



HISTORY
ROUTE 2
HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1
SPECIMEN PAPER

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 Peacemaking, peacekeeping — international relations 1918-36

These sources relate to the Locarno Conference, 1925.

SOURCE A *Extract from a speech by Gustav Stresemann after the signing of the Locarno Treaty 16 October 1925.*
URL: <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/GERstresemann.htm>

We have undertaken the responsibility of initialling the treaties because we live in the belief that only by peaceful cooperation of states and peoples can that development be secured, which is nowhere more important than for that great civilized land of Europe whose peoples have suffered so bitterly in the years that lie behind us. We have more especially undertaken it because we are justified in the confidence that the political effects of the treaties will prove to our particular advantage, in relieving the conditions of our political life. But great as is the importance of the agreements that are signed here, the treaties of Locarno will only achieve their profoundest importance in the development of the nations if Locarno is not to be the end; but the beginning of confident cooperation among the nations.

SOURCE B *Extract from a speech by James Maxwell Garnett to the Empire Club of Canada, 26 November 1925. Garnett was the Secretary of League of Nations' Union of Great Britain.*
URL: <http://www.empireclubfoundation.com/details.asp?SpeechID=282>

But while the Locarno treaties have increased security along the frontier they have added considerably to general security among the nations, I want you to reflect what this means. Every nation in Europe can feel that not only the British Foreign Secretary and the French Foreign Office, but the German Foreign Minister too, will be present within a few hours to quench the smouldering fires of war wherever they appear in the future. Then, after disarmament and security and arbitration, the Locarno agreements are largely concerned with the provision of means for a peaceful settlement of international disputes between Germany and her enemy neighbours ... We think that Locarno, reinforced by Geneva, gives us good means for believing that we are not now far from agreements between governments to get rid of war — that is to say, nearly all agreements except the Soviet Republics, United States of America, and Mexico and Turkey.

SOURCE C

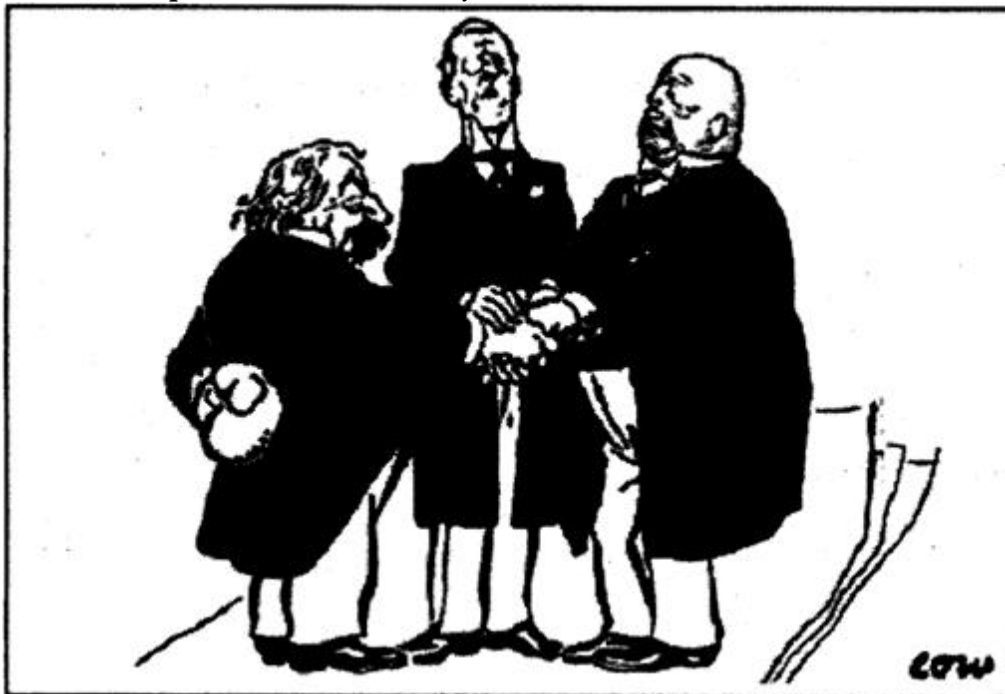
Extract from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office website. Extract from the "History of the Far page.

