

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

Wednesday 10 May 2006 (afternoon)

1 hour

SOURCE BOOKLET

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 refer to industrialization under Stalin.

SOURCE A *Speech by Stalin, 1st March 1927, to workers in the Stalin workshops of the October Railway, recorded in **Stalin** by Dmitri Volkogonov, originally published in Russian, Moscow, 1989; English edition, 1991.*

We are completing the change-over from a peasant country to an industrial one without help from the outside world. How did other countries make this change?

England created her industry by robbing her colonies for two hundred years. There can be no question of our taking the same path.

Germany took five billion francs from a defeated France. The way of robbery through victorious wars is not for us. Our cause is a policy of peace.

There is also a third way, chosen by tsarist Russia. That was through foreign loans and at the expense of workers and peasants.

We have our own way, and that is to produce our own. We will not get by without mistakes, there will be shortcomings. But the industry we are building is so great that these mistakes and shortcomings will not be important in the end.

SOURCE B *Extract from **Stalin and Khrushchev: the USSR 1924-1964** by Michael Lynch, London 1990.*

Stalin's programme of industrialisation for the USSR is best understood as an attempt to establish a war economy. He declared that he was promoting a war on the inefficiencies of Russia's past, a war on the class enemies within, and as preparation for war against the capitalist enemies abroad. The war image also explains the form that Soviet industrialisation took. For Stalin industry meant heavy industry, iron, steel and oil, as they provided the means for war. He believed that the industrial revolutions of the West had been based on iron and steel, therefore the USSR would adopt a similar industrial pattern in its drive toward modernisation. The difference would be that whereas the west had followed a capitalist road, the USSR would take the path of socialism ...

The character of Stalin's industrialisation was a series of Five Year Plans, expressed in terms of targets of output and production set by Gosplan ... Essentially the Plan was a huge propaganda project, aimed at convincing the Soviet people that they were engaged in a great industrial enterprise of their own making.

SOURCE C *Extract from **Women in Soviet Society: Equality, Development and Social Change** by Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, Berkeley, 1978.*

Throughout the 1920s the conviction that women should be drawn into social production [work] on a vast scale remained theoretical, because of much urban unemployment ...

The rapid expansion of the economy after 1928 transformed a politically desirable objective into an urgent economic need ... In the winter of 1929-1930 unemployment began to decline, and by 1930 there was an acute manpower shortage ... A new perspective emerged in official documents, one that viewed the increased employment of women not in terms of its effects on women but as essential to the fulfilment of the economic plans.

The Party Central Committee stated "to ensure the fulfilment of the production program of the Five Year Plan, it was necessary to draw more wives of workers into production". This was followed by a government decree with specific measures to increase employment of women. Quotas were established.

The 1930s saw a massive influx of women into industry, 3 350 000 entered between 1933 and 1937, 82 % of newly employed workers.

SOURCE D *Extract from **Gulag** by Anne Applebaum, London 2003.*

A body of evidence suggests that the mass arrests of the late 1930s may have been carried out to satisfy Stalin's desire for slave labour ... Sentences for petty criminals suddenly became much harsher as the camps were expanding, and more prison labourers were urgently needed.

In 1934 Yagoda [head of NKVD the State Security Police] wrote to his subordinate in the Ukraine, demanding 15 000 – 20 000 prisoners, "all fit for work" to finish the Moscow-Volga Canal ...

If arrests were intended to populate the camps, then they did so with absurd inefficiency. Every wave of mass arrests seems to have caught camp commanders by surprise, making it difficult for them to achieve economic efficiency.

SOURCE E *Soviet 1930s poster from **Russia** by John Laver, London 1991.*



‘Seven Problems – one answer! (The Five-Year Plan in Four Years).’
The seven heads on the left of the poster represent capitalist enemies.

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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 refer to Mao’s consolidation of power between 1949 and 1954.

SOURCE A *Extract from **Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and the China He Lost** by Jonathan Fenby, London 2003.*

On 21 January 1949 the Generalissimo (Jiang Jieshi) went to a meeting of the Kuomintang Central Committee to announce that he was handing over to the Vice-President, Li Zongren, “in the hope that the fighting will come to an end” ... He drove to Peking airport and flew to Hangzhou ...

Li Zongren put out peace feelers to Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). Two days later Peking was handed over to the Communists; 200-300 PLA (People’s Liberation Army) men marched in, described by one observer as “healthy looking and in high spirits.” Behind them came students carrying portraits of Mao and Zhu De. Observers noted that most of the equipment was captured American equipment ...

