



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

Wednesday 17 May 2000 (afternoon)

1 hour

---

**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer:
  - either all questions in Section A;
  - or all questions in Section B;
  - or all questions in Section C.

*Texts in this examination paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets [ ]; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses (three points ...); minor changes are not indicated. Candidates should answer the questions in order.*

## SECTION A

### **Prescribed Subject 1 The Russian Revolutions and the New Soviet State 1917–1929**

These documents relate to political activity 1917 to 1924.

**NB:** Dates used are according to the new style calendar although this was not adopted until 1 February 1918.

**DOCUMENT A**      *An appeal from the Central Committee of the Kadet Party, 3 March 1917.*

The old regime has gone. The State Duma has forgotten its party differences, has united in the name of the salvation of our homeland. All citizens should have confidence in this regime and should combine their efforts to allow the government created by the Duma to complete its great task of liberating Russia from the external enemy and establishing peace inside Russia, on the basis of **law, equality and freedom**. Forget all your party, class, estate and national differences.

**DOCUMENT B**      *An extract from a lecture given by the American historian Richard Pipes in Vienna in 1995. The lecture was later published.*

Lenin took power not on behalf of the Bolshevik Party — the words Bolshevik Party do not appear in the early documents — but on behalf of the Soviet. And he intimated [implied] that he wanted to have a democratic transitional government; the word ‘socialism’ does not appear in the announcement proclaiming the overthrow of the Provisional Government which he drafted ... it seemed merely a shift from dual power to unitary [single] power, under which the stronger power, the Soviet assumed full responsibility.

It seemed to be just another of those government crises that had been occurring with increasing frequency since the Tsar had abdicated. The Bolsheviks contributed to this perception by calling theirs also ‘Provisional Government’. It was widely believed that as soon as the Constituent Assembly had met the Bolshevik Government would yield [give up] power.

The Bolsheviks did hold elections to the Constituent Assembly, but when they gained only 24% of the votes and saw that the new government would be run by the Socialist Revolutionaries, they dismissed the Assembly ... and set themselves up as a one-party state.

**DOCUMENT C**      *A resolution by Lenin passed at the Tenth Party Congress, 16 March 1921.*

It is essential that every party organisation must take the greatest care to ensure that the undoubtedly essential criticism of the shortcomings of the Party is directed not towards the discussion of groups adhering to [supporting] some platform or other but towards the discussion of all Party members. Anyone making criticisms must take into account the position of the Party, surrounded by enemies and also must strive to correct the mistakes of the Party by active personal participation in Soviet and Party work.

Congress orders the immediate dispersal of all groups, without exception. Failure to execute this Resolution of the Congress must result in unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party.

**DOCUMENT D**      *Stalin's views of the role of the Communist Party in Russia, written in 1924.*

The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order that it may really be the vanguard [leader of the movement] the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory ... the proletariat needs the Party for the purpose of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat ...

Our party succeeded in creating internal unity and unexampled cohesion of its ranks primarily because it was able in good time to purge itself of the opportunist pollution [corruption], because it was able to rid its ranks of the destroyers, the Mensheviks. Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists.

**DOCUMENT E**      *A Stalinist official poster from the 1920s entitled 'They try to stop the Revolution'. The two small figures are labelled Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries.*



1. (a) According to Document A why is the Kadet Party urged to support the State Duma? *[2 marks]*

(b) What is the message of Document E? *[2 marks]*
  
2. Using Documents C, D and E explain how Lenin and Stalin worked to secure the supremacy of the party. *[5 marks]*
  
3. With reference to their origin and purpose assess the value and limitations for historians studying the Russian Revolution of Documents A and B. *[5 marks]*
  
4. Using these documents and your own knowledge explain why the Central Committee's wish to establish a regime based on 'law, equality and freedom' [Document A] was not fulfilled. *[6 marks]*

*Texts in this examination paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets [ ]; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses (three points ...); minor changes are not indicated. Candidates should answer the questions in order.*

## SECTION B

### Prescribed Subject 2 Origins of the Second World War in Asia 1931–1941

The following documents relate to the results of the Japanese attack on China in July 1937 after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.

