



HISTORY
HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1

Tuesday 10 May (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 relate to the struggle for leadership after the death of Lenin.

SOURCE A *An extract from Lenin's **Testament**, written in late December 1922, with a postscript in January 1923.*

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated enormous power in his hands; I am not sure that he always knows how to use the power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities – personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee – but also by his far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might lead to a split, if our Party does not take measures to prevent it...

4th January. Stalin is too rude, and this fault becomes unbearable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position, and appoint another man more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades...

SOURCE B *An extract from an article by L Trotsky, **On the Suppressed Testament of Lenin**, published in 1932.*

Lenin no doubt valued highly certain of Stalin's characteristics; his firmness of character, tenacity, stubbornness, even ruthlessness and craftiness – qualities necessary in war and consequently in its general staff. But Lenin was far from thinking that these gifts 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 was too important for Lenin, and Stalin's weak theoretical grounding was known in a small circle. Stalin was not acquainted with the West. He was not included in international discussions, and he was not a writer or an orator. His articles are full of crude sins against the Russian language... In his position as General Secretary he became the giver of favour and fortune.

SOURCE C

An extract from a speech by Stalin to the Fifteenth Party Congress December 1927.

How could it happen that the entire party as a whole, and following it the working class too, so thoroughly isolated the opposition? After all, the opposition is headed by well-known people with well-known names, people who know how to advertise themselves.

It happened because the leading groups are able to blow their own trumpets [publicise their views].

It happened because the opposition happened to be a group of petty-bourgeois intellectuals divorced from life, divorced from the revolution, divorced from the Party, from the working class...

Why did the Party expel Trotsky and Zinoviev? Because they are the organisers of the entire anti-party opposition, because they set themselves the aim of breaking the laws of the Party. They thought that nobody would dare to touch them, because they wanted to make for themselves the privileged position of nobles in the Party.

SOURCE D

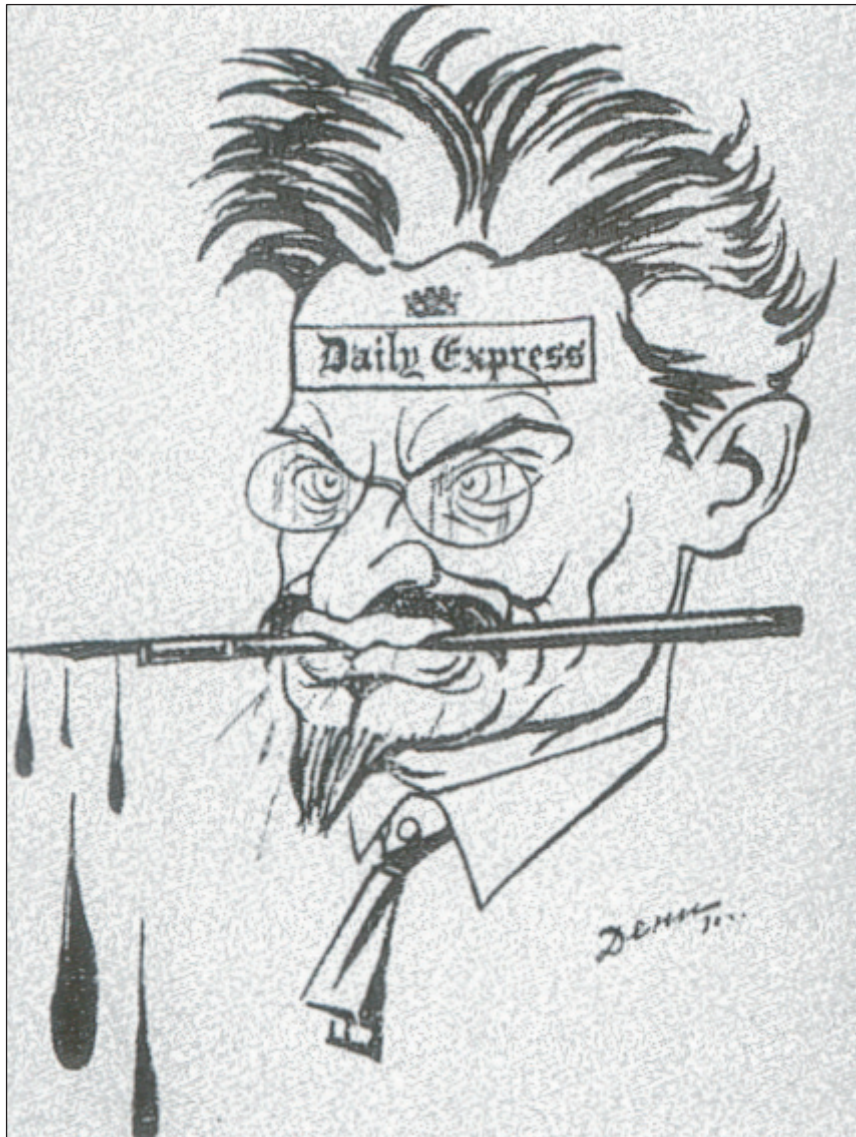
*An extract from **Trotsky the Eternal Revolutionary** by Dmitri Volkogonov, published in London in 1996. The Russian author, a former Bolshevik, soldier, academic and politician, also wrote biographies of Lenin and Stalin.*

