



HISTORY
HIGHER AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1

Tuesday 14 November 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 refer to the rivalry between Stalin and Trotsky to succeed Lenin.

DOCUMENT A *Lenin's Testament, 25th December 1922.*

Since he became General Secretary, Comrade Stalin has concentrated in his hands immeasurable power, and I am not sure that he will always know how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand Comrade Trotsky, as has already been shown by his struggle against the Central Committee over the question of the People's Commissariat of Means of Communication, is distinguished not only by his outstanding qualities [personally he is the most capable man in the present Central Committee] but also by his excess of self-confidence and a readiness to be carried away by the purely administrative side of affairs.

The qualities of these two leaders of the present Central Committee might lead quite accidentally to a split, and if our Party does not take steps to prevent it the split might arise unexpectedly. ...

Postscript, 4th January 1923.

Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable amongst us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way of removing Stalin from that position and to appoint another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority; namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite, less capricious [changeable], and more attentive to comrades.

This letter to Congress was dictated by Lenin after his second stroke; it was held back until 1924 and as it also criticised other Congress members it was never acted upon.

DOCUMENT B *An extract from L Trotsky, On the supposed testament of Lenin. 31st December 1932. Trotsky's opinion of Stalin in the years 1922 to 1923.*

Lenin undoubtedly valued highly certain of Stalin's traits: his firmness of character, tenacity [determination], stubbornness, even ruthlessness, and craftiness - qualities necessary in war and consequently in its general staff. But Lenin was far from thinking that these gifts, even on an extraordinary scale, were sufficient for the leadership of the Party and the state. Lenin saw in Stalin a revolutionist, but not a statesman in the grand style. Theory had too high an importance for Lenin in a political struggle ... And finally Stalin was not either a writer or an orator in the strict sense of the word. In the eyes of Lenin, Stalin's value was entirely in the sphere of Party administration and machine manoeuvring. But even here Lenin had substantial reservations. ... Stalin meanwhile was more and more broadly and indiscriminately using the possibilities of the revolutionary dictatorship for the recruiting of people personally obligated and devoted to him. In his position as General Secretary he became the dispenser [distributor] of favour and fortune ...".

DOCUMENT C *A contemporary photograph of Lenin in 1923.*



Lenin at Gorki, 1923.

DOCUMENT D *An extract from, **Russia under the Bolshevik Regime**, by the US historian Richard Pipes, Vintage Books, first published in 1994.*

Trotsky's behaviour at this critical juncture [point] in his and Stalin's careers has mystified both contemporaries and historians ... various interpretations have been advanced; that he underestimated Stalin; or that, on the contrary, he thought the General Secretary too solidly entrenched to be successfully challenged

Trotsky's behaviour seems to have been caused by a number of disparate [different] factors that are difficult to disentangle. He undoubtedly considered himself best qualified to take over Lenin's leadership. Yet he was well aware of the formidable obstacles facing him. He had no following in the party leadership which was clustered around Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev. He was unpopular in party ranks for his non-Bolshevik past as well as his aloof personality. Another factor inhibiting him ... was his Jewishness. This came to light with the publication in 1990 of the minutes of a Central Committee Plenum of October 1923 at which Trotsky defended himself from criticism for having refused Lenin's offer of deputyship. Although his Jewish origins held for him no meaning, he said, it was politically significant. By assuming the high post Lenin offered him, he would "give enemies grounds for claiming that the country was ruled by a Jew". Lenin had dismissed the argument as "nonsense" but "deep in his heart he agreed with me".

DOCUMENT E *Stalin's speech on the eve of Lenin's funeral, January 1924.*

In leaving us, Comrade Lenin commanded us to hold high and pure the great calling of Party Member. We swear to thee Comrade Lenin to honour thy command.

In leaving us, Comrade Lenin commanded us to keep the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, to honour thy command.

In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordered us to maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, to exert our full strength in honouring thy command.

In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordered us to strengthen with all our might the union of workers and peasants. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, to honour thy command.

1. (a) According to Document D why did the Bolshevik leadership not support Trotsky? *[2 marks]*
(b) What can be inferred from Document C about the nature of the struggle for leadership in 1923? *[2 marks]*
2. Compare and contrast the views expressed about Stalin in Documents A and B. *[5 marks]*
3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Documents D and E for historians studying the rivalry between Stalin and Trotsky. *[5 marks]*
4. Using these documents and your own knowledge explain why Stalin succeeded Lenin. *[6 marks]*

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SECTION B

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

These documents refer to the relationship between the United States and Japan in 1941 and the imposition of economic sanctions on Japan in July 1941.