Chiang wanted to hold Shanghai, and extract much of its wealth ... Li attempted to get Chiang to resume power or leave the country, and approached Washington and Moscow for support ... Stalin was tempted – a weak, divided China under Soviet influence was more attractive than a triumphant independent Mao. Moscow advised the PLA to stop. Mao was in no mood to listen; fighting continued, and on 1 October, Mao Zedong proclaimed the People’s Republic in the restored capital of Peking.

Years later he said that the Chinese revolution had succeeded against Stalin’s will.

SOURCE B *Report by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) to the Central Committee on the economic prospects for the next three years, 6th June 1950.*

China is a vast country and conditions are very complex; moreover the revolution triumphed first in certain areas, and later throughout the country. Accordingly, in the old liberated areas, agrarian reform has been completed, public order has been established, the work of economic reconstruction has been started on the right track, the life of most working people has been improved, and the problem of unemployed workers and intellectuals has been solved ...

On the other hand, in the new liberated areas, more than 400 000 bandits scattered in remote regions have yet to be wiped out. The land problem has not been solved; industry and commerce have not been properly readjusted; unemployment has remained serious; and public order has not been established. Conditions for carrying out planned economic construction are still lacking.

SOURCE C *Directive from Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) to Party Officials on “**Suppressing and Liquidating Counter - revolutionaries**”, issued 2nd April 1951.*

The suppression of counter-revolutionaries must be strictly confined to such categories as bandit chiefs, incurable criminals, ruffians [thugs] and petty tyrants, secret agents and chiefs of reactionary secret organizations. We cannot include petty thieves, drug addicts, minor landlords, ordinary Kuomintang members and members of the Kuomintang Youth League, and officers in the Kuomintang army. Death sentences must be for those who have committed serious crimes only. It is a mistake for light sentences to be given out for serious crimes; equally it is a mistake for heavy sentences to be given out for small crimes.

SOURCE D *Extract from **Modern China** by Graham Hutchings, London 2000.*

Mao’s supremacy resulted from the following ideas and policies: that peasants, rather than workers, were the main revolutionary class in China; that land reform was needed to win them over; that rural soviets had to be created to administer the Revolution; and that a Red Army was necessary to protect it. These ideas, which combined Marxism with the practice of China’s traditional peasant rebellions, took shape during the Party’s years in the wilderness. But by 1945 the communists controlled a larger area than ever before, Mao had become undisputed leader, and his vision of Marxism was adopted as Party orthodoxy. With the Communist victory in the Civil War in 1949, this vision became the guiding ideology of the entire country ... Those who through “errors or ignorance” could not understand it, had to be re-educated, often in labour camps. After 1949, political campaigns, which consisted of denunciations and self-criticisms, took place regularly throughout the country. Their purpose was to obtain ideological uniformity, to sustain revolutionary momentum, and destroy Mao’s opponents within the party.

SOURCE E

*Chinese Propaganda Poster, by the artist Yu Yunje, published in 1954, with a print run of 140 000; printed in **Chinese Propaganda posters**, London, 2003.*



source: [PHOTOGRAPH/KATZ PICTURES LIMITED]

The poster is coloured; the girl is holding flowers and the flags and the small figures behind her are red. The caption reads: “Celebrating with great joy and enthusiasm the publication of the constitution of the People’s Republic of China.”

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SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War, 1960 to 1979

These sources relate to US Cold War policies and the Vietnam War.

SOURCE A *Extract from **In Retrospect: the tragedy and lessons of Vietnam** by Robert McNamara, New York, 1995.*

My thinking about Southeast Asia in 1961 differed little from that of many Americans who had served in World War II. Having spent three years helping turn back German and Japanese aggression only to witness the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe after the war, I accepted the idea advanced by George Kennan in 1947, that the West, led by the United States, must guard against Communist expansion through a policy of containment. I considered this a sensible basis for decisions about national security and the application of Western military force ... And I knew that Indochina was a necessary part of our containment policy – an important bulwark [defense] in the Cold War.

SOURCE B *Extract from a press conference given by President Eisenhower, 7 April 1954, as reported in the Eagleton Digital Archive of American Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey (www.eagleton.rutgers.edu/e-gov/e-politicalarchive-Vietnam-prelude.htm).*

Robert Richards, Copley Press: Mr. President, would you mind commenting on the strategic importance of Indochina for the free world?

The President: You have both the specific and the general. First, you have the specific value of a locality in its production of material that the world needs.

Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is hostile to the free world.