**DOCUMENT A**      *Extract from the Treaty of Non-Aggression between China and the Soviet Union, August 21 1937.*

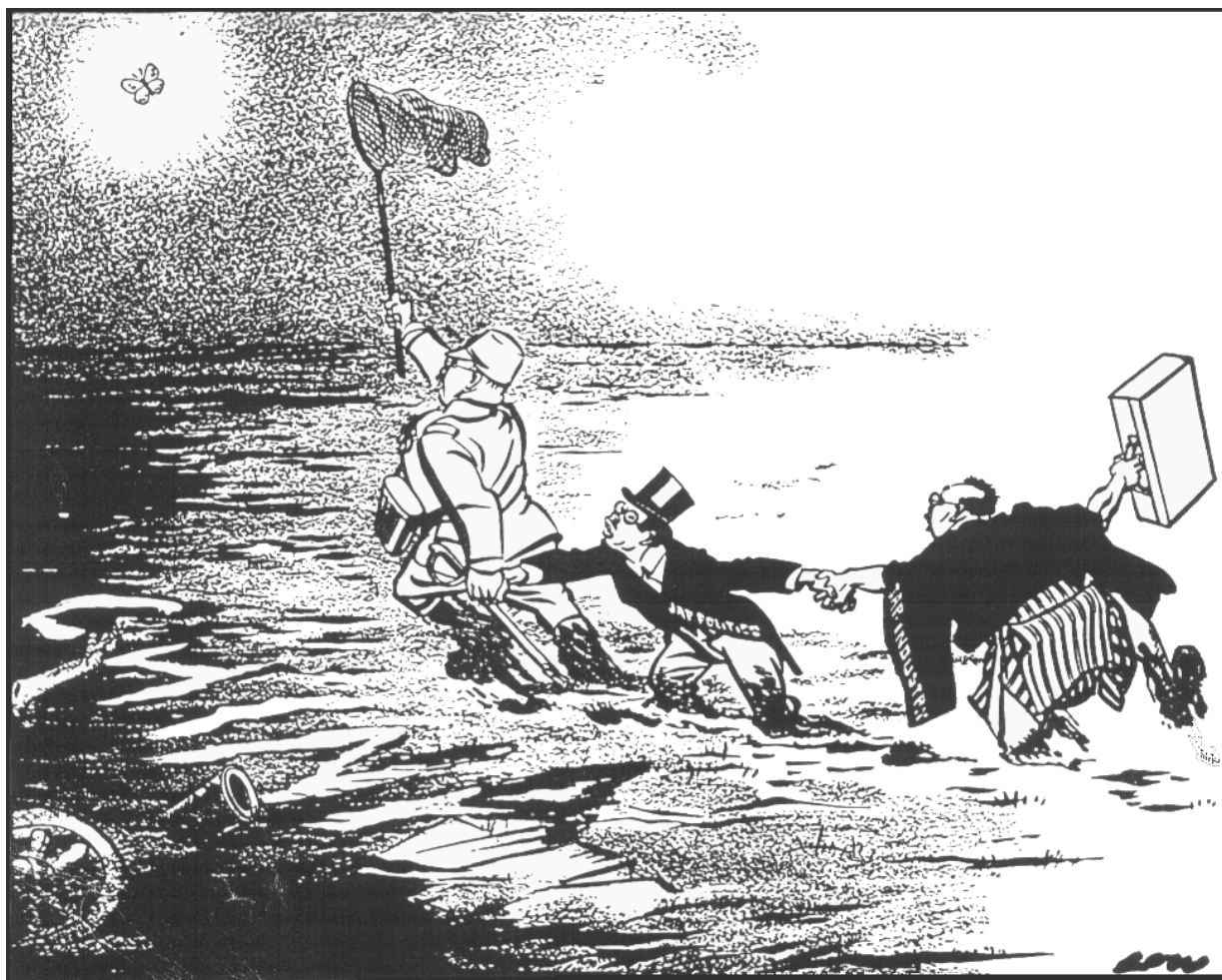
**Article I.** The two High Contracting Parties solemnly reaffirm that they condemn recourse [resorting] to war for the solution of international controversies, and that they renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with each other, and, in pursuance of this pledge, they undertake to refrain from any aggression against each other either individually or jointly with one or more other Powers.

**Article II.** In the event that either of the High Contracting Parties should be subjected to aggression on the part of one or more third Powers, the other High Contracting Party obligates itself [guarantees] not to render assistance of any kind, either directly or indirectly to such third Power or Powers at any time during the entire conflict, and also to refrain from taking any action or entering into any agreement which may be used by the aggressor or aggressors to the disadvantage of the parties subjected to aggression.