DOCUMENT A *An extract from **Asian Transformation**, by Gilbert Khoo and Dorothy Lo, Kuala Lumpur, 1977.*

In January 1941 the Lend-Lease Act was passed, by which the United States undertook to give direct aid to countries attacked by the Axis powers. In July of the same year when Japan, despite an American warning, occupied Southern Indo-China, the United States froze all Japan's financial assets in the country. England and Holland soon did likewise. An Anglo-American Dutch embargo was also placed on all exports to Japan. This 'seriously handicapped Japanese stockpiling of vital materials,' and cut down Japan's oil imports to ten per cent of the previous amount

DOCUMENT B *An extract from **A History of Modern Japan**, by Richard Storry, London 1981.*

Japan now faced her moment of decision. Talks had been going on in Washington for many weeks between the Japanese American Ambassador, Admiral Nomura, and the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. Japan wanted America to abandon all support of the Chinese government in Chungking, to recognise Japan's hegemony [control] of east Asia; in return, Japan would consider withdrawing in fact, if not in name, from the Tripartite Axis Pact. America distrusted Japanese motives in Asia and wanted Japan to withdraw from both China and French Indo-China. When the American-British-Dutch economic embargo was imposed it became urgent for Japan to reach some agreement with America.

DOCUMENT C *Cartoon from a magazine; News Chronicle, London, 28 July 1941.*



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DOCUMENT D *An extract from The Road Between the Wars, by Robert Goldston, New York, 1978.*

... American reaction to this step was as swift as it was unexpected by the Konoye government. Franklin D. Roosevelt immediately 'froze' all Japanese financial assets in the United States and declared a total embargo on trade of any kind with Japan. England and the Dutch government-in-exile which still ruled Indonesia followed suit.

This hurt. Fully 67 percent of all Japanese imports came from Anglo-American nations or their colonies. But of absolutely vital consequence was the fact that Japan imported more than 80 percent of its oil from the United States. Now this essential source was cut off at one blow and Japan could not purchase oil from Indonesia in view of the Dutch embargo. Fuel supplies for the Imperial Navy would last two years at the most, only a year and a half in the event of war. The oil embargo created an immediate crisis among Japan's leaders; they had manoeuvred their way into a corner. To secure oil they would have to either accept American terms, which, in view of the heavy sacrifices the Japanese people had borne to conquer China, might well provoke revolution, or conquer Indonesian oil, which meant all-out war against the West. Furthermore, they had to reach a decision swiftly, for if negotiations with the United States should prove fruitless, then Japan had to wage war while she still had sufficient reserves of oil.

DOCUMENT E *United States Military Joint Board Estimate of United States Overall Production Requirements, 11 September 1941.*

... The Japanese objective is the establishment of the 'East Asia Co-Prosperity.' It is Japan's ambition ultimately to include within this sphere Eastern Siberia, Eastern China, Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines, and possibly Burma. The accomplishment of this objective is a heavy task for Japan's strength.

Dependent upon the results in Europe, Japan's strategic moves might be as follows:

- a. Building up and maintaining an effective screen in Japanese Mandated Islands by the employment of minor naval forces and considerable air forces, supported by the Combined Fleet. This activity would include submarine and raider action against United States naval forces and United States and British lines of communication in the Central and Eastern Pacific Ocean.
- b. The conquest of Eastern Siberia by means of land and air operations covered by the Combined Fleet operating to the eastward of Japan.
- c. The conquest of Thailand, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines. Success will require strong air forces, a considerable strength of light naval forces, and rather large land forces. It is unlikely that Japan will attempt a major effort both to the North and South, because of her lack of equipment and raw materials.
- d. An offensive from Northern Indo-China against Yunnan (Yenan) for the purpose of cutting the Burma Road and eliminating further resistance of the Chinese Nationalist Army. This move might be supplemented by an attack in Burma. Considerable land and air forces would be required, as well as a large amount of shipping to provide the necessary support.

