

Markscheme

November 2016

History route 2

Higher level and standard level

Paper 1 – Communism in crisis 1976–1989

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For the attention of all examiners: if you are uncertain about the content/accuracy of a candidate's work please contact your team leader.

1. (a) What, according to Source B, were the limits of political reform in Deng Xiaoping's [Teng Hsiao-p'ing's] China? **[3]**

- Discussion of political reform was internal and not permitted publicly.
- The pace of change was slow and/or there was a lack of progress.
- Lack of freedom of speech and/or the press.
- Movements, and/or students who took to the street, were suppressed.
- Reformist leaders were attacked by conservatives.

Award [1] for each relevant point up to a maximum of [3].

(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? **[2]**

- The demonstration is peaceful and/or there is some leadership of the demonstration and/or the protest is organized.
- There are large numbers participating, indicating support for political reform.
- Support and/or pressure for political reform comes from the younger generation.
- The location, Tiananmen Square, has a symbolic significance as it is the centre of Party authority.

Award [1] for each relevant point up to a maximum of [2].

2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Source C and Source D about the nature of, and the Party's response to, the demonstrations of 1989.

[6]

For “compare”

- Both sources refer to the death of Hu as a trigger for demonstrations.
- Both sources suggest that there was involvement by significant numbers of students, workers and intellectuals.
- Both sources suggest that the Party/government saw the demonstrations as a threat to stability in China.
- Both sources suggest the government was initially “tolerant” or some Party members sympathetic.
- Both sources imply some lack of unity in the government/Party response.

For “contrast”

- Source D suggests that a small group were aimless and merely wanted to destroy democracy and law and order whereas Source C identifies specific demands against the slow pace of change and corruption.
- Source D argues that only a “tiny handful” continued to protest whereas Source C suggests there were 80 cities involved.
- Source D suggests the demonstrations were a threat to China itself whereas Source C suggests they were a threat to the ruling elites.
- Source D refers to the attitude of the Party and government as a whole whereas Source C details the conflict between leaders regarding how to respond to the demonstrations.

Do not demand all of the above. If only one source is discussed award a maximum of [2]. If the two sources are discussed separately award [3] or with excellent linkage [4–5]. For maximum [6] expect a detailed running comparison/contrast. Award up to [5] if two sources are linked/integrated in either a running comparison or contrast.

3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source D for historians studying political change in Deng Xiaoping's [Teng Hsiao-p'ing's] China.

[6]

Source A

- Origin: David Goodman, *Deng Xiaoping and the Chinese Revolution: A Political Biography* published in 1994. Goodman is a British professor of Chinese politics.
- Purpose: To provide an academic analysis of Deng Xiaoping's reforms in a political biography.
- Value: The author is an academic and an expert in Chinese politics writing in 1994 with the benefit of hindsight on Deng Xiaoping's political reforms. The title suggests another value as it is focused on Deng Xiaoping's period in power. It may offer a perspective free from political pressure as it was published in the West.
- Limitations: The title suggests the focus of the book is Deng Xiaoping and therefore it may not develop the roles played by other leaders. The analysis of Deng is from a Western perspective and it is unlikely that the biographer had direct access to official Chinese government sources. As a political study of the leader it may not consider other factors such as social forces.

Source D

- Origin: "We must unequivocally oppose unrest." *People's Daily*. People's Republic of China. 26 April 1989.
- Purpose: To give the official government response to the demonstrations in 1989 and to attempt to influence public opinion.
- Value: It is from the *People's Daily*, which would give the official government view of events at the time of the initial demonstrations. It offers an insight into how the government wanted the events to be portrayed to the Chinese people.
- Limitations: This is the official and censored view of the government at the time. It could be viewed as propaganda. As it was published during the early stages of the demonstrations, the government and Party position may have changed as events unfolded. The title suggests it is focused on condemning the demonstrations rather than offering a balanced analysis.

Do not expect all of the above. Ideally there will be a balance between the two sources, and each one can be marked out of [3], but allow a [4/2] split. If only one source is assessed, mark out of [4]. For a maximum of [6] candidates must refer to both origin and purpose, and value and limitations in their assessment.

4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, examine the extent of political change in the People’s Republic of China between 1978 and 1989.

[8]

Source material

- Source A There is some sense that the Party was opening up to limited democratic principles. However, this was limited as Deng announced “Four Cardinal Principles”, which defined the parameters of political reform in China.
- Source B Suggests that there was some discussion regarding political reform in 1986 internally but this was not allowed to develop into a public discussion. Student demonstrations were put down. The leaders that favoured more reform were attacked by conservatives within the Party. Hu was removed from his position. Therefore, political change was limited.
- Source C Zhao had some sympathy for the demands of the students in 1989. However, Deng and the conservatives viewed the calls for more political freedoms as a threat not only to the Party but also to China itself. The ruling elite felt threatened, which was a reason for limiting political reform.
- Source D Demonstrations in 1989 went beyond what the Party would tolerate and were condemned as an attempt to destroy democracy and law and order. It shows the government used the press to limit demands for reform.
- Source E A mass protest was held in the symbolically significant Tiananmen Square and the protestors were peaceful. The fact the protestors were able to demonstrate suggests a degree of political change. The image may suggest that the people hoped the government would listen to their demands.

Own knowledge

Some candidates may discuss the impact of Deng’s economic reforms leading to an increase in demands for greater political reforms.

“Political change” could include the fact that in 1978 there was a policy of sending students to study at foreign universities. There could also be reference to the rehabilitation of victims after the Cultural Revolution, the establishment of Democracy Wall in November 1978 and the Party leadership’s initial tolerance of this. In June 1981, the Party leadership re-evaluated the role of the CCP and criticized Mao, for example, Mao was “right 70 per cent of the time”. The Party introduced limited political reforms, there was some departure from the Maoist past (led by Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang) and limited terms of office were introduced. The Party initially tolerated the December 1986 to January 1987 student demonstrations and Zhao had favoured concessions to the demonstrators in May 1989.

“Limits of political change” could include Deng’s toleration of Democracy Wall only while it helped his own leadership struggle. There may also be further details regarding the Four Cardinal Principles. Deng cracked down after some posters criticized the communist system and demanded the “5th modernization. Dissidents were arrested in March 1979 and, in June 1981, the Party reasserted the importance of Mao Zedong thought. Hardliners in the Party cracked down on student demonstrations in January 1987. There may be more details on the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and events of 3–4 June 1989 when the PLA occupied central Beijing, opening fire on demonstrators.

Do not expect all the above and accept any other relevant material. If only source material or own knowledge is used, the maximum mark that can be obtained is [5]. For maximum [8] expect argument, synthesis of source material and own knowledge, as well as references to the sources used.