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**HISTORY**  
**ROUTE 2**  
**HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL**  
**PAPER 1 – COMMUNISM IN CRISIS 1976–89**

Friday 11 May 2012 (afternoon)

1 hour

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is *[25 marks]*.

*Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.*

*Sources in this paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets [ ]; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses ... ; minor changes are not indicated.*

*These sources and questions relate to the struggle for power following the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), the re-emergence of Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) and the defeat of the Gang of Four.*

**SOURCE A** *Extract from China Against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform by Marc Blecher, 2010. Published by Continuum International Publishing Group, London and New York. Marc Blecher is Professor of Politics and East Asian Studies at Oberlin College, Ohio, USA*

Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) attempted to find a middle ground between the rival policy positions. He presided over a campaign to criticize the Gang of Four, but continued to praise the Cultural Revolution. He associated himself with Maoist models of agriculture and industry, with targets requiring sacrifice and effort.

The animosities that divided China's leadership during the Cultural Revolution proved too difficult to overcome. Hua lacked the political support, acumen [political skill], experience, and sheer, sometimes ruthless, determination of Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing).

**SOURCE B** *Extract from The New Emperors: China in the Era of Mao and Deng, by Harrison E. Salisbury, 1992. Published by Little, Brown and Company, Boston, MA. Harrison E. Salisbury was an author and one-time Moscow correspondent for the New York Times.*

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) understood the basic precept – divide and reign. He did not trust Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing) or her comrades. He had not trusted Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) for a long time. So when Zhou fell ill, Mao resisted Jiang's (Chiang's) efforts to put her man into place and reached for Deng (Teng). But, as usual, Deng (Teng) was too much in a hurry. If Hua was premier, then Deng (Teng) was out – or worse. When the Gang of Four members protested that he was too unknown, Mao waved them away.

Mao's politics had reversed themselves. The filth spewed in the press against Deng (Teng) left no doubt how dangerous he was to the Gang of Four. It was so sensational it built up public support for Deng (Teng). If he was so bad in the eyes of the Gang of Four, he must have been very, very good.

**SOURCE C**

*Extract from a speech by Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) to the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress, China, October 1977. Taken from Marxists Internet Archive.*

Our party quickly crushed the criminal scheme of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao “Gang of Four” to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the state. The smashing of this gang brought great joy to the Party, the army and the people. The tremendous victory of this great political revolution ushered in a new stage of development in our country’s socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Because of the interference and sabotage by the Lin Piao (Lin Biao) anti-Party clique and the anti-Party “Gang of Four” in particular, some bad people managed to worm their way into the revolutionary committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and some members of the revolutionary committees made grave mistakes in the two-line struggles but have refused to repent; they have thus alienated themselves from the masses and can no longer represent the people.

**SOURCE D**

*Extract from Modern China, by Edwin E. Moise, 2008. Published by Pearson Education, Harlow, Essex. Edwin E. Moise is professor of History at Clemson University, South Carolina, USA.*

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) died September 1976. The first stage of the ensuing power struggle was brief; the Gang of Four were arrested within less than a month. There were two main factions among the winners of this struggle. One comprised the less extreme Maoists, who had risen to power during the Cultural Revolution and who wished to preserve many of Mao’s policies, but who (unlike the Gang of Four) were willing to co-operate with more conservative elements. Their main leaders were Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), whom Mao had designated as his successor before dying, and Wang Tung-hsing (Wang Dongxing). This group published an editorial saying that whatever Mao had said must be obeyed and whatever he had decided must be upheld.

