



HISTORY
HIGHER AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1

Wednesday 16 May 2001 (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 in square brackets [...]; 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 the period between the two 1917 revolutions.

DOCUMENT A *An extract from Lenin’s **April Theses**, 4 April 1917.*

In our attitude towards the war not the slightest concession must be made to “Revolutionary Defensism” for even under the new government the war on Russia’s part unquestionably remains an imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government. We must organise propaganda of this view among the whole army on active service.

The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a transition from the first stage of revolution which led to the assumption of power by the bourgeoisie to the second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorer peasantry.

No support must be given to the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of its promises must be exposed. It must be explained to the masses that the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies is the only possible form of revolutionary government, and therefore our task is, as long as this government is influenced by the bourgeoisie, to explain the error of its ways.

DOCUMENT B *A resolution passed by the All Russian Conference of Soviets, 5 April 1917.*

In agreement with the Petrograd Soviet of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, the Provisional Government has published a programme of governmental works. The All Russian Conference of Soviets recognises that this programme includes the basic demands of Russian democracy. The Conference also recognises the necessity of gradually gaining political control and influence over the Provisional Government and its local organs [organisations] so as to persuade it to conduct the most energetic struggle against counter-revolutionary forces, and to make preparations for universal peace.

The Conference appeals to democracy to support the Provisional Government without assuming responsibility for all the work of the government, as long as the government steadfastly confirms and expands the gains of the revolution and so long as its foreign policy is based on the renunciation [giving up] of ambitions of territorial expansion.

DOCUMENT C *An extract from a lecture given by Richard Pipes, Professor of History, Harvard University, in Vienna in 1995.*

Lenin wanted power, Lenin’s rivals did not want it. In 1917 the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were quite content to let the ‘bourgeois’ Provisional Government govern while they kept up a steady barrage of denunciation and criticism. But Lenin wanted much more. In April 1917 he had just returned to Russia from Switzerland. His followers lined up with the Mensheviks in expressing satisfaction with the arrangement under which the Socialists through the Soviets controlled the ‘bourgeoisie’ and prevented it from straying from the democratic path without themselves assuming responsibility for administering the country. At the All Russian Conference of Soviets held in April, the Menshevik, Irakli Tsereteli said, “there is at present no party in Russia willing to assume responsibility for governing.” To which Lenin from his seat shouted, “there is”. This hunger for power more than compensated for the relatively small following of the Bolsheviks.

DOCUMENT D *A report by General Alexei Brusilov, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, from the northern war front May 1917.*

When I arrived at their camp, I demanded to speak to a delegation of the soldiers. It would have been dangerous to appear before the whole crowd. When these arrived I asked them which party they belonged to, and they replied that before they had been Social Revolutionaries but that now they supported the Bolsheviks. “What do you want?” I asked them. “Land and freedom,” they all cried. “And what else?” The answer was simple, “Nothing else!” When I asked them what they wanted now, they said that they did not want to fight any more and pleaded to go home in order to share the land their fellow villagers had taken from the squires [land owners], and live in freedom. And when I asked them: “What will happen to Mother Russia if no one wants to defend it, and everyone like you only thinks of themselves?”, they replied that it was not their job to think about what should become of the state, and they had firmly decided to go home.

DOCUMENT E

A photograph of volunteers for the Women’s Death Battalion queuing to have their hair cut to military length, June 1917.

For the Motherland



The Women’s Death Battalion was formed in June 1917 to shame male deserters who were destroying the Russian army as a fighting force. About a million soldiers left their units between March and October 1917.

1. (a) What can be inferred from Document D about the following?
 - (i) Why the soldiers wanted to go home. *[2 marks]*
 - (ii) Why the soldiers now supported the Bolsheviks. *[1 mark]*
- (b) What propaganda/political message is intended by Document E? *[1 mark]*

2. In what ways do Documents A, B and C support the assertion made in Document C that “Lenin wanted power, Lenin’s rivals did not want it”? *[5 marks]*

3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Documents A and B for historians studying the period between the two 1917 Russian Revolutions. *[5 marks]*

4. Using the documents and your own knowledge analyse the contributions of both continued participation in the First World War and widespread unrest and disorder within Russia, in causing the downfall of the Provisional Government. *[6 marks]*

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SECTION B

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

These documents relate to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

DOCUMENT A *A statement by Vice-Chief of Staff Tsukada Isao to a meeting of the Imperial Cabinet, 1 November 1941.*

There is a strong probability that our advance to the South will enable Germany and Italy to defeat England. It will also greatly increase the probability that we can force China to surrender and then eventually the Soviet Union. By seizing the South, we can also strike a heavy blow at America's source of strategic materials. We should be able to ring off Asia, conquer those countries hostile to us one by one, and defeat America and England. If England falls, America should reconsider her position.

DOCUMENT B *Cartoon by David Low (a British cartoonist) November 10 1941.*



“JAPAN PROTEST AGAINST ENCIRCLEMENT! YES-NO?”

DOCUMENT C *Dispatch from the Japanese Government to its negotiators (Nomura and Kurusu) in Washington, 28 November 1941.*

Well, you two Ambassadors have exerted superhuman efforts but, in spite of this, the United States has gone ahead and presented this humiliating proposal. This was quite unexpected and extremely regrettable. The Imperial Government can by no means use it as a basis for negotiations. Therefore, with a report of the views of the Imperial Government on this American proposal which I will send you in two or three days, the negotiations will be ended. This is inevitable. However, I do not wish you to give the impression that the negotiations are broken off. Merely say to them that you are awaiting instructions and that, although the opinions of your Government are not yet clear to you, to your own way of thinking the Imperial Government has always made just claims and has endured great sacrifices for the sake of peace in the Pacific. Say that we have always demonstrated a long-suffering and conciliatory [peaceful] attitude, but that, on the other hand, the United States has been unbending, making it impossible for Japan to establish negotiations.

