
A-level
HISTORY
7042/2P

Component 2P The Transformation of China, 1936–1997

Mark scheme

June 2019

Version: 1.0 Final

Mark schemes are prepared by the Lead Assessment Writer and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation events which all associates participate in and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation process ensures that the mark scheme covers the students' responses to questions and that every associate understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for standardisation each associate analyses a number of students' scripts. Alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed and legislated for. If, after the standardisation process, associates encounter unusual answers which have not been raised they are required to refer these to the Lead Assessment Writer.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of students' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

Further copies of this mark scheme are available from aqa.org.uk

System Name	Description
?	Questionable or unclear comment or fact
^	Omission – of evidence or comment
Cross	Inaccurate fact
H Line	Incorrect or dubious comment or information
IR	Irrelevant material
SEEN_BIG	Use to mark blank pages or plans
Tick	Creditworthy comment or fact
On page comment	Use text box if necessary to exemplify other annotations and add further comment. Always provide a text box comment at the end of each answer.

Level of response marking instructions

Level of response mark schemes are broken down into levels, each of which has a descriptor. The descriptor for the level shows the average performance for the level. There are marks in each level.

Before you apply the mark scheme to a student's answer read through the answer and annotate it (as instructed) to show the qualities that are being looked for. You can then apply the mark scheme.

Step 1 Determine a level

Start at the lowest level of the mark scheme and use it as a ladder to see whether the answer meets the descriptor for that level. The descriptor for the level indicates the different qualities that might be seen in the student's answer for that level. If it meets the lowest level then go to the next one and decide if it meets this level, and so on, until you have a match between the level descriptor and the answer. With practice and familiarity you will find that for better answers you will be able to quickly skip through the lower levels of the mark scheme.

When assigning a level you should look at the overall quality of the answer and not look to pick holes in small and specific parts of the answer where the student has not performed quite as well as the rest. If the answer covers different aspects of different levels of the mark scheme you should use a best fit approach for defining the level and then use the variability of the response to help decide the mark within the level, i.e. if the response is predominantly Level 3 with a small amount of Level 4 material it would be placed in Level 3 but be awarded a mark near the top of the level because of the Level 4 content.

Step 2 Determine a mark

Once you have assigned a level you need to decide on the mark. The descriptors on how to allocate marks can help with this. The exemplar materials used during standardisation will help. There will be an answer in the standardising materials which will correspond with each level of the mark scheme. This answer will have been awarded a mark by the Lead Examiner. You can compare the student's answer with the example to determine if it is the same standard, better or worse than the example. You can then use this to allocate a mark for the answer based on the Lead Examiner's mark on the example.

You may well need to read back through the answer as you apply the mark scheme to clarify points and assure yourself that the level and the mark are appropriate.

Indicative content in the mark scheme is provided as a guide for examiners. It is not intended to be exhaustive and you must credit other valid points. Students do not have to cover all of the points mentioned in the Indicative content to reach the highest level of the mark scheme.

An answer which contains nothing of relevance to the question must be awarded no marks.

Component 2P The Transformation of China, 1936–1997

Section A

- 01** With reference to these sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying the ways in which the Chinese Communist Party established control of China in the years 1949 to 1952. **[30 marks]**

Target: AO2

Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within the historical context.

Generic Mark Scheme

- L5:** Shows a very good understanding of all three sources in relation to both content and provenance and combines this with a strong awareness of the historical context to present a balanced argument on their value for the particular purpose given in the question. The answer will convey a substantiated judgement. The response demonstrates a very good understanding of context. **25-30**
- L4:** Shows a good understanding of all three sources in relation to both content and provenance and combines this with an awareness of the historical context to provide a balanced argument on their value for the particular purpose given in the question. Judgements may, however, be partial or limited in substantiation. The response demonstrates a good understanding of context. **19-24**
- L3:** Shows some understanding of all three sources in relation to both content and provenance together with some awareness of the historical context. There may, however, be some imbalance in the degree of breadth and depth of comment offered on all three sources and the analysis may not be fully convincing. The answer will make some attempt to consider the value of the sources for the particular purpose given in the question. The response demonstrates an understanding of context. **13-18**
- L2:** The answer will be partial. It may, for example, provide some comment on the value of the sources for the particular purpose given in the question but only address one or two of the sources, or focus exclusively on content (or provenance), or it may consider all three sources but fail to address the value of the sources for the particular purpose given in the question. The response demonstrates some understanding of context. **7-12**
- L1:** The answer will offer some comment on the value of at least one source in relation to the purpose given in the question but the response will be limited and may be partially inaccurate. Comments are likely to be unsupported, vague or generalist. The response demonstrates limited understanding of context. **1-6**
- Nothing worthy of credit. **0**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and students are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Students must deploy knowledge of the historical context to show an understanding of the relationship between the sources and the issues raised in the question, when assessing the significance of provenance, the arguments deployed in the sources and the tone and emphasis of the sources. Descriptive answers which fail to do this should be awarded no more than Level 2 at best. Answers should address both the value and the limitations of the sources for the particular question and purpose given.

