

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

Wednesday 12 May 2004 (afternoon)

1 hour

SOURCE BOOKLET

SOURCE BOOKLET—INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this booklet 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 in square brackets [...]; minor changes are not indicated.

SECTION A

Prescribed Subject 1 The USSR under Stalin, 1924 to 1941

These sources relate to the purges under Stalin.

SOURCE A *Extract from **Hope Against Hope** by N Mandelstam, London, 1971, in which Nadezhda describes her husband's treatment.*

At the very first interrogation [questioning] M [her husband Osip Mandelstam] admitted to being the author of the poem on Stalin, so the interrogator's task could not have been to find out something M was hiding. The function was to unnerve and wear down prisoners, to make their lives a misery. Until 1937 our secret police made much of their psychological methods, but afterward these gave way to physical torture, with beatings. M was put through the physical ordeal of not being allowed to sleep. Every night he was kept waiting for hours on end. Most of the time was spent not in actual questioning, but in waiting under guard outside the interrogator's door [...] The work of undermining a person's sanity was carried out systematically in the Lubyanka [a notorious prison]. There were rumours that Yagoda, head of the state security police, had set up secret laboratories and staffed them with specialists who were carrying out experiments with drugs, hypnosis, gramophone records.

The mass terror had nothing to do with security. The only purpose was intimidation [...] Stalin ruled for a long time and saw to it that the waves of terror happened from time to time, always on a greater scale than before.

SOURCE B *Bukharin's confession taken from the official report of court proceedings of his trial in Moscow, in March 1938.*

Bukharin, a former leading communist, was ousted for opposing Stalin's agricultural policy and executed in 1938.

I shall now speak of myself, of the reasons for my repentance [change of heart]. Of course it must be admitted that the evidence produced against me played an important part. For three months I refused to say anything. Then I began to testify. Why? Because while I was in prison I made a re-evaluation of my entire past. There was nothing to die for, if one died unrepentant. And on the contrary everything positive that shines in the Soviet Union acquires new dimensions in a man's mind. This in the end disarmed me completely and led me to bend my knee before the Party and the country [...] At such moments everything personal, hatred, pride, falls away, and the sounds and memories of our international struggle return, and the result is the complete moral victory of the USSR over its kneeling opponents.

SOURCE C *Extract from an article entitled **The Results of the Trial**, written by Trotsky and published in his *Opposition Bulletin* of 1938.*

Judging by the results of the last series of trials, Vyshinsky, the state prosecutor, must conclude that the Soviet state emerges as a centralized organization of state treason [...]

In their criminal activity, premiers, ministers, marshals [army chiefs] and ambassadors were invariably subordinate to [under] one man. Not an official leader, but an outcast. Trotsky had only to lift his finger and veterans of the revolution became agents of Hitler and the Japanese Emperor. On “Trotsky’s instructions” leaders of industry, transport and agriculture destroyed the country’s productive forces and its culture. On an instruction sent from Norway or Mexico “by an enemy of the people” the workers of the Far East organized the derailment of military trains and Kremlin physicians poisoned their patients [...] There is a problem however. If all the key points of the system were occupied by Trotskyists under my orders, how is it that Stalin is in the Kremlin and I am in exile?

SOURCE D *Extract from **Mastering Modern World History** by Norman Lowe, London, 1997.*

Using the murder of Sergei Kirov, one of his supporters on the Politburo (December 1934), as an excuse, Stalin launched what became known as the purges [...]

Over the next four years hundreds of important officials were arrested, tortured, made to confess to all sorts of crimes of which they were largely innocent (such as plotting with the exiled Trotsky or with capitalist governments to overthrow the Soviet state) and forced to appear in a series of “show trials” at which they were invariably found guilty and sentenced to death or labour camp [...]

The purges were successful in eliminating possible alternative leaders and terrorising the masses into obedience, but the consequences were serious: many of the best brains in the government, in the army and in industry had disappeared.

SOURCE E

*Contemporary photograph of a watchtower at a Gulag camp in Chukotka.
Millions of prisoners peopled the vast network of forced camps.*



A watchtower at a Gulag camp in Chukotka.

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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 relate to political unification – from early toleration of different classes in 1949 to thought control in the early 1950s.

SOURCE A *Liu Shaoqi a Communist official offers terms to Mr Song a capitalist in 1949.*

Liu Shaoqi said to Mr Song: “Now you own only one factory, but in the future you can own one, two, three or even eight. When socialism is established and the state issues an order, you hand them over or the state purchases them from you. Then the state will place them back under your management. You will remain the manager, but the factories will be state owned. We may increase the number of factories under you to sixteen, for you are a capable manager. Your salary will increase instead of being cut. But you have to do a very good job. Will you say yes to the offer?” Mr Song replied: “I will of course.” Liu Shaoqi added: “In the future when everyone is called to a meeting there will be smiling faces all around.”

SOURCE B *Contemporary photograph of a landlord being humiliated by a People’s Court of his former tenants.*



Evidence suggests that as many as one million landlords were killed in the early period of land reform, which was underway by 1950, although a few landlords were allowed to keep a portion of their land and become peasants.

SOURCE C *Extract from **Mao A Biography** by Ross Terrill, Stanford, California, 1999.*

In his youth Mao had never taken part in hand to hand class retribution [vengeance]. Yet although he was opposed to torture, he did not prevent it as a furious peasantry took land reform into its own hands [...]

