



**HISTORY**  
**HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL**  
**PAPER 1**

Tuesday 13 November 2007 (afternoon)

1 hour

**SOURCE BOOKLET**

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SOURCE BOOKLET - INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- This booklet contains all of the sources required for Paper 1.
  - Section A page 2
  - Section B page 5
  - Section C page 8

*Sources in this booklet 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.*

## SECTION A

### Prescribed Subject 1 The USSR under Stalin, 1924 to 1941

*These sources relate to Stalin's rise to power after the death of Lenin, 1924 to 1929.*

**SOURCE A** *Extract from **Stalin and Khrushchev: The USSR 1924–1964** by Michael Lynch, a British historian, published in London 1990.*

Stalin became the indispensable [necessary] link in the chain of Communist Party and Soviet government command. What these posts gave him was the power of patronage, the right to appoint individuals to official positions in the party and government. He used this power to place his own supporters in key positions. Since they then owed their place to him (he fired as well as hired) Stalin could count on their support in the voting of various committees ... Whatever the ability of individuals who opposed him or the strength of their arguments, he could always out-vote them. Stalin's advantages over his rivals had been increased by changes in the structure of the Communist Party. The party had undertaken the 'Lenin Enrolment' [an expansion of party membership]. The new members were poorly educated and politically unsophisticated but they understood that the privileges that came with Party membership depended on being loyal to those who admitted them. They provided the General Secretary with a reliable body of votes in the various Party committees at local and central level.

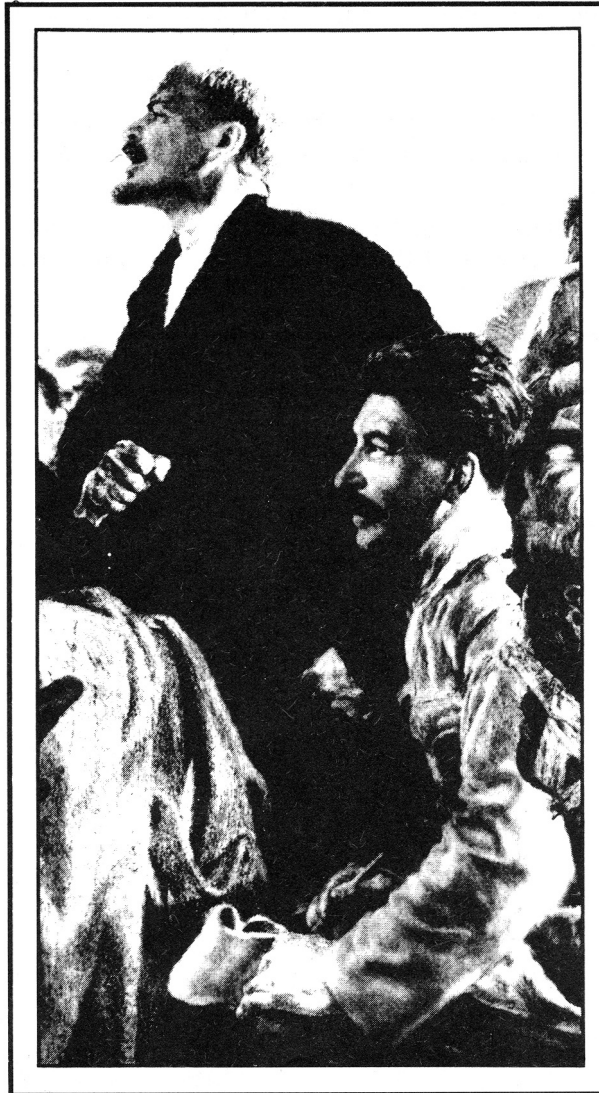
**SOURCE B** *Extract from a conversation between **Nadezhda Joffe** and a journalist in the late 1990's recalling attitudes to Stalin. (Her father was Trotsky's close friend.)*

Nobody felt Stalin represented any danger. For example Zinoviev and Kamenev would not have liked to see Bukharin having the role of General Secretary, and Bukharin would not have liked to see Zinoviev having the post, and all of them agreed that they were afraid of Trotsky ... but nobody seemed particularly opposed to the idea of Stalin having the post and that's why it happened in the end.