**DOCUMENT B**      *Chinese Communist Party Manifesto **Together We Confront the National Crisis**, September 22, 1937.*

1. The CCP will struggle to fulfill completely Dr Sun's Three People's Principles which best answer China's needs today.
2. The CCP will abolish the policy of sabotage and Sovietization which aims at the overthrow of the KMT government, and will stop the forcible confiscation of the holdings of landlords.
3. The CCP will abolish all existing Soviets in favour of democratic government, so as to achieve unified political administration throughout the country.
4. The CCP will abolish the name and insignia of the Red Army, which will be reorganized as the National Revolutionary Army and is to be subject to control by the government's Military Commission; it is ready to march forward and fight the Japanese at the front.

**DOCUMENT C**      *Cartoon by David Low in the Evening Standard, London, 19 January 1938.*



FURTHER AND DEEPER

**DOCUMENT D**      *Extract from The Pacific War by Saburo Ienaga, Tokyo, 1968.*

Japan's war objectives were diverse, although economic domination of China was undeniably a major goal. But in the peace negotiations, war goals were reduced to two: the retention of Manchukuo and the stationing of troops in China for joint defence against communism. In view of the fact that Manchukuo was valued partly as a forward military base against the USSR, the war seems very much like a preemptive strike against communism .... The army had prepared carefully for war against the Soviet Union, but had done no planning worthy of the name for a general war with China. Army leaders could not conceive of the Chinese putting up a good fight .... How could China be brought to its knees? That was the major problem. Unable to get a negotiated settlement on favourable terms or win a final military success, Japanese leaders sought victory by expanding the conflict.

**DOCUMENT E**      *Extract from **The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific** by Akira Iriye, London, 1987.*

Soviet willingness to become at least indirectly involved in the Chinese-Japanese War was extremely significant, for it served to present Japan with a serious dilemma as to its strategy following the military successes of July and August. For the Japanese were finding it rather difficult to define clearly their war objectives. They had not actively solicited the war, and their stated objective on the eve of the war had been the promotion of ‘Japanese-Manchukuo-Chinese co-operation’ in combating communism and reducing Western influence. But how could such an objective be achieved if the hostilities continued and aroused an intense anti-Japanese feeling among the Chinese people? How could they be persuaded to work with Japan in fighting Soviet and Western influence when they would surely turn to these countries for help? What was the point of fighting China if it drained resources away from military preparedness against other countries, the goal that Japan’s strategists had emphasized, particularly since 1936? More specifically, where and how should the war be ended, and how could a satisfactory arrangement be made so as to restore some sense of stability in Chinese-Japanese relations?

5. (a) What message is portrayed in Document C? [2 marks]
- (b) According to Document A what were the mutual promises which were made between Russia and China in August 1937? [2 marks]
6. Compare and contrast the explanations given in Documents D and E of the aims and effects of Japan’s involvement in China. [5 marks]
7. With reference to their origins and purpose assess the value and limitations of Documents B and C for historians studying the effects of the Japanese attack on China in July 1937. [5 marks]
8. Using the information contained in the documents and your own knowledge, discuss the effects of Japan’s invasion of China in 1937 on Japanese policy-making after January 1938. [6 marks]

*Texts in this examination paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets [ ]; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses (three points ...); minor changes are not indicated. Candidates should answer the questions in order.*

## SECTION C

### Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War 1945–1964

These documents relate to rising tension in the Cold War in Europe 1946 to 1951.

**DOCUMENT A**      *An extract from the long telegram sent by George Kennan, 22 February 1946. Kennan, a diplomat working in Moscow, had been asked by the US State Department to explain the increase in anti-Western references in speeches by Soviet policy-makers.*

At the bottom of the Kremlin's neurotic [abnormally sensitive] view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity. Originally, this was insecurity of a peaceful agricultural people trying to live on vast exposed plain in neighbourhood of fierce nomadic peoples. To this was added, as Russia came into contact with economically advanced West, fear of more competent, more powerful, highly organised societies in that area. ... They have always feared foreign penetration, feared direct contact between the Western world and their own, feared what would happen **if Russians learned truth about the world without** or if foreigners learned truth about the world within. And they have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts [agreements, treaties] and compromises with it.

