



HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/71

Paper 5j Special Subject: China under Mao Zedong, 1949–1976

For Examination from 2019

SPECIMEN PAPER

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper



READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 in Section A.

Answer **one** question from Section B.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

Nominated topic: The Cultural Revolution, its aftermath and the end of the Maoist regime

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting on the documents it is essential to set them alongside, and make use of, your own knowledge.

- A** *A Red Guard describes an incident during the Cultural Revolution in a Chinese School, 12 June 1966.*

I saw rows of teachers, about 40 or 50 in all, with black ink poured over their heads and faces. Hanging on their necks were placards with such words as 'reactionary academic authority and class enemy'. They all wore dunces' caps. Hanging from their necks were buckets full of rocks and the wire had cut deep into their necks. One man was staggering. They were barefoot as they walked round the field and begged Mao Zedong to pardon their crimes. Beatings and tortures followed – eating excrement and insects, being subjected to electric shocks, and being forced to kneel on broken glass.

Ken Ling, *Red Guard*, 1972.

- B** *The Chinese Communist Party justifies the Cultural Revolution.*

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture and customs. So the exploiting classes continue to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The Proletariat must be the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie and use new ideas to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. What the Central Committee demands of the Party at all levels is to arouse the masses, and to encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to join in the struggle. In the great Proletarian Revolution, the most important task is to transform the old educational system. The phenomenon of schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed. The aim of the Revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and to achieve greater, better and more economical results in all fields of work.

Central Committee of the CCP, *Statement*, August 1966.

- C** *The General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR offers criticism of China's policies.*

The leaders of China have started a hostile campaign against our Party and the Soviet people. The current developments in China under the flag of 'cultural revolution' have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, or with socialist policy. These actions can only discredit socialism in the eyes of the peoples and mislead them. They obviously add weight to the imperialists' arguments and it is not without reason that the imperialists' propaganda so avidly jumps at everything that happens in China. What Mao Zedong's group call the 'Cultural Revolution' should be more correctly seen as a Counter Revolution. The people's democratic power is, in fact, being threatened in China today.

Leonid Brezhnev, *The Worker*, October 1966.

D *An American communist reflects on the Cultural Revolution.*

The Cultural Revolution marked a turning point in the historical evolution of China. It prevented, at its barest minimum, capitalist restoration, and ushered in a new stage in the building of a socialist society in China. Of course, no revolution is ever accomplished without a great deal of excess, without serious setbacks and errors. Once the Cultural Revolution was launched, it involved huge masses of people and set forces in motion which could not be controlled, even under the best of circumstances. To some observers on this continent, the Cultural Revolution reduced itself to a mere factional dispute between Chairman Mao and his supporters, Lin, Chen, and others, against Liu Shao-chi and his formidable right-wing forces. In the view of these observers, such a dispute should have been carried out by literary and academic methods. But what if the character of the people and the historical context in which the struggle is opened up, both at home and abroad, makes this impossible? What if the weight of the entire Soviet Union, through its leadership, particularly in the case of Brezhnev, is openly supporting the neo-restorationist elements? At any rate, once the struggle started, the only correct position for progressive and revolutionary workers throughout the world was to support the Cultural Revolution.

Sam Marcy, *Workers' World Party Journal*, 1972.

E *A modern historian assesses the origins of the Cultural Revolution.*

The autumn of 1965 brought significant reverses for the People's Republic of China abroad. The Beijing-friendly Communist Party in Indonesia launched an attempted coup and brought about a bloody military counter-attack leading to the Suharto dictatorship. China's ally, Pakistan, failed to pursue a war with India which Peking had hoped would weaken India. Mao lost some of his most loyal supporters among provincial chiefs through the fall out over the Great Leap Forward. By the end of the year he was ready to launch his new offensive against those he had decided were enemies of the Revolution. It has been suggested that, like so many emperors of the past, Mao was seeking immortality by identifying himself with symbols that would live on after him. The cult of Mao was at the core of the movement.

Jonathan Fenby, *The Penguin History of Modern China*, 2008.

- (a) How far is Brezhnev's view of the Cultural Revolution in Document C corroborated by the views expressed in Document D? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents that the motivation for the Cultural Revolution was political rather than ideological? In making your evaluation you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

Section B

Answer **one** of the following questions. Where appropriate, your essay should make use of any relevant documents you have studied, as well as contextual knowledge.

- 2 How far do purely military factors explain the Communist victory in 1949? [30]
- 3 Assess the view that Communist rule brought little economic benefit to the Chinese people in the period 1949–1965. [30]
- 4 How successfully did Communist China conduct its relations with the USA in the period 1949–1976? [30]

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