**SOURCE C** *Extract from **Khrushchev Remembers: Memoirs** by N. Khrushchev, published in London 1971, describing events in the Party.*

The Party led a great political ideological struggle against those in its own ranks who proposed anti-Leninist theses, who represented a political line hostile to the Party. This was a stubborn and difficult fight, but a necessary one because the political lines of both the Trotskyite bloc and the Bukharinites led towards the restoration of capitalism and capitulation [surrender] to the bourgeoisie ... It was for this reason that the Party led the ideological fight and explained to Party members and the non-Party masses the harm and danger of the non-Leninist proposals of the Trotskyite opposition and the right opportunists. And this great work of explaining the Party bore fruit [was successful]; both the Trotskyites and the right opportunists were politically isolated; the overwhelming Party majority supported the Leninist line and the Party was able to awaken and organise the working masses to apply the Leninist Party line and to build socialism.

**SOURCE D** *A painting, commissioned by Stalin in the mid 1920s, entitled "Comrades in arms at the first All Russian Congress of Soviets".*



**SOURCE E** *Extract from A History of Twentieth Century Russia by Robert Service, professor of Russian History, published in London 1997.*

Stalin, by talking up the achievability of socialism without Trotskyist policies, was offering an encouraging alternative. As Stalin began to add an ideological dimension to his bureaucratic authority, he was also contriving [managing] to clear his name of the taint [dishonour] applied to it by Lenin. At the Party Congress of 1923 Stalin leant on Kamenev and Zinoviev who still preferred Stalin to Trotsky to restrict knowledge of Lenin's political testament...

He worked hard to win the confidence of provincial leaders ... putting aside time at Congresses and in his office to converse with them. Yet abrasiveness too remained part of his style when he attacked the opposition. His language was sarcastic, repetitious and aggressive; his arguments uncompromising.

At the Party Conference in January 1924 it had been he who lined up the speakers for the assault [attack] upon Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Stalin's ability to run the Secretariat was well known; the surprise for his rivals, inside and outside the Left Opposition, was his talent for marshalling [organizing] the entire Party.

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## SECTION B

### **Prescribed Subject 2      The emergence and development of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), 1946 to 1964**

*These sources relate to the second Five Year Plan in China 1958–1962.*

**SOURCE A**      *Extract from an internal document circulated to senior Communists by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in January/February 1958. “**Sixty Points on Working Methods**”.*

Continuing revolution: our revolutions come one after another. Starting from the seizure of power in the whole country in 1949, there followed in quick succession the anti-feudal land reform, the agricultural co-operativization, and the socialist reconstruction of private industries, commerce, and handicrafts. Now we must start a technological revolution so that we may overtake Britain in fifteen or more years. After fifteen years, when our foodstuffs and iron and steel become plentiful, we shall take a much greater initiative. Our revolutions are like battles. After a victory, we must at once put forward a new task.

**SOURCE B**      *Extract from an editorial in the People’s Daily, the Communist Party newspaper, “**Hold High the Red Flag of People’s Communes and March Forward**”, September 3 1958.*

Where the People’s Communes have already come into existence, the peasants join beating drums and gongs, celebrate the occasion with great joy, and their enthusiasm for production has reached a new height. The poor and lower middle peasants, in particular, rejoice in the formation of the commune and regard it as the “realization of a long-cherished dream”. The People’s Commune is characterized by its bigger size and more socialist nature. With big membership and huge areas of land, the Communes can carry out production and construction of a comprehensive nature and on a large scale. They not only carry out all-round management of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and fishery, but also merge industry (the worker), agriculture (the peasant), exchange (the trader), culture and education (the student), and military affairs (the military man) into one. People’s Communes so far established usually have a membership of 10 000 people each, in some cases 10 000 households.

**SOURCE C** *Extract from **Mao The Unknown Story**, a popular biography, Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, London 2005.*

