

History route 2
Higher level and standard level
Paper 1 – Communism in crisis 1976–1989

Tuesday 8 November 2016 (afternoon)

1 hour

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 China under Deng Xiaoping [Teng Hsiao-p'ing]: political changes, and their limits, culminating in Tiananmen Square (1989).

Source A David Goodman, a British professor of Chinese politics, writing in an academic book, *Deng Xiaoping and the Chinese Revolution: A Political Biography* (1994).

For the most part those who joined in Democracy Movement activities [in 1978] considered themselves loyal to the party but thought they had approval to call for democracy, since that was indeed a key word at the 3rd plenum [meeting of the Central Committee]. There were, however, one or two demonstrators and wall-posters that challenged the CCP's [Chinese Communist Party's] monopoly of political power, and even Deng Xiaoping [Teng Hsiao-p'ing] himself.

Deng's reaction was swift in defining the new "socialist democracy". At the party's conference at the end of March 1979 Deng outlined the "Four cardinal principles" ... Anything which challenged any of these four would immediately be regarded as beyond the permitted boundaries.

Source B Chen Yizi [Ch'en I-tzu], a former political advisor to the Chinese government, writing in an academic article, "The Decision Process Behind the 1986–1989 Political Reforms" (1995).

Through 1986, discussion of political reform took place only internally and was not allowed to develop into a broad public discussion. People who heard that the effort was under way became discontented that these reforms did not proceed more quickly and democratization did not progress further. Students ... became increasingly vocal in expressing their discontent with the many problems accompanying the reform programme, such as inflation and continuing lack of freedom of speech and of the press. At the end of the year, the students took to the streets ... the movement was soon suppressed.

During this period, reformist leaders such as Hu Yaobang [Hu Yao-pang] and Zhao Ziyang [Chao Tzu-yang] were attacked by the conservatives for their tolerant attitude towards the student demonstrations. Hu was removed from his post as Party General Secretary.

Source C Peter Calvocoressi, a history author, writing in a general book on world history, *World Politics, 1945–2000* (2009)

In 1989 Hu Yaobang [Hu Yao-pang] died. His funeral was made the occasion for massive demonstrations in which students from Beijing's universities were especially prominent, voicing protests against the slow pace of change, economic failure and persistent corruption. They were joined by discontented intellectuals and by workers, and suddenly they were making a big impact not only in the capital but also in some 80 other cities all over China. They posed a threat, not necessarily to the Communist Party, but to its elderly ruling clique [elite]. To Deng [Teng], however, and to others of his generation these two threats were indistinguishable and amounted also to a threat to China itself. Deng equated the Party with the revolution it had made, and the revolution with China. Anybody who opposed the Party was therefore a traitor to his country. Zhao Ziyang [Chao Tzu-yang] ... took a sympathetic and apologetic line but behind the scenes his more conservative adversaries [rivals] persuaded Deng to their side.

Source D An article entitled "We must unequivocally [decisively] oppose unrest", published in an official Chinese newspaper, *People's Daily* (26 April 1989).

In the mourning activities commemorating the death of Hu Yaobang [Hu Yao-pang], vast numbers of ... workers, peasants, intellectuals, People's Liberation Army soldiers and young students expressed their grief in many forms ... The Party and the government adopted a tolerant and restrained attitude toward some of the inappropriate words and deeds of those young students who acted in moments of emotional distress ... But a tiny handful of people continued to take advantage of the grief of the students ...

This tiny handful of people are not really engaged in mourning Comrade Hu Yaobang. Their goal is not to promote socialist democracy in China nor are they simply complaining because they are dissatisfied. They are waving the flag of democracy to destroy democracy and law and order ...

Therefore the Party and the people should unite and oppose this turmoil in order to defend our hard-earned political harmony and unity, to protect the constitution, and to defend socialist democracy and law and order.

Source E Chai Ling, a student leader of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, makes a speech to the assembled crowds at Tiananmen Square.



1. (a) What, according to Source B, were the limits of political reform in Deng Xiaoping's [Teng Hsiao-p'ing's] China? [3]
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? [2]
 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Source C and Source D about the nature of, and the Party's response to, the demonstrations of 1989. [6]
 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source D for historians studying political change in Deng Xiaoping's [Teng Hsiao-p'ing's] China. [6]
 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, examine the extent of political change in the People's Republic of China between 1978 and 1989. [8]
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