URL: <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/ServletFront?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c =page&cid=1007029395807>

Locarno represented a defeat for those in France who had hoped for a revived alliance with Great Britain. Along with Italy, Britain had guaranteed a frontier rather than an ally, and henceforth was, in theory at least, committed as much to Germany as to France and Belgium. The obligation to give immediate military assistance in the event of a "flagrant" [serious] violation of the treaty was also both ambiguous in its wording and likely to be impracticable in its application. As had already been evident before 1914, the speed of modern warfare had made joint contingency planning an essential prerequisite [requirement] for the rendering of such aid. This was a point that Poincaré had made during the discussions for an Anglo-French guarantee treaty in 1922. But Locarno seemed to preclude [make impossible] any joint military talks between Britain and France. After all, if the British military authorities engaged in planning with their opposite numbers in France, the Germans might quite reasonably claim that they had an equal right to be consulted. Yet for Britain to join in bilateral [two-way] discussions with both powers with a view to assisting either in the event of a Franco-German war would clearly be ludicrous [ridiculous].

SOURCE D

*A cartoon by David Low depicting Aristide Briand, Austen Chamberlain and Gustav Stresemann, taken from the London Evening Standard, 8 September 1925. France wanted to strengthen the League of Nations' covenant by a protocol engaging all members to the help of any member attacked. Taken from *Europe Since Versailles*, by David Low, London, 1940.*



Briand

Chamberlain

Stresemann

SOURCE E

*Extract from **Germany 1866-1945**, by Gordon Craig, Oxford, 1978.*

Stresemann's initiative was therefore successful, but his difficulties were just beginning. In the negotiations that resulted, in October 1925, in the conclusion of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee [Locarno], by which the states bordering on the Rhine abjured [gave up] the use of force in their mutual relations and, together with Britain and Italy, guaranteed the demilitarization of the Rhineland and the existing western frontiers, and in the parallel negotiations agreed upon on the terms for Germany's admission to the League of Nations. ¹ Stresemann's view was that the Rhineland Pact and Germany's willingness to enter the League were positive contributions to European security and that their logical consequence should be the evacuation of the whole of the Rhineland before 1930, the date set by the treaty.

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SECTION B

Prescribed Subject 2 **The Arab-Israeli conflict 1945-79**

These sources relate to the Suez Crisis of 1956.

SOURCE A *Extract from a telegram from British Prime Minister Anthony Eden to American President Dwight Eisenhower 5 August 1956. Taken from **The Suez Crisis** by Anthony Gorst, London, 1997.*

Nasser has embarked [started] on a course which is unpleasantly familiar. His seizure of the Canal was undoubtedly designed to impress opinion not only in Egypt but in the Arab world and in all of Africa too. By this assertion of his power he seeks to further his ambitions from Morocco to the Persian Gulf ...

I have never thought Nasser a Hitler, he has no warlike people behind him. But the parallel with Mussolini is close. Neither of us can forget the lives and treasure he cost before he was finally dealt with.

The removal of Nasser and the installation in Egypt of a regime less hostile to the West must therefore, also, rank high among our objectives. Moreover, if Nasser is compelled to disgorge his spoils, it is improbable that he will be able to maintain his internal position. We should therefore have achieved our secondary objective.

SOURCE B *President Eisenhower cautions Prime Minister Eden against the use of force, 3 September 1956. Taken from **The Suez Crisis** by Anthony Gorst, London, 1997.*

I must tell you frankly that American public opinion flatly rejects the thought of using force, particularly when it does not seem that every possible peaceful means of protecting interests has been exhausted without result. I really do not see how a successful result could be achieved by forcible means. The use of force would, it seems to me, vastly increase the area of jeopardy [danger]. Also, the peoples-of the Near East and North Africa and, to some extent, of all of Asia and Africa would be consolidated against the West to a degree which, I fear, could not be overcome in a generation, particularly having in mind the capacity of the Russians to make mischief.