Trotsky was extraordinarily inept [unskilled] at choosing the moment to engage in political struggle. He was no tactician. He knew the poor impression it would make on the Party, his supporters and the army, if he, the second man in the revolution was absent from Lenin's funeral, even if it was through no fault of his own. He recognised the great importance of this failure only later. Often at the most critical moments of the [leadership] struggle he left the arena. Once when the Politburo was reviewing his position, he was on a hunting trip. Party members preferred to support successful leaders, and Trotsky came across as a loser. His political opposition appeared as a struggle for power, jobs and influence.

Stalin had understood the importance of appearing as the defender of Lenin and his heritage. All of his speeches against Trotsky were full of quotations from Lenin and references to the dead leader. Stalin spotted Trotsky's weaknesses and exploited them. As General Secretary he was able to ensure that only those who were against Trotsky were given important positions.

SOURCE E

*An Anti-Trotskyist Soviet cartoon, by V Deni (1893-1946), a leading communist cartoonist and poster-artist, published in 1930 (reproduced in **Trotsky the Eternal Revolutionary** by Dmitri Volkogonov, London, 1996).*



The words on Trotsky's forehead refer to a British newspaper.

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 B

Prescribed Subject 2 The emergence and development of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), 1946 to 1964

These sources relate to Mao Zedong’s (Mao Tse-tung) successful emergence as leader of the People’s Republic of China, 1946-49.

SOURCE A *An extract from **Mao A Biography** by Ross Terrill, Stanford California, 1999.*

The war was over, but there was little peace. Tension came to a head over the Japanese surrender. The Chinese Communist Party [CCP] and the Nationalist Party [NP] competed with each other to seal the enemy’s defeat...

Chiang (Jiang) and Mao had not seen each other for two decades [20 years]. When they met they shook hands. ...After forty-three days they signed a piece of paper. The agreement solved none of the fundamental questions: could the Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party share power?

Mao did not trust Chiang, but he could not afford to be seen to be against peace. “The sky cannot have two suns,” Chiang insisted to his aides. But Mao had made the point that the Chinese sky offered a choice between two suns.

An American envoy came to Yanan in early 1946 for a last effort to narrow the gap between Mao and Chiang. All mediation failed, and by autumn 1946, Mao and Chiang were at each other’s throats for a final round.

SOURCE B *Two directives written by Mao, issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.*

November 18, 1946.

Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) is desperate. He wants to strike at our party and strengthen himself by calling a “National Assembly”, and by attacking Yanan. The Chinese people oppose a “National Assembly”, and now that we have wiped out thirty-five brigades of Chiang Kai-shek’s troops, their offensive power is nearly exhausted. Even if they did occupy Yanan by means of a sudden thrust, it would damage their prospects in the People’s War of Liberation, and would not save Chiang Kai-shek from the doom awaiting him.

April 9, 1947, Chingyangcha.

In order to save its regime the Guomindang [Nationalist Party] besides convening a bogus National Assembly, has attacked Yanan, the seat of our Party’s Central Committee and the general headquarters of the People’s Liberation Army. The fact that the Guomindang has taken these steps does not mean that its regime is strong, but rather that it is in crisis. It is a vain attempt to drive us out of the Northwest region. We must defend this region where we are strong, and we must keep our headquarters in this Shensi border district where we have favourable mountainous terrain, a good base with plenty of room for manoeuvre, and full guarantee of security.

SOURCE C *How the Nationalist Party and Chinese Communist Party treated the areas under their control.*

Extract from a report by the American Ambassador, July 1947, criticising the behaviour of the NP forces:

Nationalist southern military forces and civil administrators conduct themselves as conquerors, not as fellow countrymen, and exploit the areas under their control.

Extract from a directive by Mao on land reform, 25 May 1948, for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

The land problem should be considered solved where the feudal system has been abolished, and poor peasants and farm labourers have all acquired the average amount of land. In these areas the central tasks are to restore and develop food production, complete Party consolidation and form organs of political power to support the front.

SOURCE D

*An extract from **Modern China** by Edwin E Moise, London, 1997.*

The Guomindang [Nationalist Party] forces quickly spread along roads and railways. It took most major cities, but it did not have enough troops to spread over the whole countryside. Chiang's (Jiang's) men took Yanan in February 1947, but the Communist leaders simply evacuated it and managed the war from mobile bases...