Mao now lived in a city. The cities were easier to reform. The capitalists were few. They had little moral authority because they had been associating with foreigners, who were considered to have exploited [made money out of] China. Many capitalists turned Red when they felt threatened. Urban consolidation was more brutal than it would otherwise have been, because of tensions due to the Korean War. Hundreds of thousands were either executed or put into labour camps. This was the one urban drive in a history of the People’s Republic of China that led to deliberate physical elimination – a word Mao himself used – of large numbers of people.

The rooting out of “counter-revolutionaries” was a police operation, and far too big for Mao to supervise [...]

Mao began the “Three Antis” drive against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy. A parallel drive to clean up economic life was the “Five Antis” crusade against bribery, tax evasion, fraud, stealing government property, and using government secrets for personal advantage. The methods used were not a knock on the door in the middle of the night, as in Stalin’s Russia, rather a social pressure to confess [...]

Mao wrote slogans for the “Antis” drives, and especially criticized men of ideas. Unity had not yet been obtained; intellectuals still tried to follow an individual line.

SOURCE D *Extract from **Prisoner of Mao** by Bao Ruo-Wang and Rudolph Chelminski, New York, 1973.*

Bao Ruo-Wang, a young Eurasian suspected of associating with foreigners during the period of thought reform in the early 1950s, describes his experiences.

“This is the government’s policy,” the interrogator continued. “It is the way to salvation for you. In front are two paths: the one of confessing everything and obeying the government, which will lead you to a new life, the other of resisting the orders of the government and stubbornly remaining the people’s enemy to the very end. This path will lead you to the worst possible consequences [...]

You need not worry about your family. The government will look after them. You are the guilty one.”

Only later I learned that it was a lie – when I was in the camps my wife and children were hungrier than I was.

SOURCE E

Letter from Hu Feng, a leading editor and literary critic to a fellow writer. Although he had been a member of the League of Leftist writers since the early 1930s his independent views upset Mao, who wanted uniformity of thought. Hu Feng's literary career ended when he was arrested in 1955.

Peking 2/ 8/1955. To Chang Chung-hsiao;

Do not feel sad and by all means stay calm. There are many things we must put up with. We must be patient, for the sake of our [literary] enterprise and more important things to come. Hence, at the coming literary meetings do not be hesitant. Speak out in criticism of me and others. As for me I am quite willing to write articles criticizing myself if those above wish it. It does not matter, for the masses will be able to see and decide how much I am in the wrong and how much I am in the right.

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SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War, 1960 to 1979

These sources relate to developments in the Cold War in the early 1960s.

SOURCE A *Extract from **O Strane I Mire** by A Sakharov, New York, 1976, recalling a 1961 meeting at which Khrushchev spoke to leading Soviet nuclear scientists.*

We were told that we had to prepare for a new series of nuclear tests, which were to provide support for the USSR’s policy on the German question (the Berlin Wall). I wrote a note to Khrushchev, saying: “The revival of these tests will be a breach of the test-ban treaty and check the move towards disarmament: it will lead to a fresh round in the arms race, especially in the sphere of inter-continental missiles and anti-missile defence.” I had this note passed to Khrushchev. He put it in his pocket. At dinner, he replied to the note in a speech. This, more or less, is what he said: “Sakharov is a good scientist, but he should leave foreign policy to those of us who are specialists. Strength alone can throw our enemy into confusion. We cannot say out loud that we base our policy on strength, but that is how it has to be.”

SOURCE B *Extract from a Resolution [formal statement of intention] of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) Council of Ministers, 12 August 1961.*

To stop hostile activities by revanchist [revengeful] and militaristic forces in West Germany and West Berlin, a border control will be introduced at the borders to the GDR, as is common on the borders of sovereign states. Borders to West Berlin will be sufficiently guarded and effectively controlled in order to prevent subversive activities from the West. Citizens of GDR will require a special permit to cross these borders. Until West Berlin is transformed into a demilitarized, neutral free city, residents of the capital of the GDR will require a special certificate to cross the border into West Berlin. Peaceful citizens of West Berlin are permitted to visit the capital of the GDR (East Berlin) upon presentation of a West Berlin identity card.

SOURCE C

Contemporary photograph of Soviet and American tanks confronting each other at Checkpoint Charlie, 27 October 1961.



Ten American tanks were sent to Checkpoint Charlie after an American diplomat refused to show his passport to border guards. In response, thirty three Soviet tanks rolled into East Berlin. Ten drove to Checkpoint Charlie and lined up facing the American tanks, with orders to respond with force if the Americans used force.

SOURCE D *Extract from a television and radio address by President Kennedy, 22 October 1962.*

Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites are now in preparation [in Cuba]. The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1000 miles. Each of these warheads, in short, is capable of striking Washington DC or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States. Additional sites not yet complete appear designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles – capable of traveling more than twice as far [...] To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine [isolation] of all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated.

SOURCE E *Extract from a message from Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister, to President Kennedy, 22 October 1962.*

My dear Friend

I have this moment received the text of your proposed declaration tonight [...] What I think we must now consider is Khrushchev's likely reaction. He may demand the removal of all American bases in Europe. If he reacts in the Caribbean his obvious method would be to alert his ships and force you into the position of attacking them. Alternatively, he may bring some pressure on the weaker parts of the free world defence system. This may be in South-East Asia, in Iran, possibly in Turkey, but more likely in Berlin. If he reacts outside the Caribbean – as I fear he may – it will be tempting for him to answer one blockade with another. If Khrushchev comes to a conference he will of course try to trade his Cuba position against his ambitions in Berlin and elsewhere. This we must avoid at all costs, as it will endanger the unity of the alliance.