Source A: in assessing the value of this source, students may refer to the following:

Provenance, tone and emphasis

- Mao was clearly the unopposed leader of the CCP by 1949 – having directed a highly successful campaign against the GMD from Yan'an – and so was the natural person to make such a momentous speech
- its purpose is to proclaim the creation of the PRC, celebrate CCP victory and instil optimism into the population after a brutal and divisive civil war. The immediate publication of the speech in a CCP newspaper ensured that Mao's words were circulated as widely as possible, as cadres frequently read these newspapers to the illiterate
- in October 1949, Mao and the CCP were proceeding cautiously, to exert Communist control in a measured and reassuring way, for example by appealing to groups like the 'national bourgeoisie'
- the tone is triumphant and dramatic – for example 'wiped out the reactionary troops' – fitting for such a significant speech.

Content and argument

- the CCP have the right to rule China, having beaten the GMD with whom Mao lays responsibility for the Civil War. Mao is bound to stress the right to rule 'by might' since the CCP held no elections, and so there is an emphasis on the benefits of peace, and the improvements that CCP rule will bring. It was not until the outbreak of the Korean War the following year that CCP attitudes were to harden
- there is reference to a democratic process, such as the 'will of the whole nation' and the role of the 'Central People's Political Consultative Conference', at which several non-Communist parties were represented. This suggests that Communist control arose from popular acclaim. In fact, Mao's notion of 'democratic centralism' was very different from democracy itself, and the CPPCC had little, if any, real authority and next met in 1956
- Mao himself is to assume the key role in leading China, having been appointed 'Chairman of the Central People's Government', a post which he then held for nearly ten years. Mao also held the posts of Chairman of the Party and Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council and so the source only goes so far in showing how important his leadership role was
- the PLA is represented as central to Communist victory, and so CCP control. However, Mao makes clear reference to 'our PLA', a nod to his belief that 'the Party controls the gun', and to its heroic nature. CCP propaganda over the next three years extolled the PLA as a positive role model helping to rebuild China and showing how it increased Communist control through 'soft power'
- although this was a time when Mao was trying to rule by building a broad consensus, there are hints in the speech of what is to come. References to control over the 'majority of the people' and the war being 'almost won' might be a reference to areas like Tibet and Taiwan, but could

equally suggest oppression or continued struggle. This manifested by 1950 into a series of mass campaigns against a range of people in China the CCP viewed as enemies.

Source B: in assessing the value of this source, students may refer to the following:

Provenance, tone and emphasis

- as both a middle class man and one with GMD connections, Hu would have been regarded by the CCP as a 'non-person' and so one not entitled to take part in Chinese political life
- appearing as it did in a CCP newspaper, its purpose was to humiliate Hu and to strike fear into others the CCP would regard as 'enemies of the people'. These people would be a key audience
- September 1950 was the start of the 'Thought Reform' campaign, which had followed hot on the heels of the 'Campaign to Suppress Counter-Revolutionaries'. It marked a more aggressive phase of CCP control in China
- the tone is fearful and apologetic ('ignorant of the correct policies'), with Hu abasing himself with the full knowledge that what he has written will be widely circulated.