As late as 15 September 1948, the Guomindang armies still had substantially more total manpower than the CCP. Their superiority in arms and equipment was even greater, and for the most part they had adequate ammunition. However, it was a case of the sheep outnumbering the wolves. The Guomindang forces in North China and Manchuria were scattered in garrisons far enough from one another to make supply very difficult. Chiang Kai-shek, in his determination to hold important cities, kept his men in exposed positions... Finally when the attack began against any city, some units immediately surrendered, or went over to the Communist side.

SOURCE E

*A contemporary photograph of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) entering Beijing March 1949 (reproduced in **Modern China** by Edwin E Moise, London, 1977).*



On 21 January 1949, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) resigned as President of the Republic of China, and later escaped to Taiwan. In March Mao arrived in Beijing. The Guomindang had about 200 000 troops in and around the city, but the general commanding this force had surrendered his men, and their weapons, without a serious fight.

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 C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War, 1960 to 1979

These sources relate to developments in the eastern bloc in 1968, and their impact on the Cold War.

SOURCE A *Extracts from a letter from the French Communist Party to Brezhnev, 23 July 1968.*

Dear Comrade Brezhnev

You ask us to approve the letter sent to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – on behalf of the central committees of the communist workers’ parties of five Warsaw Pact countries – offering direct outside assistance.

To our immense regret, it is impossible for us to comply with this request. In effect this letter goes against a principle that ought to be fundamental in relations between communist parties, and it starts a process that could have the most dire consequences for the cause of socialism and the international communist movement...

We are fully aware that it is vital for the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to wage an effective struggle against all forces seeking to exploit the situation in order to do away with socialism in the country. However, we differ on the method to be used to achieve this objective.

In our opinion, direct outside intervention of any sort must be excluded and the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia must be persuaded to take action on its own.

SOURCE B

*An American cartoon, August 1968 (reproduced in **The World This Century** by Neil DeMarco, London, 1997), showing the Soviet leaders, Brezhnev and Kosygin, dragging the Czechoslovak leader, Dubcek, towards the water.*

SOMEONE IS TAKING DUBCEK SURFING



SOURCE C

An extract from a speech by Brezhnev to Polish workers in Warsaw, November 1968.

The measures taken by the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, in defending the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people, are of great significance in strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class.

The weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism directly affects all the socialist countries, which cannot look indifferently upon this.

The implementation of “self-determinism” – in other words, Czechoslovakia’s detachment from the socialist community – would have brought Czechoslovakia into conflict with its own interests and would have been detrimental [dangerous] to the other socialist states.

SOURCE D

An extract from a speech by Lin Biao (Lin Piao) to the Ninth Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing, 1 April 1969.

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist clique [group] has stepped up its collusion [secret understanding] with US imperialism and its suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries, intensified its control over and its exploitation of the various east European countries ... and intensified its threat of aggression against China. Its dispatch of hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia, and its armed provocations against China on our territory are two unacceptable acts staged recently by Soviet revisionism.

In order to justify its aggression, the Soviet revisionist clique loudly proclaims its so-called theory of “limited sovereignty” and theory of “socialist community”. What does all this stuff mean? It means that your sovereignty is “limited”, while his is unlimited. You won’t obey him? He will exercise his “international dictatorship” over you — dictatorship over the people of other countries, in order to form the “socialist community” ruled by the new Tsars.

SOURCE E

*An extract from **Russia, America and the Cold War, 1949-1991** by Martin McCauley, London, 1998.*

The Czechoslovaks were edging towards social democracy but their new leader, Alexander Dubcek, did not appreciate that his support of greater democracy in Czechoslovakia was perceived as a threat to socialist orthodoxy in Moscow. Tension increased and Moscow enquired about the American view of the situation. President Johnson informed the Soviets that the US would not intervene in what he considered a dispute within the communist bloc. The Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia was therefore free to go ahead in August 1968, fatally weakening the communist movement.

West European parties, led by the Italians, sided with the reforming communists in Czechoslovakia and condemned Russian intervention. For a brief time, Eurocommunism, the democratic face of communism, flourished in western Europe. The invasion ended hopes for greater autonomy for enterprises in the Soviet Union and the slow decline of the Soviet economy set in. The Chinese vented their anger on what they perceived to be social imperialism. The Brezhnev Doctrine was born which obliged socialist states to intervene in one another’s affairs if socialism was perceived to be in danger. Who decided when socialism was in danger? Russia, of course. This in turn led to the fateful decision to intervene in Afghanistan in 1979. In June 1969 a conference of communist and workers’ parties was convened but the Chinese, North Vietnamese and North Koreans declined to attend. There was no world communist movement any more.