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow the “falling domino” principle. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

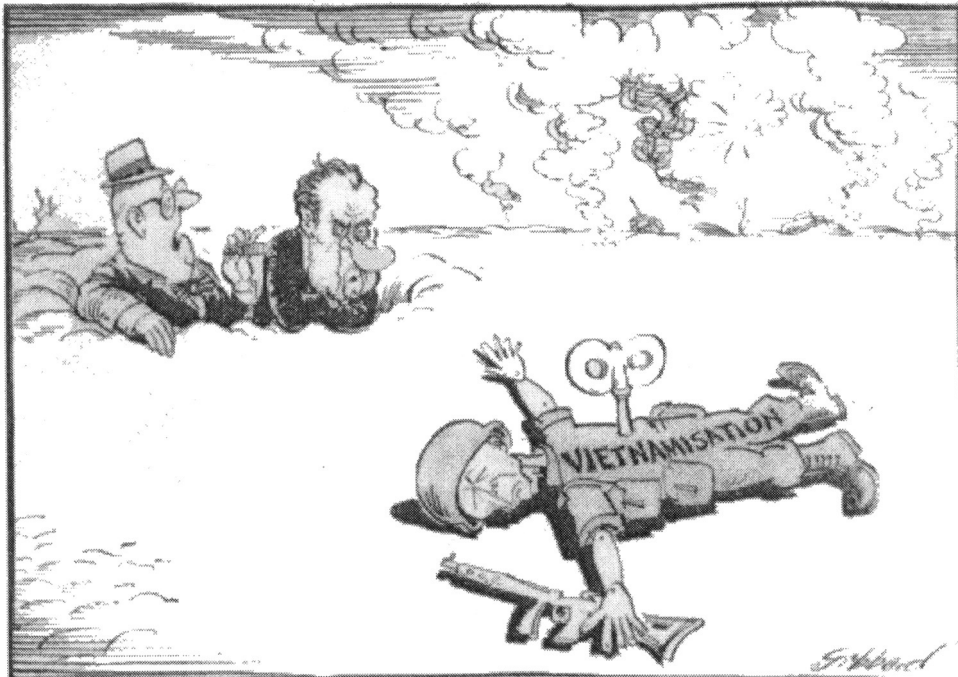
With respect to materials, two of the items from this particular area that the world uses are tin and tungsten. They are very important.

With respect to more people passing under communist domination, Asia has already lost some 450 million people to Communist dictatorship. We can’t afford greater losses.

When we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, Burma, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia, now you are talking about millions and millions of people ... So, the possible consequences of the loss are incalculable to the free world.

SOURCE C

Cartoon by Les Gibbard, published in The Guardian, a British newspaper, 3 May 1972. A US citizen is asking President Nixon a question about the South Vietnamese soldier on the ground.



source: [Reproduced with the permission of Les Gibbard ©2005]

“If this boy of yours is real, how come we gotta wind him up all the time?”

SOURCE D

*Extract from President Nixon’s broadcast to the nation, 23 January 1973, as reported in **The Cold War: history at source** by E G Raynor, London, 1992.*

At 12.30 pm Paris time today, 23 January 1973, the agreement on ending the war and restoring the peace was signed.

The cease-fire will take effect at midnight, 27 January 1973. The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam hope that this agreement will secure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and South-east Asia ...

Throughout the years of negotiation we have insisted on peace with honour. In the settlement that has now been agreed, all the conditions that I laid down then have been met ...

This settlement also meets the goals and has the full support of President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam ...

The United States will continue to recognize the Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam. We shall continue to aid South Vietnam within the terms of the agreement, and we shall support efforts by the people of South Vietnam to settle their problems peacefully amongst themselves.

SOURCE E

*Extract from **The Limits of Liberty: American History 1607-1992** by Maldwyn Jones, London, published in 1983, second edition 1995. The author is Professor of American History, University of London.*

In 1972 Nixon stepped up air attacks on North Vietnam to new and terrible levels. Whether, as he was later to claim, the effect was to speed up the long-running Paris peace negotiations is disputed. Certainly a cease-fire agreement was signed in January 1973. Though Nixon described it as ‘peace with honour’ it was in fact a thinly disguised American defeat. It provided for the withdrawal of all remaining forces from Vietnam but not for a corresponding withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from areas south of the 17th parallel. Nor did it settle the political future of South Vietnam or even attempt to define the cease-fire line. This fragile settlement soon broke down. The feeble and corrupt Saigon government steadily lost authority once the Americans had withdrawn. Finally, in April 1975, it surrendered unconditionally to the Communists. The American effort to preserve the Indo-Chinese peninsula from Communism was long-drawn out and ended in total failure.