Content and argument

- CCP control was increased through people fleeing or being removed from China. Hu's father is in exile in the 'United States' and Hu states he will not return. Many GMD supporters and businessmen left China in late 1949, either to the USA or Taiwan, and in 1950 the 'Resist America, Aid Korea' campaign resulted in most Western interests being forced out of China
- the CCP had begun to target the middle classes who Hu categorises as having 'acted against the interests of the people' as a result of their 'brainwashing' and who are now having to 'rebel against my own class'. As a consequence of the 'Campaign to Suppress Counter-Revolutionaries', men like Hu would have been forced to register with public security officials. Although Hu was an obvious target, the following year the 'Five Antis' campaign widened persecution in China and the source does not reflect this widespread action
- the CCP were trying to increase Communist control through undermining the traditional values of Chinese society, as by criticising his father so publically Hu was ignoring the principle of filial piety. Mao believed that Communism would only flourish if these traditional values were destroyed and the Marriage Law of 1950 is a good example of this
- under the guise of giving people the opportunity to 'move on from their past and start life anew'; humiliation was a key part of the 're-education' policy applied to 'non-people' between 1949 and 1952 in an attempt to increase CCP control. Hu's self-criticism was part of the 'thought reform' process which lasted several months and also involved attending brutal 'struggle sessions'. Whilst the source implies this was directed at obvious class enemies, the 'Three Antis' campaign saw many urban cadres subjected to similar action.

Source C: in assessing the value of this source, students may refer to the following:

Provenance, tone and emphasis

- Deng was a senior CCP figure who had been part of the leadership at Yan'an during the Civil War, so can be expected to closely follow Mao's line since he was one of Mao's inner circle
- the report's purpose is to seek approval from the Central Committee and Mao in particular for the campaign, and it must have gained this approval because it was then circulated to wider Party officials
- southwest China was one of the last areas to be brought under CCP control and so there would be a need to bring the region more fully into line. Unlike the North, land reform did not start until late 1950 after the Agrarian Reform Law was passed
- the tone is cautiously optimistic – 'there is a new and positive atmosphere' – with Deng going to great pains to justify his actions in relation to specific CCP policies.

Content and argument

- CCP control through effective and orderly land reform is increasing, with only 'law-breaking' landlords being 'seized'. This followed Mao's directive that land reform should take place gradually, and that the number of executions should be kept to a minimum. It is probably for this reason that the report makes no mention of the violent excesses committed by angry peasants during 'speak bitterness' meetings that many cadres were powerless to prevent
- the CCP was acting kindly towards the poorer peasants and in their interests, for example by returning their deposits rather than confiscating them. This followed CCP policies – developed in Yan'an – in order to increase Communist control and influence over the peasants by treating them with respect and learning from them. This use of the 'mass line' shows how important control in rural China was to the CCP
- the peasants themselves had taken a key role in the land reform, having 'come forward' and been 'mobilised', and that this was changing 'political power in the rural areas'. The CCP believed that their control in rural China lay in tying the peasants more closely to the Party, both by them gaining from land reform but also through being complicit in CCP actions
- despite CCP control having increased in Southwest China there was still work to be done. Deng writes about a need to 'eliminate bandits' and how cities 'are falling behind' the countryside. The GMD were frequently referred to in CCP propaganda as 'bandits', were only dislodged from the area in 1950, and their influence over business and organised crime in the cities was still in the process of being eliminated; the 'Five Antis' campaign would not commence until the following year.

Section B

02 To what extent was there stability in China, under the Guomindang (GMD) in 1936? **[25 marks]**

Target: AO1

Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

Generic Mark Scheme

- L5:** Answers will display a very good understanding of the full demands of the question. They will be well-organised and effectively delivered. The supporting information will be well-selected, specific and precise. It will show a very good understanding of key features, issues and concepts. The answer will be fully analytical with a balanced argument and well-substantiated judgement. **21-25**
- L4:** Answers will display a good understanding of the demands of the question. It will be well-organised and effectively communicated. There will be a range of clear and specific supporting information showing a good understanding of key features and issues, together with some conceptual awareness. The answer will be analytical in style with a range of direct comment relating to the question. The answer will be well-balanced with some judgement, which may, however, be only partially substantiated. **16-20**
- L3:** Answers will show an understanding of the question and will supply a range of largely accurate information which will show an awareness of some of the key issues and features, but may, however, be unspecific or lack precision of detail. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be a good deal of comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance, but a number of statements may be inadequately supported and generalist. **11-15**
- L2:** The answer is descriptive or partial, showing some awareness of the question but a failure to grasp its full demands. There will be some attempt to convey material in an organised way although communication skills may be limited. There will be some appropriate information showing understanding of some key features and/or issues, but the answer may be very limited in scope and/or contain inaccuracy and irrelevance. There will be some, but limited, comment in relation to the question and statements will, for the most part, be unsupported and generalist. **6-10**
- L1:** The question has not been properly understood and the response shows limited organisational and communication skills. The information conveyed is irrelevant or extremely limited. There may be some unsupported, vague or generalist comment. **1-5**
- Nothing worthy of credit. **0**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and students are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Arguments/factors suggesting that there was stability in China, under the Guomindang (GMD) in 1936 might include:

- in 1936 the GMD had taken control of a large area of China, increasing China's stability. Many of the warlords that had previously controlled China had been defeated or joined the GMD, and so direct control of Chinese territory by the GMD had increased. Foreign powers had also returned 20 of the 33 concessions they possessed in China, given Jiang more credibility and making his control of China more stable
- the GMD had taken significant steps to expand and modernise China's economy in 1936, making the country more stable. Infrastructure is a good example of this increasing economic stability; in 1936, electricity generation had increased by around 10% a year, and the total length of railway track in China had grown by almost 50%
- through a series of 'extermination campaigns' the National Revolutionary Army had been able to destroy most of the influence the Chinese Communist Party had enjoyed in China, especially in the cities. They had been pushed back and almost destroyed during the 'Long March', and this weakening of a key opposition group that Jiang described as a 'disease of the heart' increased the stability of GMD China
- the GMD maintained control through coercion and terror – for example through the Blueshirts, the NRA and Dai Li's 'Investigation and Statistical Bureau' to silence opposition and by keeping much of the population in line through fear had stabilised China.

Arguments/factors challenging the view that there was stability in China, under the Guomindang (GMD) in 1936 might include:

- though GMD control had increased in 1936, China was not fully unified and so could not be seen as stable. Only eight of China's 18 provinces were under GMD control in 1936 and even some of those were still under the influence of warlords. One ex-warlord, Zhang Xueliang, even kidnapped Jiang during the Xi'an Incident, showing how unstable China was at the time
- the presence of foreign influence limited GMD control and this reduced China's stability. Most notable was the Japanese client state of Manchukuo, which had even installed the last Qing emperor as puppet leader, a figure the GMD claimed to have overthrown. Across several 'treaty ports' such as Tianjin, Western powers maintained significant political and economic influence and this presence made China less stable
- the GMD were unpopular among the peasants – who made up the vast majority the population – and this lack of support for the government undermined the stability of China. Landlords had opposed the GMD's attempts at land reform and so problems and unrest in the countryside remained; in Hunan and Hubei provinces alone, 7 million peasants had joined local organisations, whilst GMD membership never exceeded one per cent of the population
- despite spending huge sums trying to eliminate the Communists, the CCP had been able to retreat to Yan'an in Shaanxi province where their presence away from GMD military power threatened to destabilise China. Jiang's numerous extermination campaigns had both demonstrated the weakness of the NRA in being able to stabilise China and drained the GMD of resources that could have been used elsewhere
- attempts to stabilise the Chinese economy were limited because of the corruption present across China. The lack of any effective system of taxation in the countryside and the influence of the

‘Four Families’ and organised criminals, such as the ‘Green Gang’ in Shanghai, deprived the GMD of funds that might have been used to improve China’s stability. Many warlords had simply been bribed rather than defeated and this was an unstable basis to create a unified China.

Students might argue that despite China appearing more stable, GMD control – and so stability – was only superficial. Whilst on the face of it, for example, the CCP had been defeated; they remained a thorn in Jiang’s side. Similarly, whilst GMD control had expanded, this was largely restricted to the cities and the majority of the population were rural. The underlying issues, then, had not been solved and for as long as Japan remained in control of Manchuria the GMD’s credibility, in terms of creating a stable China, was highly questionable.