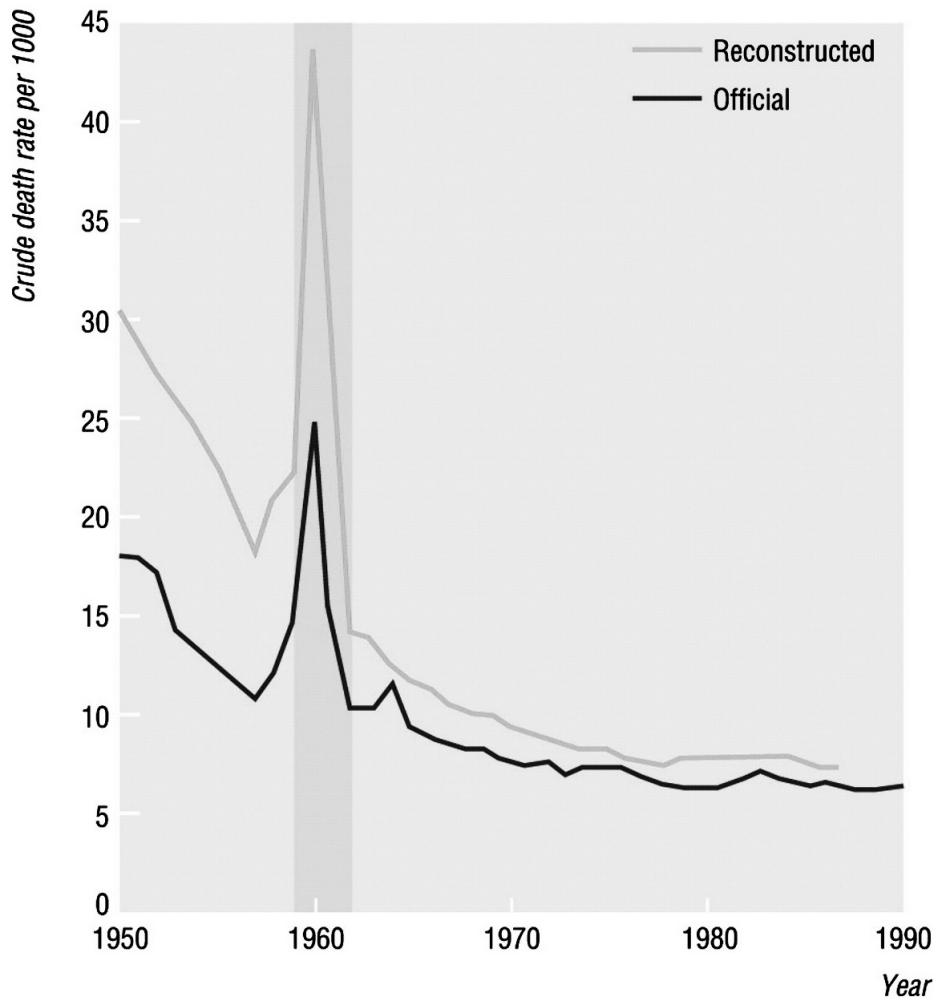
In summer 1958 Mao forced the entire rural population into new and larger units called ‘People’s Communes’. The aim was to make slave-driving more efficient. He himself said that by concentrating the peasants into fewer units – 26 000-plus in the whole of China – “it’s easier to control”. The first Commune, ‘Chayashan Sputnik’ was set up in his model province, Henan. Its charter, which Mao edited, and proclaimed as ‘a great treasure’, laid down that every aspect of its members’ lives was to be controlled by the commune. All the 9396 households had to ‘hand over entirely their private plots ... their houses, animals, and trees’. They had to live in dormitories, ‘in accordance with the principles of benefiting production and control’ and the charter actually stated that their homes were to be ‘dismantled’ ‘if the commune needs the bricks, tiles or timber’. Every peasant’s life must revolve around ‘labour’. All members were to be treated as though in the army, with a three-tier regimentation system: commune, brigade, production team (usually a village). Peasants were allowed minimal amounts of cash. The communes were camps for slave-labourers.

**SOURCE D** *Extract from **China’s Path to Modernization**, Ranbir Vohra, professor of Political Science, New Jersey 2000.*

Crop failures and widespread starvation brought unrest to the countryside. Agricultural output value in 1959 was less than that in 1957 (half the cultivated acreage had been devastated); in 1960 and 1961 it was below that in 1952; in 1962 the recovery began and the output value finally rose above the 1952 figure. It has been calculated that the mortality rate more than doubled between 1957 and 1960 and that “anywhere from 16.4 to 29.5 million extra people died during the leap, because of the leap.”

No doubt the crisis can be attributed to the Great Leap Forward: disruptions caused by the establishment of the communes, labour shortages due to the allocation of labour to rural industries and the drift of peasants to the cities, and the loss of peasant enthusiasm because of the reductions of material incentives. In 1962 Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i) suggested that 30 percent of the production difficulties were a result of natural calamities (disasters) and 70 percent caused by human factors.

