuccessful} However, ~~it cannot be~~ the fact that the GDR SED were able to implement ~~some~~ communist policies and see some minor improvements suggests that the policies were somewhat successfully ~~imposed~~ especially when considering the previously ~~crippling~~ crippling reparations taken from the GDR which removed 1,500 industrial factories. However, this success is only to an extremely limited extent. // However, in terms of ~~establishing~~ establishing communist ~~in rule~~, the SED were markedly more successful ~~than~~ than establishing communist policies despite the fact that they achieved this through the guise of a 'democracy.' For instance, the

dominance of the SED within the politburo which was also known as the 'council of gods' meant that the only dominant force within the GDR was communist, as the politburo ~~was~~ could be argued to have been ~~some~~ ~~an~~ reflective of an SED oligarchy. Furthermore, ~~the~~ through methods such as democratic centralism and party organisations, the SED

were able to bring significant groups ~~and~~ amounts of GDR citizens under the dominance of the newly established communist rule. For instance, SED run groups such as the FDJ which 75% of young people joined, allowed the SED to successfully implement communist rule through passing down ~~the~~ communist views through organisational activities which were larded with propaganda. This is also seen in the fact that by 1957, the only youth groups recognised by the SED were the FDJ and the JDP which were both run by themselves. Therefore, through these methods, the SED were clearly successful in solidifying and establishing communist rule through the removal of other political challenges and presences. However, it could then be argued that the establishment of communist rule was not genuinely successful, as it ~~was~~ ~~is~~

questionable whether they would have been able to achieve the ~~com~~ dominance of communist rules if it was not for the subversion of democracy.

This is further reinforced by the fact that from 1949-1961, 2.5 million East Germans emigrated to the FRG, which is ~~perpetually~~ ~~in~~ ~~and~~ ~~described~~ ~~as~~ ~~being~~ ~~of~~ ~~significant~~ ~~importance~~ ~~as~~ a testament to the discontent with the implementation of communist rule and policies. Historians such as Crieder argue that the main GDR's main export in its first 12 years of existence were its people, demonstrating that the communist policies and rule were not successfully established, as people began to 'vote with their feet' and leave the GDR. Considering this, ~~although~~ ~~the~~ it is clear that the SED's communist policies and rule served to create discontent which led to immigration which then in turn undermined any potential success of the SED's communist policies ~~or~~ ~~rule~~ and rule.

To conclude, although the the SED were successful in establishing communist rule and policy in the sense that communism, by 1961, ~~was~~ was the dominant ideology that

drove the political and economic system of the GDR. The policies and rule themselves were in no way successful. From the declining economy, to the high levels of emigration, the detrimental effects of communist rule and policy clearly outweighed the fact that they were a significant part of its existence. Thus, in short the SED successfully established communist policies and rule superficially, but on a deeper level, it was largely unsuccessful and was implemented

by force and with disregard for the existence of the GDR, making them ^{highly} unsuccessful in nature



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This response is clearly focused on the extent to which Communist rule and policies were established. There is an attempt to define 'communist' rule and policies and to differentiate between the apparent and the real situation.

Question 6

This was the more popular of the two questions. There was some impressive knowledge of Honecker's social welfare policies and many responses were able to address the concept of the 'commitment' to the policies as the primary cause of the economic difficulties of the 1980(s). A variety of different factors were explored in relation to relative causes such as economic planning, the international environment, loans from the FRG and the long-term impact of Soviet reparations. Long-term factors were as valid in discussion as shorter-term factors but these did need to be discussed in relation to the problems of the 1980(s) and not just described or explained in isolation and asserted as being the cause of the problems. Some very good responses were able to show how the various problems inter-linked with each other but most found that Honecker's intransigent commitment to social welfare policies were instrumental, at the very least, in exacerbating the situation in the GDR in the 1980(s).

This is a Level 4 response.

Chosen question number: **Question 3** **Question 4**

Question 5 **Question 6**

The GDR had always faced problems between choosing to finance economic growth and investing in social welfare programmes. By the 1980's, the GDR's economy was near collapse and was reliant on the FRG for loans and USSR for trade. It may be argued that much of this was a direct result of Honecker's commitment to social welfare policies which increased debt for the GDR but other factors such as ^{pressures from} GDR's membership of COMECON and the declining economy of the USSR also directly impacted the economic difficulties that the GDR experienced.