SOURCE C

*Extract from a message from Soviet leader Nicolas Bulganin to President Eisenhower, 5 November 1956. Taken from **Foreign Relations of the United States**, Vol. 16, Suez Crisis: July 26 — December 31, 1956.*
 URL: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1955-57v16>

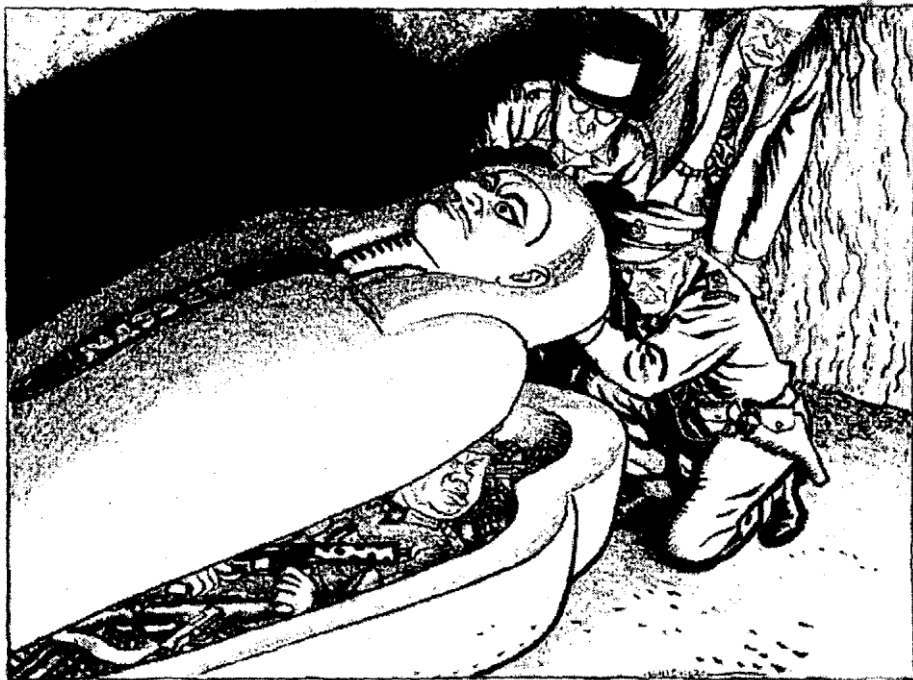
One week has passed already since the armed forces of Britain, France and — obedient to the will of external forces — Israel, without any reason attacked Egypt. Inhuman bombardment by the British and French against Egyptian airfields, ports, installations and towns is taking place. Anglo-French troops have landed on Egyptian territory.

An aggressive war against Egypt, against the Arab peoples, whose sole fault is that they upheld their freedom and independence, is unfolding before the eyes of the world. The situation in Egypt calls for immediate action on the part of the UN. In the event such action is not undertaken, the UN will lose prestige and fall apart.

The Soviet Union and the United States are permanent members of the Security Council and the two great powers which possess all modern types of arms, including atomic and hydrogen weapons. We bear particular responsibility for stopping war and re-establishing peace in the Middle East.

The aggression against Egypt has not been committed for the sake of free navigation along the Suez Canal, which was safeguarded. The piratical war was launched with the aim of restoring colonial order in the East, an order which had been overthrown by the people. If this war is not stopped, it carries the danger of turning into a third world war.

SOURCE D *Political cartoon from the British newspaper Evening Standard entitled, "**Khrushchev inside Nasser's sarcophagus**", November 12, 1956 by Leslie Illingworth.*



Eisenhower, Eden and Mollet uncover a sarcophagus labeled "Nasser" and discover Khrushchev within.

SOURCE E

*Extract from "The Suez Crisis: A Crisis That Changed the Balance of Power in the Middle East" a fiftieth anniversary report on the Suez Crisis by Peter Hahn in the journal **eJournal USA: Foreign Policy Agenda**, April 2006.*

