

SECTION II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

Percent of Section II score—33 1/3

Directions: The following question is based on the accompanying Documents 1–7. (Some of the documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.) Write your answer on the lined pages of the pink essay booklet.

This question is designed to test your ability to work with and understand historical documents. Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis and supports that thesis with evidence from the documents.
- Uses a majority of the documents.
- Analyzes the documents by grouping them in as many appropriate ways as possible. **Does not simply summarize the documents individually.**
- Takes into account both the sources of the documents and the authors' points of view.

You may refer to relevant historical information not mentioned in the documents.

1. The Chinese have a saying, "You can win a kingdom from horseback, but you cannot rule from there." Throughout history, the world's leaders have had to persuade everyone else that they deserve the authority they hold.

Using the following documents, evaluate the different rationales for the legitimacy of power. Is there one "best" way to govern? What additional documents would you use in attempting to answer these questions?

Document 1

Source: Procopius, author of official histories of Emperor Justinian's reign such as *On the Wars*, excerpt from Chapter VII, *Secret History*.

As soon as Justinian came into power he turned everything upside down. Whatever had before been forbidden by law he now introduced into the government, while he revoked all established customs: as if he had been given the robes of an Emperor on the condition he would turn everything topsy-turvy. Existing offices he abolished, and invented new ones for the management of public affairs. He did the same thing to the laws and to the regulations of the army; and his reason was not any improvement of justice or any advantage, but simply that everything might be new and named after himself. And whatever was beyond his power to abolish, he renamed after himself anyway.

Of the plundering of property or the murder of men, no weariness ever overtook him. As soon as he had looted all the houses of the wealthy, he looked around for others; meanwhile throwing away the spoils of his previous robberies in subsidies to barbarians or senseless building extravagancies. And when he had ruined perhaps myriads in this mad looting, he immediately sat down to plan how he could do likewise to others in even greater numbers.

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Document 2

Source: Mao Tse-Tung, concluding remarks at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee, 1938.

Every community must understand this truth: Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Our principle is that the Party commands the gun; the gun shall never be allowed to command the Party. But it is also true that with the gun at our disposal we can really build up the party organizations; the Eighth Route Army has built up the Party organization in North China. We can also rear cadres and create schools, culture and mass movements. Anything can grow out of the barrel of a gun. Viewed from the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the political power of the state. Whoever wants to seize and hold on to political power must have a strong army. Experience in the class struggle of the era of imperialism teaches us that the working class and the toiling masses cannot defeat the armed bourgeois and landlord except by the power of the gun: in this sense we can even say that the whole world can be remolded only with the gun. As advocates of the abolition of war, we do not desire war; but we can only be abolished through war—in order to get rid of the gun, we must first grasp it in the hand.

Document 3

Source: Nicolo Machiavelli, excerpt from Chapter VIII, *The Prince*.

Hence it is to be remarked that, in seizing a state, the usurper ought to examine closely into all those injuries which it is necessary for him to inflict, and to do them all at one stroke so as not to have to repeat them daily; and thus by not unsettling men he will be able to reassure them, and win them to himself by benefits. He who does otherwise, either from timidity or evil advice, is always compelled to keep the knife in his hand; neither can he rely on his subjects, nor can they attach themselves to him, owing to their continued and repeated wrongs. For injuries ought to be done all at one time, so that, being tasted less, they offend less; benefits ought to be given little by little, so that the flavour of them may last longer.

Document 4

Source: A sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy.

What is meant by saying that peace of the world depends on the order of the state is this: When the ruler treats the elders with respect, then the people will be aroused toward filial piety. When the ruler treats the aged with respect, then the people will be aroused toward brotherly respect. When the ruler treats compassionately the young and the helpless, then the common people will not follow the opposite course. Therefore, the ruler has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, he may regulate his conduct . . .

Therefore the ruler will first be watchful over his own virtue. If he has virtue, he will have the people with him. If he has the people with him, he will have the territory. If he has the territory, he will have wealth. And if he has wealth, he will have its use. Virtue is the root, while wealth is the branch . . .

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Document 5

Source: John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government*, Section 95, 1690.

Men being, as has been said, by nature, all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent. The only way whereby any one divests himself of his natural liberty, and puts on the bonds of civil society, is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any, that are not of it. This any number of men may do, because it injures not the freedom of the rest; they are left as they were in the liberty of the state of nature. When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest.

Document 6

Source: Asoka Maurya, the third emperor of the Maurya Dynasty, converted to Buddhism and applied Buddhist philosophy to ruling a pluralistic society, excerpt from *The Rock and Pillar Edicts of Asoka*, 304–232 B.C.E.

Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: This royal order is to be addressed to the Mahamatras at Samapa. I wish to see that everything I consider to be proper is carried out in the right way. And I consider instructing you to be the best way of accomplishing this. All men are my children. What I desire for my own children, and I desire their welfare and happiness both in this world and in the next, that I desire for all men.

The people of the unconquered territories beyond the borders might think: "What is the king's intention towards us?" My only intention is that they live without fear of me, that they may trust me and that I may give them happiness, not sorrow. Furthermore, they should understand that the king will forgive those who can be forgiven, and that he wishes to encourage them to practice Dhamma so that they may attain happiness in this world and the next. I am telling you this so that I may discharge the debts I owe, and that in instructing you, that you may know that my vow and my promise will not be broken. Therefore acting in this way, you should perform your duties and assure the people that, "The king is like a father. He feels towards us as he feels towards himself. We are to him like his own children."

Document 7

Source: The Imperial Catechism, 1806.

Question: What are the duties of Christians toward those who govern them, and what in particular are our duties toward Napoleon I, our Emperor?

Answer: Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the state.

Question: Why are we subject to all these duties toward our emperor?

Answer: First, because God, who has created empires and distributes them according to his will, has, by loading our emperor with gifts both in peace and in war, establishing him as our sovereign and made him the agent of his power and his image upon earth. To honor and serve our emperor is therefore to honor and serve God himself.

END OF PART A