However in the 1970's introduced a range of social welfare policies, & under the name of the 'Social Contract' in an effort to increase living standards in return for support for the regime. The policy entailed increasing minimum wage to 400 Ostmarks in 1976 and increasing pensions by 20% during 1971-72 and from 230-300 Ostmarks in 1976. These allowed greater

consumption for goods as individuals were better off and got an incentive to work. The 1970's also saw a large investment in healthcare where the provision of doctors and other professionals increased thus the number of qualified doctors grew to 40,000 by mid 1970's. There was better post-natal care and the infant mortality rate decreased showing genuine improvement in living standards. However, there were still shortages in healthcare as imports such as sterile syringes remained low and the number of hospital beds was later cut. There was also a greater focus on preventative medicine so shortages for treatment of illnesses remained. The introduction of such intense welfare programme added to

government pressure who could not afford to subsidise social welfare and invest in the economy at the same time. The government lacked the finance needed for investment as ~~sub~~ by 1989 the government spent 50 billion Ostmarks on subsidising social policies such as food and rent. Hence, this added to the increasing debt the government had accumulated, DM46 billion by 1989 and was a reason for loans from the FRG.

*
Another ^{social} area where a heavy sum was spent on investment was housing. However, prioritised quantity over quality thus the 1970's saw an extensive building of houses. Although the target was 3 million, in reality only 1.9 million was reached by 1980's, however ~~th~~ most families had their own apartments by now thus increasing GDP's living standards, especially in comparison to other Communist countries. However, housing was often of poor quality with damp conditions and long queues of up to 800,000 for repairs thus * although the economy invested ~~by the~~ millions in housing,

they did not see the results they wanted however 76% of people in new accommodation were now happy. Likewise, even the heavy investment in education, especially in sports clubs for athletes and the 400 million doping programme cost the government a lot. Education provision and quality did improve by the comprehensive and poly-technic schools but workforce was now overskilled adding to the economic

problems faced by the economy as many ^(20%) performed jobs they were too good for. Thus, it is evident that Honecker's social policy programme did improve living standards but they added to the increasing debt.

By the 1980's, GDR was reliant on the FRG for loans such as DM 1 billion in 1983 and DM 950 million in 1984 thus this only added to the growing debt and proved disastrous for the economy later as the ~~the~~ government lacked finance thus consumer goods shortages prevailed and exports fell too leaving the economy worse off.

Another reason for increasing economic difficulties was GDR's membership of

COMECON, an alliance of Communist countries to increase economic co-operation, ~~for~~ and the USSR's role in supporting the GDR's economy. The GDR relied on the USSR and COMECON for 80% of its trade and by the 1980's was exporting raw materials to COMECON. However, as both the USSR and countries part of COMECON faced economic decline, this caused problems for the GDR's economy. By the 1980's, the USSR was facing a huge oil crisis thus ~~ex it red~~ oil exports saw a drop and likewise Poland reduced coal exports; both which were important for the GDR's economy. Thus, as COMECON made up such a large part of the GDR's exports, as it failed to do well, ~~&~~ GDR's exports reduced drastically. This ~~was~~ added to economic chaos as the government lost out on revenue as demand for GDR's products was limited elsewhere. Thus, this can be said to be more important at times as it is directly linked to the increasingly poor state of the GDR's economy. It can be also linked to the extensive series of loans that

were a result of this chaos as the PRG ~~to~~ helped the GDR with two loans; DM 1 billion in 1983 and DM 950 million in 1984. The rise of interest rates in the 1980's only added to the debt, putting more pressure on the government and leading to the eventual economic decline of the GDR.

Conclusively, it was ^{a mixture of} both long-term and short-term ~~no~~ problems and policies that caused economic difficulties for the GDR in the 1980's. ~~to~~ However, the commitment to the social welfare policies ~~no~~ showed the difficulties between funding economic growth and developing social welfare in the GDR. Thus, they led to massive loans from the west and increasing debt for the economy, hence was a main contributing factor to economic difficulties. However, the ~~&~~ decline of the USSR's economy and falling exports to Comecon meant that the GDR could no longer rely on the USSR to aid growth as the

decline in its economy added to the economic problems faced by the GDR so was a leading factor for the decline of GDR's economy too.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This response analyses the given factor and other factors responsible for the economic difficulties in the GDR in the 1980(s) using sufficient supporting material. An overall judgement is reached in the conclusion which is supported by evidence in the main body of the response. However, the paragraphs are structured in a list-like approach and the argument is mainly found in the conclusion.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

It is often useful to spend some time producing an essay plan to construct a response which is more discursive and less list-like.

This is a Level 5 response.

Chosen question number: Question 3 Question 4
Question 5 Question 6

There were several factors which contributed to the economic difficulties experienced by the GDR in the 1980s. These can be divided into criteria including Honecker's commitment to social welfare policies, as well as industrial problems and external factors which damaged the ^{economy} ~~economy~~. Therefore, it seems unreasonable to argue that social welfare was the primary cause of this economic crisis, and indeed it must be considered that without these welfare benefits, productivity would have likely declined further, thus only exacerbating the economic struggles.