**DOCUMENT B**      *An extract from a speech in which General George C. Marshall announced an ambitious plan of economic aid to the whole of Europe, 5 June 1947.*

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign foods and other essential products – principally from America – are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial economic help, or face economic, social and political deterioration [decline] of a very grave character.

... It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return to normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.



**DOCUMENT C**      *An extract from a speech by Vyshinsky, deputy Foreign Minister and Soviet spokesperson at the United Nations, to the UN on 18 September 1947 (published in the UN records of that meeting).*

The so-called Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan are particularly glaring examples of the manner in which the principles of the United Nations are violated [disregarded], of the way in which the organisation is ignored.

... It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States and direct interference by the latter in the internal affairs of those countries.

Moreover, this Plan is an attempt to split Europe into two camps and, with the help of the United Kingdom and France, to complete the formation of a *bloc* of several European countries hostile to the interests of the democratic countries of Eastern Europe.

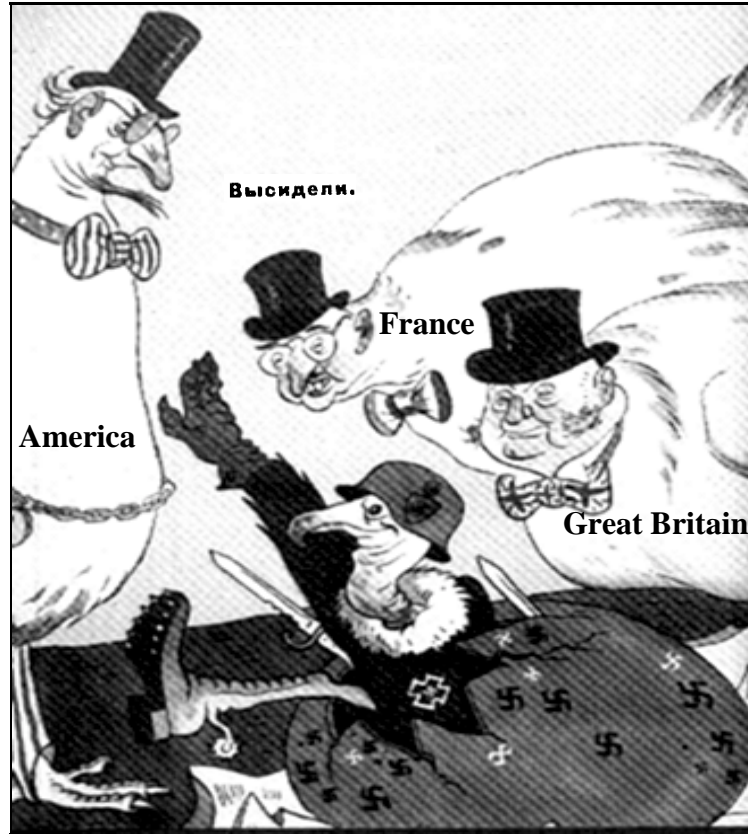
... The intention is to make use of Western Germany and German heavy industry as one of the most important economic bases for American expansion in Europe, in disregard of the national interests of the countries which suffered from German aggression.

**DOCUMENT D**      *An extract from 'The Blockade of Berlin' by historian Philip Windsor (published in **History of the Twentieth Century**, BPC publishing, London, 1968).*

When the Russians cut road and rail links to the West, the four-power city of Berlin was left stranded a hundred miles inside the Soviet sector of occupied Germany. ... It was over Berlin that the Soviet Union and the United States came to their decisive trial of strength. But is that what the Soviet rulers intended? Did they intend to cut off Western access to Berlin? Was the trial of strength deliberate, or was it the product of a series of accidents and misapprehensions [misunderstandings]?

**DOCUMENT E**

Cartoon from *Krokodil*, a Soviet magazine, April 1951. The word above one of the heads means 'They have hatched [produced] it out'.



9. (a) Explain briefly the reference '... if Russians learned truth about the world without' [Document A]. [2 marks]
- (b) What propaganda/political message is intended by Document E? [2 marks]
10. In what ways and to what extent do Marshall in Document B and Vyshinsky in Document C disagree about the motives behind the Marshall Plan? [5 marks]
11. With reference to their origin and purpose assess the value and limitations for historians studying the Cold War of Documents A and C. [5 marks]
12. Using the documents and your own knowledge explain why the Soviet Union launched the Berlin Blockade in June 1948. [6 marks]