**SOURCE E** *Graph in China's Greatest Famine: 40 years later, by Vaclav Smil, British Medical Journal, (18 December 1999); 319: 1619-1621, Fig.2.*



Officially reported mortality figures in China between 1950–90 and those reconstructed by historians and medical experts after 1990. The famine period is shaded.

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### SECTION C

#### Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War, 1960 to 1979

These sources relate to relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China in the 1960s.

**SOURCE A** Extract from *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* by William Taubman, professor of Political Science, New York 2000.

The Third Congress of the Romanian Communist Party was scheduled to open on June 20 (1960) in Bucharest. Until June 18 it shaped up as routine. On that day, however, Khrushchev suddenly announced his decision to attend ... When he arrived, he then surprised all the delegates with an anti-Chinese attack. According to one account ... Khrushchev criticized Mao by name as ‘oblivious of any interests other than his theories, detached from the realities of the modern world.’ ... Peng [leader of the Chinese delegation] ... mocked Khrushchev for having no foreign policy except to blow hot and cold toward the West. Challenged, Khrushchev took his revenge; overnight he pulled all Soviet advisors out of China. According to the Chinese, Moscow withdrew 1390 experts, tore up 343 contracts, and scrapped 257 cooperative projects in science and technology...

**SOURCE B** A political cartoon first published in the *London Daily Mail* on 23 September 1963.



“Filthy Imperialist”



**SOURCE C**     *“A Retrospect of China-USSR and China-Russia Relations” by Rong Zhi from The Beijing Review, November 1999 (An internet information site of the current Chinese government).*

In 1964, Khrushchev announced the recall of all experts in China, thus disrupting the normal process of some large projects and bringing about much economic pressure. In 1964, USSR leaders decided to increase troops along the Sino-Soviet border and station troops in the Mongolian People’s Republic, thereby exercising military pressure on China. Following the Zhenbao Island event in March, 1969, the USSR deployed middle range nuclear missiles along the Sino-Soviet border and the Mongolian People’s Republic, enhancing the military threat to China. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Khrushchev totally changed the attitude toward China and deserted the policy of consulting with China and taking its views into consideration. Instead, he tried to control China. That is why the Sino-Soviet relationship changed from a friendly one to one of antagonism.

**SOURCE D**     *Extract from Mao’s China and the Cold War by Chen Jian, professor of Chinese-American Relations, North Carolina, 2001.*

On the one hand, Mao, especially after 1962, repeatedly argued that in order to avert a Soviet-style ‘capitalist restoration’, it was necessary for the Chinese Party and people ‘never to forget class struggle,’ pushing the whole country toward another high wave of continuous revolution. On the other hand, Mao personally initiated the great debate between the Chinese and Soviet parties, claiming that the Soviet Party and state had fallen into the ‘revisionist’ abyss and that it had become the duty of the Chinese Party and the Chinese people to hold high the banner of true socialism and communism ... With the continuous radicalization of China’s political and social life (the Cultural Revolution in 1966), the relationship between Beijing and Moscow rapidly worsened. By 1963–64 ... the alliance ... had virtually died. On several occasions, Mao even mentioned that China now had to consider the Soviet Union, which represented an increasingly serious threat to China’s northern borders, as a potential enemy.

**SOURCE E**     *Extract from **Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948–1972** by Gordon H. Chang, an American historian, Stanford 1990.*

The Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 seemed to drive home to both Kennedy and Khrushchev the importance of arms control and of reducing tensions. Following the showdown the two leaders drew closer to each other, while Sino-Soviet relations continued to deteriorate. China accused Khrushchev both of recklessness in installing the missiles in the first place and of surrender in subsequently withdrawing them when confronted by the United States. Then, in November, Moscow adopted a neutral attitude toward China’s border fight with India, which was strongly backed by the United States. The Chinese took offence at Moscow’s lack of support...

In China the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which broke out in May 1966, was an outgrowth of Mao’s effort to eliminate Soviet-style revisionism from the world Communist movement. In terms of Marxist-Leninist theory, “On Khrushchev’s Phoney Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World” was the most important of all the documents produced by the Sino-Soviet split. This remarkable essay, rumored to be have been written by Mao himself, listed all the Soviet Union’s alleged failings, to construct a devastating critique ... [that] led inevitably to the conclusion that the Soviet Union was no longer a socialist country and that its anti-China hostility was the result of a new imperialism.

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