Firstly, it is important to consider the ways in which ~~health~~ social welfare ~~benefit~~ affected the GDR economy in the 1980s. The levels of spending on ~~the~~ welfare were certainly exorbitant, and increased up to 90% in the 1980s, to the extent that for every 100 Ostmarks spent on food, goods or housing, the government would subsidise it by 89 Ostmarks. Evidently, this is a catastrophic strain on the GDR's economy, and its vastly inefficient, centrally planned economy could scarcely afford it. However, one factor which made this

spending so damaging was the fact that Honecker was completely resolute in his ways, and even accused economists who suggested changes as saboteurs. In this way, it is clear that welfare policies were a large factor in the economic struggles, but moreover it was Honecker's attitude of not compromising which truly made these policies impossible to fund, and certainly damaging to the economy.

Secondly, it must equally be considered that the GDR only struggled to fund these generous welfare policies as a result of the long-term failures and inefficiencies of its centrally planned government. Due to the lack of profit motive in the economy, workers were unincentivised, and to the extent that they were only producing 35% of what the FRG was in the 1980s. Moreover, central planning stifled creativity and led to a severe lack in technical developments. This is evidenced by the GDR's heavy reliance on 'lignite', a clear reminder of its ~~regressio~~ lack of technological progress, and indeed by the 1980s the GDR was producing 40% of the world's lignite. In this way, it is clear that there were long-established, critical failures of the central planning system, which arguably crippled the GDR economy more so than the social policies - it can be argued that social welfare at least contributed

to making society function better, whereas the stifled economy only weakened the financial and social situation of the citizens. Once again, it is also clear that, as with the social policy, it is Honecker's insistence on continuing with a failing system which were most damaging.

Elsewhere, the role of external factors in the ~~GDR~~ failure of the GDR economy cannot be understated. One example is the ~~the~~ actions of the USSR in the 1980s; by cutting trade deals and oil supplies with the GDR in the 1980s, the USSR were largely responsible for the ensuing economic crisis. ~~The~~ Indeed, prior to this, the GDR received 73% of its raw materials from the USSR at a subsidised price, due to its status as a COMECON member. Therefore, the removal of this supply would evidently have an extremely devastating impact on the productivity of the GDR economy and consequently its economy. In this way, it is clear that the GDR's heavy reliance on the USSR as a trading partner, and the consequent ending of this relationship was arguably a key factor, as it had a knock on effect damaging both the industry and economy.

Another continuing factor which contributed to the economic struggle of the GDR in the 1980s

was its distinct lack of technological developments. One way in which this damaged the economy was the continued use of loans, to the sum of 1 billion DM in 1965, in order to attempt to fund technological developments. However, due to central planning, workers were generally not skilled or creative enough to successfully produce complicated goods, meaning that production fell and it became increasingly difficult for the GDR to repay these loans. Moreover, the emergence of affordable electronic goods production in South Asia meant the GDR could simply not compete on a world market. Significantly, both ~~these factors~~^{this} are linked to the failures of central planning, thus suggesting that the inefficient, out-of-date industry was more damaging to the GDR economy than social policy.

In conclusion, it is clear that Honecker was certainly in a difficult position regarding the GDR economy; however, his failure to adjust policy in a meaningful way, either in social welfare or industrial production, made this problem increase further. Arguably, the expense of social welfare was not the primary cause, as it actually had a very positive impact on the GDR population, and indeed it was perhaps

the only thing stopping them from revolting. Therefore, it is clear that welfare spending was necessary and it is more the fault of the long-standing inefficiencies in the industry of the GDR that meant the ~~government~~ economy was crippled and unable to fund the well-received welfare benefits.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This response explores the question set through a sustained discussion of the extent to which commitment to social welfare policies caused the economic difficulties of the 1980(s). It successfully links the key issues before coming to an overall judgement.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Level 5 responses explore the key issues by using sufficient knowledge to support the point being made.

Paper summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

Section A

- Candidates should aim to develop valid inferences supported by the arguments raised in the sources, not merely paraphrase the content of the sources.
- Inferences can be supported by reference to contextual knowledge surrounding the issues raised by the sources.
- Candidates should move beyond stereotypical approaches to the nature/ purpose and authorship of the source by, e.g. looking at and explaining the specific stance and/ or purpose of the writer.
- Candidates should consider the sources together at some point in the answer.

Section B

- Spending a few minutes planning helps to ensure the second order concept is correctly identified.
- Candidates must provide more precise contextual knowledge as evidence. Weaker responses lacked depth and sometimes range.
- Candidates should avoid a narrative-descriptive approach; this undermines the analysis that is required for the higher levels.
- Candidates need to be aware of key dates as identified in the specification so that they can address the questions with chronological precision.
- Candidates should try to explore the links between issues in order to make the structure of the response flow more logically and to enable the integration of analysis.

Grade Boundaries

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