URL: <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0406/ijpe/hahn.htm>

In October the crisis took a new turn, unexpected by the United States. Unknown to American officials, France and Britain colluded [secretly cooperated] with Israel in an elaborate scheme to launch a secretly coordinated war on Egypt. Under the ruse [deception], Israel would invade the Sinai Peninsula, Britain and France would issue ultimatums ordering Egyptian and Israeli troops to withdraw from the Suez Canal Zone, and when Nasser (as expected) rejected the ultimatums, the European powers would bomb Egyptian airfields within 48 hours, occupy the Canal Zone and depose Nasser. American officials failed to anticipate the collusion scheme, in part because they were distracted by a war scare between Israel and Jordan as well as by anti-Soviet unrest in Hungary, in part because they were preoccupied by the impending US presidential election, and in part because they believed the denials of their friends in the colluding governments who assured them that no attack was imminent. Yet war erupted on October 29 when Israel launched a frontal assault on Egyptian forces in the Sinai. Within days Israeli forces approached the Suez Canal.

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SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 Communism in crisis 1976-89

These sources relate to the defeat of the Gang of Four and the re-emergence of Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing).

SOURCE A *Extract from **Modern China** by Edwin E Moise, London, 1994.*

Zhou Enlai died in January 1976. He quickly became a greater symbol of resistance to radical policies than he had ever been in life. His enemies on the left, the Gang of Four, cut the mourning ceremonies to only a few days, but later many cities saw public demonstrations in honour of Zhou's memory. Some of these included attacks on leftists, including one held in Tiananmen, in the centre of Beijing, on the traditional festival for the dead, Qing Ming. Thousands of people brought wreaths for Zhou, many with political poems attached, and presented them at the Monument to the Heroes of the People. When radicals removed the wreaths, the demonstration became a riot. The radicals blamed Deng Xiaoping, and he was purged for a second time.

The position of the Gang of Four was secure only as long as Mao was available to support them ...

Mao died in September 1976. The Gang of Four were under arrest in less than a month. There were two main factions among the winners of the struggle. One was the less extreme Maoists who wished to preserve many of Mao's policies but understood the need to cooperate with more conservative elements. The other main group was made up of right-wing leaders, including Deng.

SOURCE B *. Extract from an official broadcast in Tiananmen Square by the Mayor of Beijing, 5 April 1976, taken from **China since 1919: Revolution and Reform** by Alan Lawrance, London, 2004.*

A handful of bad elements have, for ulterior motives, made use of the Qing Ming festival to create a political incident, directing their spearhead at Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, in a vain attempt to change the direction of the struggle to criticise the unrepentant revisionist line of the capitalist-roader, Deng Xiaoping.

Revolutionary masses and cadres of Beijing must support the class struggle and act to defend Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee...

Today there are bad elements carrying out disruption and engaging in counter-revolutionary sabotage in Tiananmen Square. Revolutionary masses must leave the square at once, and not be duped by them.

SOURCE C

*Chinese Propaganda Poster of 1978, "Smash the Gang of Four" taken from Stefan Landsberger's **Chinese Propaganda Poster Pages**.
URL: <http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger/g4.html>*

**SOURCE D**

*Extract from a speech taken from **The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping**, Beijing, 1984. It was given on 18 March 1978 and addresses the four modernizations of agriculture, industry, defence, science and technology.*

We have waged a bitter struggle against the Gang of Four over the question of whether the four modernizations are needed or not. The Gang made the senseless statement that "the day the four modernizations programme is realized will mark the day of capitalist restoration". Their sabotage (of modernization) brought the Chinese economy to the brink of collapse. Their misdeeds make us realise that even though we have a dictatorship of the proletariat, unless we modernize, raise our scientific and technological level, develop industry and agriculture, and thus strengthen our country, and improve the material and cultural life of our people, there can be no guarantee of China's security.

SOURCE E

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

On 6 October 1976, under orders from Hua Guofeng, the palace guard unit of the People's Liberation Army arrested all four in a moment of drama rare even by the standard of China's history. The four were denounced, accused of numerous crimes and vilified in a flood of anti-Gang propaganda that struck deep chords among a population brutalised and exhausted by events of the preceding decade. As the campaign unfolded, Deng Xiaoping, one of the Gang's chief foes, gained the upper hand...

At the close of 1980, members of the Gang, their faces pale in the glare of the television lights, were placed in the dock and presented with evidence of their crimes. Together with their accomplices, they were said to have persecuted more than 700 000 people, almost 35 000 of whom had died as a result.