- 03** To what extent did government policies, in the years 1962 to 1966, transform the Chinese economy? **[25 marks]**

Target: AO1

Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

Generic Mark Scheme

- L5:** Answers will display a very good understanding of the full demands of the question. They will be well-organised and effectively delivered. The supporting information will be well-selected, specific and precise. It will show a very good understanding of key features, issues and concepts. The answer will be fully analytical with a balanced argument and well-substantiated judgement. **21-25**
- L4:** Answers will display a good understanding of the demands of the question. It will be well-organised and effectively communicated. There will be a range of clear and specific supporting information showing a good understanding of key features and issues, together with some conceptual awareness. The answer will be analytical in style with a range of direct comment relating to the question. The answer will be well-balanced with some judgement, which may, however, be only partially substantiated. **16-20**
- L3:** Answers will show an understanding of the question and will supply a range of largely accurate information which will show an awareness of some of the key issues and features, but may, however, be unspecific or lack precision of detail. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be a good deal of comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance, but a number of statements may be inadequately supported and generalist. **11-15**
- L2:** The answer is descriptive or partial, showing some awareness of the question but a failure to grasp its full demands. There will be some attempt to convey material in an organised way although communication skills may be limited. There will be some appropriate information showing understanding of some key features and/or issues, but the answer may be very limited in scope and/or contain inaccuracy and irrelevance. There will be some, but limited, comment in relation to the question and statements will, for the most part, be unsupported and generalist. **6-10**
- L1:** The question has not been properly understood and the response shows limited organisational and communication skills. The information conveyed is irrelevant or extremely limited. There may be some unsupported, vague or generalist comment. **1-5**
- Nothing worthy of credit. **0**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and students are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Arguments/factors suggesting that government policies, in the years 1962 to 1966, transformed the Chinese economy might include:

- unlike the rigid ideas behind the Great Leap Forward, Liu and Deng favoured flexible economic policies rather than following a fixed ideology. In 1962, Deng made a famous speech which stated 'whether the cat is black or white, it is a good cat as long as it catches mice'. The Chinese economy was therefore transformed as it became more pragmatic between 1962 and 1966
- the Great Leap Forward had moved away from a centrally planned economy and the use of experts and specialists. Liu and Deng transformed this by returning the focus to centrally monitored, yearly, realistic planning, made greater use of experts such as the Party's leading economist, Chen Yun, and replaced outdated ideas like those of the discredited Soviet agronomist, Lysenko
- there was transformation because fewer but larger economic projects were developed with stronger central State control, for example the oil fields at Daqing. Many of the widespread industrial projects started during the Great Leap Forward were halted or reversed, with around 25,000 local projects cancelled by 1966
- the large communes that came into being during the Great Leap Forward were transformed, since they were downscaled. Urban communes were dismantled completely and rural communes were subdivided into more natural units, often centred around just one village. Peasants were again allowed private plots of land and small scale markets and fairs were allowed
- there was transformation since whilst the Great Leap Forward was a catastrophic failure, the Chinese economy enjoyed significant success between 1962 and 1966; for example industrial growth reached 20% in 1965, and in the same year agricultural production returned to its 1957 levels, with private plots twice as efficient as communal farmland.

Arguments/factors challenging the view that government policies, in the years 1962 to 1966, transformed the Chinese economy might include:

- transformation was limited, since food shortages continued to be a major economic concern for the government. Whilst food production increased, the growing population of China (as many as an additional 80 million) meant millions of tons of grain were imported from the West
- although the role of the peasants changed, the focus of the Chinese economy remained on the countryside and the peasants, with as many as twenty million urban workers being sent to the countryside as additional labour. There was little transformation in this respect
- as with the Great Leap Forward, propaganda continued to have a major economic policy role as a motivational tool to encourage greater efforts from the Chinese people; examples include how the efforts of workers and technicians at Daqing had led to China becoming self-sufficient in oil, and the 'Learn from Dazhai in Agriculture' campaign of 1963
- the period of the Great Leap Forward had revealed economic policy disputes among the CCP leadership about the direction of the economy, and despite new policies these continued between 1962 and 1966, showing how the economy had not been transformed. Whilst no longer in the forefront of day to day politics, Mao became increasingly critical of the economic policies of Liu and Deng, and how far they had moved away from the 'mass line'. He talked about CCP leaders

who had lost direction and had chosen to ‘follow a capitalist road’. There were continued debates about the direction of the economy

- the economy was not transformed as it still lacked Soviet support. The USSR had provided technical and financial assistance during the First Five Year Plan, but this had been withdrawn during the Great Leap Forward and Soviet assistance was not resumed in this period. Indeed, this had influenced the expensive relocation of much Chinese industry westwards by 1966.