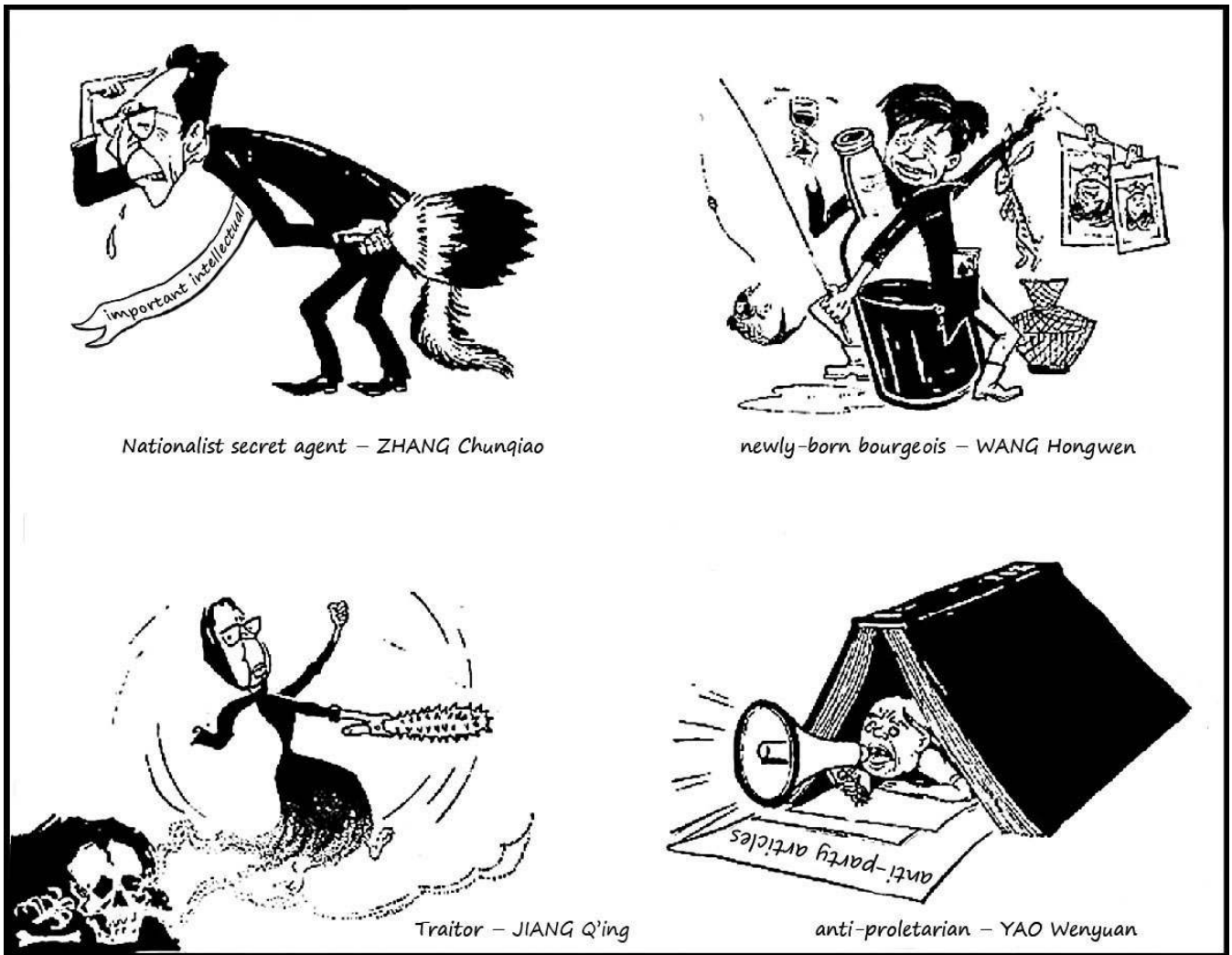
The other group was made up of right-wing leaders who had been purged in the Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p’ing) was the most important member.

Deng and other recently rehabilitated rightists blamed leftist excesses on Lin Piao (Lin Biao) and the Gang of Four, not on Mao.

Hua’s status as Mao’s chosen heir was losing value, and even becoming a liability. China was increasingly dominated by those wishing to move quickly and decisively away from Mao’s policies.

**SOURCE E**

*A poster depicting the Gang of Four, published by Shandong People's Publishing House, March 1977.*



A picture of four ugly figures – Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, Jiang Q'ing and Yao Wenyan.

1. (a) What does Source A suggest about Hua Guofeng's (Hua Kuo-feng's) weaknesses? *[3 marks]*  
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? *[2 marks]*
  
  2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D about the struggle for power following the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). *[6 marks]*
  
  3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source B for historians studying the struggle for power following the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). *[6 marks]*
  
  4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, to what extent do you agree that the weaknesses of others aided Deng Xiaoping's (Teng Hsiao-p'ing's) rise to power? *[8 marks]*
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