5. (a) What message is intended by Document C? *[2 marks]*
- (b) What reasons are given in Document B to explain why Japan found itself in a difficult position after the establishment of the economic embargo by western powers? *[2 marks]*
6. To what extent do Documents A, D and E agree about the effects on the Japanese economy of the economic sanctions imposed by the United States, Britain and Holland? *[5 marks]*
7. With reference to their origin and purpose assess the value and limitations, for historians studying United States policy towards Japan in 1940 and 1941, of Documents B and E. *[5 marks]*
8. Using these documents and your own knowledge explain the relationship between the economic sanctions imposed by the Allies in July 1941 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour (December 7, 1941). *[6 marks]*

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SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War 1945–1964

These documents relate to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

DOCUMENT A *An extract from **America, Russia and the Cold War 1945-1984**, Walter LaFeber, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1985.*

...**The roots of the crisis** ran back to Krushchev's ICBM-orientated foreign policies after 1957 and his intense concern with removing NATO power from West Berlin. By 1962 these policies were related, for the Soviets needed credible strategic force if they hoped to neutralize Western power in Germany. By the spring of 1962, however, American high officials had publicly expressed their skepticism of Soviet missile credibility. President Kennedy further observed in a widely publicized interview that under some circumstances the United States would strike first. In June Defense Secretary McNamara insisted that American missiles were so potent and precise that in a nuclear war they could spare cities and hit only military installations.

DOCUMENT B *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: from Stalin to Krushchev, Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1996.*

Despite the firm belief of an entire generation of American policy makers and some prominent historians that Krushchev's gamble in Cuba was actually aimed at West Berlin, there is little evidence of that on the Soviet side.... What pushed Krushchev into his worst *aventyura* [reckless gamble] was not the pragmatic search for the well being of the Soviet empire. On the contrary, it was his revolutionary commitment and his sense of rivalry with the United States. ... What mattered for Krushchev was to preserve the impression of communism on the march, which in his opinion, was critical to dismantling the Cold War on Soviet terms. The loss of Cuba would have irreparably damaged this image. It would also have meant the triumph of those in Washington who insisted on the roll-back of communism and denied any legitimacy to the USSR. Krushchev decided to leap ahead, despite the terrible risk, as he had done at the Twentieth Party Congress, revealing Stalin's crimes against the Party and communism.

DOCUMENT C *Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes, Khrushchev's memoirs, trans. and ed. Jerrold L Schecter and Vyacheslav v. Luchkov, Little Brown, Boston, 1970.*

Everyone agreed that America would not leave Cuba alone unless we did something. We had an obligation to do everything in our power to protect Cuba's existence as a socialist country and as a working example to other countries of Latin America ... I had the idea of installing missiles with nuclear warheads in Cuba without letting the United States find out they were there until it was too late to do anything about them ... My thinking went like this: if we installed the missiles secretly and then if the United States discovered the missiles were there after they were already poised and ready to strike, the Americans would think twice before trying to liquidate our installations by military means ... The Americans had surrounded our country with missile bases and threatened us with nuclear weapons, and now they would learn just what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointing at you ... I want to make one thing absolutely clear. We had no desire to start a war. Only a fool would think that we wanted to invade the American continent from Cuba. We sent the Americans a letter asking the president to promise there would not be an invasion of Cuba. Finally Kennedy gave in and agreed to make such a promise. It was a great victory for us, though, a triumph of Soviet foreign policy. A spectacular success without having to fire a single shot.

DOCUMENT D *Cartoon (published in 1962, origin unknown) showing Khrushchev and Kennedy engaged in a trial of strength over the Cuban missile issue.*



FINGERS ON THE BUTTONS

DOCUMENT E *President Kennedy, speech to the nation, October 22, 1962 in Michael H Hunt, Crises in US Foreign policy, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996.*

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island [Cuba]. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere ...

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas ...

For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States, ... have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history – unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II – demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people.

But this secret, swift, and extraordinary build-up of Communist missiles – in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy, this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil – is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe ... Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps to be taken immediately.

9. (a) According to Document A “what were the roots of the crisis...”? [2 marks]
- (b) What message is portrayed in Document D? [2 marks]
10. How far do the views expressed in Document A agree or disagree with the views expressed in Documents B and C? [5 marks]
11. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations, for historians studying the Cold War, of Documents C and E. [5 marks]
12. Using these documents and your own knowledge, explain what Krushchev wanted to achieve by placing nuclear missiles in Cuba. [6 marks]