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**HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)**

**9769/71**

Paper 5j China under Mao Zedong, 1949–1976

**May/June 2017**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**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 all 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

Answer the following question.

**Nominated topic: China and the World, 1949–1976**

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

- A** *In this extract from a session of the US House of Representatives, the importance of Taiwan is discussed.*

Representative Coudert: Did I correctly understand you to say that the heart of the present policy towards China and Formosa (Taiwan) is that there is to be kept alive a constant threat of military action towards Red China in the hope that at some point there will be an internal breakdown?

Mr Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs: Yes Sir, that is my understanding.

Representative Coudert: In other words, a cold war waged under the leadership of the US with a constant threat of attack against Red China, led by Formosa (Taiwan) and other Far East groups and militarily backed by the US?

Mr Robertson: Yes.

Representative Coudert: Fundamentally, does that mean that the US is undertaking to maintain indefinitely American dominance in the Far East?

Mr Robertson: Exactly, yes.

Congressional Record, 26 January 1954.

- B** *A US historian and political commentator with wide experience of China explains the problem of Taiwan in preventing better relations with China.*

Taiwan, for Peking's purposes, is a built-to-order grievance, an invaluable focus of patriotic anti-American resentment. What issue could be more spectacularly useful? Taiwan is 10,000 miles from the United States but only 100 miles from the Chinese mainland. Far enough offshore to explain the mainland's not seizing it by force, it is still too close for strategic comfort or public apathy whenever Peking wants to sound the alarm bell. Taiwan's independence is preserved only by our Seventh Fleet. Taiwan is a vivid reminder of earlier Japanese imperialism, a present self-proclaimed military threat, a constant challenge to Peking's prestige, a concrete example of American 'imperialism' and its alliance with the 'traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique'. We well may wonder whether Chou En-lai could afford to part with so provocative a political issue, lying so conveniently on the national doorstep. For us, the organised wrath of 600 million people in China is not something to go out and seek; yet by our principles we have little alternative.

John Fairbank, *The Atlantic Magazine*, 1957.

**C** *An official Chinese journal is critical of the US.*

For 16 years US imperialism, following a policy of hostility to China, has been occupying Chinese territory in Taiwan by force. The US has made Taiwan a colony and a military base from which the Chinese mainland is threatened. It has used the Chiang Kai-shek gang to usurp China's seat in the UN. It has imposed an embargo against its country and built a string of military bases around it. It has sent secret agents to carry out subversive activities and sabotage against China. Its warships have violated Chinese territorial waters and its aircraft have violated China's air space on countless occasions for military provocations. The present US administration has not changed the US policy of 'containment'. It publicly declares that China is the 'principal enemy' and has sped up its military plans to encircle China.

*Peking Review*, 1 April 1966.

**D** *Premier Chou En-lai addresses a group of visiting scholars on the issue of Taiwan in 1971.*

Taiwan is a province of China and it is an inalienable part of China's territory. And, after the Second World War, Taiwan had already been restored to China. And the liberation of Taiwan is an internal affair of China which brooks no foreign intervention. We oppose any support for a two-China policy. And if such a situation continues in the United Nations, we will not attend its meetings. We are resolutely opposed to the so-called 'Taiwan Independence Movement' because the people in Taiwan are Chinese. And a thousand years ago it had already become part of China. Besides, the 'Taiwan Independence Movement' is not a native movement in itself. It is a special movement which has behind it the special manipulation of foreign forces, including the Japanese government. The US should withdraw all its present military strength and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. And the defence treaty between the USA and Chiang Kai-shek in 1954 is illegal and null and void. The Chinese people do not recognise that treaty.

Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, *Inside the Chinese Republic*, 1972.

**E** *A commentator on International Affairs considers that Mao's overall view of foreign policy was threatening to the USA.*

The main themes of Chinese foreign policy under Mao were war and revolution. His early experience and almost thirty years of struggle for the victory of communism in China made Mao consider China a revolutionary country, which should support revolutions. Mao's ideal was fully reflected in an editorial of 'The People's Daily' on January 5, 1965, which openly presented a slogan of 'world revolution' as a guide for Chinese foreign policy. These themes had a significant impact on Mao Zedong's perceptions of the world, e.g. those of a world war. Mao always believed that world war was inevitable and China must be prepared for it as soon as possible, and it should also be prepared for a nuclear war. He believed in the strengthening of relations between China and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Hamayoun Khan, *A Historical View of China's Foreign Policy towards Big Powers*, 2008.

- (a) To what extent does Document D corroborate the view of the importance of Taiwan to China expressed in Document B? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that US support for Taiwan was the main reason for tension between China and the USA in the period 1949–1972? 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 'The victory of 1949 owed less to the ideals of Communism and more to the personal appeal of Mao.' Discuss. [30]
- 3 To what extent did China benefit from the economic and social changes brought about by Mao's regime between 1949 and 1956? [30]
- 4 'The Cultural Revolution was brought about more by Mao's desire to increase his personal power than by his ideological concerns.' How far do you agree? [30]

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