DOCUMENT D *Statement by Prime Minister Tojo to Emperor Hirohito at an Imperial Conference, 1 December 1941.*

At this moment our Empire stands at the threshold of glory or oblivion [destruction]. We tremble with fear in the Presence of His Majesty. We subjects are keenly aware of the great responsibilities we must assume from this point on. Now that His Majesty has reached a decision to commence hostilities, we must all strive [try hard] to repay our obligations to him, bring the Government and the military ever closer together, resolve that the nation united will go on to victory, make an all-out effort to achieve our war aims, and set His Majesty's mind at ease.

DOCUMENT E *Extract from President Roosevelt's Address to the Nation, 8 December 1941.*

Yesterday, December 7 1941 - a date which will live in infamy - the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation [request] of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor, looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace [...].

I ask that Congress declare that since [...] Sunday December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

5. (a) What does Document D suggest Japan should do as a result of the Emperor's decision to attack Pearl Harbor? *[2 marks]*
- (b) What political message is intended by Document B? *[2 marks]*
6. How consistent are Documents A, C and E in their portrayal of the relationship which existed between Japan and the US in November and December 1941? *[5 marks]*
7. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Documents B and E for historians studying the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. *[5 marks]*
8. Using the documents and your own knowledge assess the state of diplomatic relations between Japan and the US in 1941. *[6 marks]*

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SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War 1945–1964

These documents relate to the Cold War in the period 1946–1949.

DOCUMENT A *An extract from President Truman’s letter of 5 January 1946 to his Secretary of State [Foreign Minister] James Byrnes.*

There isn’t a doubt in my mind that Russia intends an invasion of Turkey and the seizure of the Black Sea Straits to the Mediterranean. Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language another war is in the making. Only one language do they understand: “How many divisions [fighting units] have you?” [...] We should maintain complete control over Japan and the Pacific. We should rehabilitate [restore to effectiveness] China and create a strong central government there. We should do the same for Korea.

DOCUMENT B *An extract from the October 1947 **Manifesto** [statement of aims and policies] of Cominform, the Communist Information Bureau that the USSR created that year.*

The Truman-Marshall Plan is only one part, the European part, of a general plan of world expansion being carried out by the United States in all parts of the world. The plan for the economic and political enslavement of Europe by American imperialism is being complemented [accompanied] by plans for the economic and political enslavement of China, Indonesia and the South American countries. Yesterday’s aggressors, the capitalist magnates [wealthy business leaders] of Germany and Japan, are being prepared by the United States for a new role - that of becoming a weapon of US imperialist policy in Europe and Asia [...].

Under these conditions it is essential for the anti-imperialist democratic camp to unite, to work out a co-ordinated programme of action, and evolve its own tactics against American imperialism and its British and French allies.

DOCUMENT C

*Cartoon published in July 1948 in **Punch**, a British magazine famous for its political comments and cartoons.*



DOCUMENT D

*An extract from **Russia, America and The Cold War** by Martin McCauley published by Longman, London and New York, 1998. McCauley is a British historian and expert on Soviet history and politics.*

Access to Soviet archives, since 1991, has thrown little light on Stalin's maladroit [clumsy] diplomacy. But they have revealed that Stalin's advisers in Germany had not anticipated the airlift and, once it was under way, thought that it would fail. The Berlin blockade made east-west relations adversarial [hostile]. [...] The Berlin blockade also promoted the establishment of NATO. West Europeans felt insecure and appealed to the Americans to retain their military presence and to guarantee the security of the region. Only the United States could do this, as it was a nuclear power. The Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine were tangible [definite] successes for west European lobbying [efforts to gain support]. It was the weakness of the region which led to the Americans playing a vital role in the economic development and security. The Marshall Plan kick-started the west European economies and an extraordinary growth of the region got under way. Britain obtained the largest share of Marshall Aid, but it was West Germany which benefited most, as it retooled [re-equipped] its industries.

DOCUMENT E *An extract from a newspaper article in the London **Daily Telegraph** 22 June 1999, reviewing **The Cold War**: a BBC documentary series of 24 television programmes covering the Cold War through films and photographs and first released in 1999.*

‘The Cold War’ has received mainly favourable reviews in Britain, but has been criticised in America for suggesting a moral equivalence between the Soviet Union and the West. According to one critic, the programme insults those who paid with their lives for opposing Soviet tyranny and “turns good into evil and evil into good” [...].

The ideological origins of the Cold War - which sprang from historical determinism and the Marxists’ enthusiastic embrace of revolutionary violence as a means of giving history a helping hand - are dealt with in the programme by a single sentence [...].

Marshall is depicted as lacking experience and understanding. The Marshall Plan and aid package (in Churchill’s phrase, “the least selfish act of statesmanship in history”) helped lay the foundations of post-war European recovery and undoubtedly played a part in halting the spread of communism in Europe. But the programme narrator is more impressed by the fact that the Marshall Plan “created a consumer society and linked Europe to American trade and capital”. As a consequence, the Soviet Union “was forced to build a rival bloc”.

9. (a) What criticisms of ‘The Cold War’ television series can be found in Document E? [2 marks]
- (b) What political message is intended by Document C? [2 marks]
10. Explain the different interpretations of the Marshall Plan to be found in Documents B, D and E. [5 marks]
11. With reference to their origin and purpose assess the value and limitations of Documents A and D, for historians studying the Cold War. [5 marks]
12. Using the documents and your own knowledge, explain why there was continuing tension between the US and the Soviet Union in the period 1945 to 1950. [6 marks]
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