Government policies did transform the economy to some extent between 1962 and 1966, but on balance this was limited, since any apparent transformation was only temporary and in order to repair the problems caused by the Great Leap Forward. This lack of long-term transformation can be seen by the launching of the Third Five Year Plan in 1966, which had simply been delayed by a few years, and so the overall direction of the Chinese economy remained very similar.

- 04** 'In the years 1966 to 1976, the most significant impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese society was its effect on young people.'

Assess the validity of this view.

[25 marks]

Target: AO1

Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

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- L1:** The question has not been properly understood and the response shows limited organisational and communication skills. The information conveyed is irrelevant or extremely limited. There may be some unsupported, vague or generalist comment. **1-5**
- Nothing worthy of credit. **0**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and students are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Arguments/factors suggesting that in the years 1966 to 1976, the most significant impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese society was its effect on young people might include:

- the initial development of the Red Guards movements caused many young people to suffer in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution. Violence between 'moderate' and 'radical' Red Guard factions caused many deaths and serious injuries, as did pitched battles between radical Red Guards and the workers' 'Scarlet Guard' in Shanghai. Whilst the Red Guards were the initial motor of the Cultural Revolution, many of them were also its victims
- like their parents, young people with middle class or senior Party backgrounds were persecuted during the Cultural Revolution, as they were targeted groups and unable to claim they came from one of the 'five kinds of red' prized at the time. A good example was Deng Pufang – Deng Xiaoping's son – who was defenestrated by Red Guards and left critically injured
- after 1967, the 'down to the countryside' movement caused many young people to become disillusioned with the CCP, and wider life. Millions of young people were sent to rural China to 'learn from the peasants' and were shocked at the hard work they had to perform but also the drudgery of peasant life and the peasants' political apathy
- the disruption to schools and universities caused many young people to miss their education during the Cultural Revolution. Schools effectively closed between 1966 and 1967, and many teachers were too scared to return. Most universities stopped admitting students for four years. Surveys in the 1980s revealed only 11% of this generation received any education after 16 years of age
- the Cultural Revolution made significant changes to the education system which left young people poorly educated for the future. Students spent up to a third less time in education compared to the early 1960s, and manual labour became part of the curriculum from primary schools through to universities.

Arguments/factors challenging the view that in the years 1966 to 1976, the most significant impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese society its effect on young people might include:

- intellectuals faced immense persecution during the Cultural Revolution and were targeted as an entire class, unlike young people. 200 professors were imprisoned for a year at Beijing University, and teachers and writers were forced to wear dunce's caps and were often beaten or killed. Many of those not sent to *laogai* for re-education committed suicide, such as the writer, Lao She
- the Cultural Revolution damaged the position of women in Chinese society. Feminine identity was challenged by pressure to adopt male haircuts and wear male clothing. There were serious setbacks to the position of women when national attempts to promote birth control disintegrated after 1966, and in some hospitals pregnant women were refused anesthetics during childbirth. The prominent and outspoken female writer, Ding Ling, was imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution
- attacks on the 'four olds' caused huge damage to traditions across China. Family ancestral altars were removed, the family unit was attacked as 'bourgeois' and the ideas of Confucius were associated with the enemies of Communism. Traditional Chinese culture was replaced by Jiang Qing's 'eight model plays' and strict censorship was enforced. China, as a country has been described as a cultural wasteland during the Cultural Revolution

- those who were unfortunate enough to live in big cities like Beijing, Chongqing and Shanghai felt some of the most significant impact, since this was where the Cultural Revolution was played out. Regardless of class, these people risked arbitrary arrests, Red Guard searches of their houses and the confiscation of possessions. For many urban Chinese the Cultural Revolution was a time of terror.

Young people were indeed the most significantly affected by the Cultural Revolution as they felt its effects for the longest period. Unlike the attacks in the cities that were called off, and the traditions that had resurfaced by the deaths of Zhou and Mao, the loss of education and a sense of place many young people had suffered could not be repaired. Even the attack on intellectuals had a direct impact on their futures. The Chinese youth of the Cultural Revolution are rightly referred to as the 'lost generation'.