



MARKSCHEME

May 2005

HISTORY

Higher Level and Standard Level

Paper 1

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Refer to the accompanying Source Booklet and answer all the questions in either Section A or Section B or Section C.

SECTION A

Prescribed Subject 1 The USSR under Stalin, 1924 to 1941

These questions relate to the struggle for leadership after the death of Lenin. The accompanying sources are on pages 2 to 4 in the Source Booklet.

1. (a) **Why, according to Source A, did Lenin think that Stalin should be removed from his position of General Secretary?** **[3 marks]**

Lenin considered that Stalin was unsuitable because:

- He had become too powerful.
- Lenin feared that Stalin would not use this power satisfactorily/sensibly.
- Lenin feared a confrontation between Stalin and Trotsky, (the implication is that it would damage the Party).
- Stalin was rude, and by pointing out what his “replacement” should be like, Lenin implied that Stalin lacked these qualities.

Award **[1 mark]** for each relevant point made to a maximum of **[3 marks]**.

- (b) **What message is conveyed by Source E?** **[2 marks]**

[1 mark] could be obtained by stating that the message of the cartoon was that Trotsky was evil and must not be supported.

Candidates may view the cartoon as portraying Trotsky as pro-western. Candidates may also refer to Trotsky as being a traitor to the Soviet Union.

[2 marks] would require some development, such as the pen dripping ink suggests that his writings were “poisonous”, or the words Daily Express suggest treasonable contact with foreign powers or press.

The artist Deni (1893-1946) worked for many Russian publications and became an early Bolshevik activist, producing posters and cartoons for the communist regime. Together with Orlov, he was the leading communist artist of his time. However, candidates are not expected to know the above.

N.B. *Do not enter half marks or + and – but compensate between (a) and (b) if necessary for a final mark out of **[5 marks]**.*

2. Compare and contrast the views expressed about Stalin in Sources A and B.

[6 marks]

For comparison

- Both are critical of Stalin and suggest or imply that he was unsuitable for high office. Source A wants him to be removed from his position, and Source B states that Lenin did not consider that Stalin was leadership material.
- Both point out or imply various faults, *e.g.*, his rudeness (Source A), stubbornness, craftiness, ruthlessness (Source B).
- Both point out or imply misuse of power.
- Both indicate that Lenin (at least until 1922), had some regard for Stalin.

For contrast

- Source A suggests that Stalin could split the Party and upset his colleagues.
- Source B goes into more detail, pointing out Stalin's lack of oratorical and writing skills, "crude sins against the Russian language", his lack of understanding of theoretical issues and of international affairs, especially of the West. Trotsky also accuses him of corrupt practices.

Do not demand all the above. If only one source is discussed award a maximum of **[2 marks]**. If the two sources are discussed separately award a maximum of **[3 marks]** or with excellent linkage **[4 to 5 marks]**. For maximum **[6 marks]** expect a detailed running comparison/contrast.

3. **With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations for historians studying the struggle for leadership, of Source C and Source D.** **[6 marks]**

The markscheme should be seen as a framework for the candidates. Reward all relevant evaluative comments or other material from the sources positively.

Source C

Origin: speech by Stalin at a Party Congress.

Purpose: to explain his policy in relation to the opposition and their expulsion.

Value: as it is by Stalin it can be expected to reflect Party policy and no doubt the expulsions had been carried out.

Limitations: as Stalin is explaining what has been done, he is also defending his actions, and putting them in a good light, therefore his account of the opposition and their actions might not be accurate.

Source D

Origin: a biography of Trotsky, written by a Russian historian, after Trotsky's death, and translated into English.

Purpose: to explain Trotsky's life, and set it in context, for a wide readership.

Value: as the author was a Russian - candidates might know some of his background, and can use the introductory notes - he was familiar with Communist USSR and with the fall of Communism - and was able to have access to the opened Russian archives, (he was the first historian to have this advantage).

Limitations: as a Russian and former Bolshevik he could be subjective. He would have known many key characters personally, and had already written acclaimed biographies of Lenin and Stalin - this could also be used as "value".

Do not expect all the above. Ideally there will be a balance between the two sources, and each one can be marked out of **[3 marks]**, but allow a 4/2 split. If only one source is assessed, mark out of **[4 marks]**. For a maximum of **[6 marks]** candidates must refer to both origin and purpose, and value and limitations, in their assessment.

4. **Using these sources and your own knowledge, explain to what extent you agree with the assertion that Stalin was able to become leader after the death of Lenin because of Trotsky’s weaknesses.** **[8 marks]**

Source material that might be used:

Source A Trotsky was too self confident and paid too much attention to administration.

Source B His criticism of Stalin, especially the language used to criticise Stalin as a speaker and a writer, shows his arrogance, and his failure to see Stalin as such a difficult rival indicates his lack of perception and understanding of human nature.

Source C Stalin was able to use Trotsky’s arrogance and pride in his literary achievements to stir up hatred of Trotsky, *e.g.* “people with well known names advertising themselves”, “blowing their own trumpets”, *etc.* Obviously Trotsky was meant, and called a “petty-bourgeois intellectual”, all the characteristics that Stalin and his followers despised. Also Trotsky’s attempts to lead an opposition faction had failed.

Source D Volkogonov spells out Trotsky’s political ineptitude, states that he was no tactician, indicating his failure to attend Lenin’s funeral, or use his friendship with Lenin to his own advantage as Stalin had done.

Source E The cartoon suggests that Trotsky and his writings are anti-USSR and disloyal.

Own knowledge could give more details about missing Stalin’s funeral, discuss his Jewish and Menshevik background, and his attempts to obtain allies in opposition to Stalin between 1924 and 1928. His arrogance and failure to understand people, hence his unpopularity – except with his “Red Army” in the civil war – could also be developed.

To satisfy “to what extent”, and reach top marks candidates should explain briefly other factors/reasons for Stalin’s success in the leadership contest *e.g.* his own qualities and position as General Secretary.

Do not expect all the above, and credit other relevant material. If only source material or only own knowledge is used, the maximum mark that can be obtained is **[5 marks]**. For maximum **[8 marks]** expect argument, synthesis of source material and own knowledge, as well as references to the sources used.

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

These questions relate to Mao Zedong’s (Mao Tse-tung) successful emergence as leader of the People’s Republic of China 1946-49. The accompanying sources are on pages 5 to 7 in the Source Booklet.

5. (a) According to Source A what was the nature of the relationship between Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) after the surrender of the Japanese? [3 marks]

- Candidates can score the first mark by pointing out that relations were strained.
- Development could include that Mao did not trust Chiang.
- Although they signed “a piece of paper”, Mao only signed because he did not wish to appear as the one who was “against peace”.
- American mediation failed and the two leaders prepared to fight.

Award **[1 mark]** for each valid statement up to **[3 marks]**.

(b) What message is conveyed by Source E? [2 marks]

- Candidates may deduce Mao has won the war, or that signs of a battle still exist, or another valid comment.
- Mao appears to be entering Beijing in triumph.
- The armoured car and guns could also indicate that Mao is not fully secure.
- Candidates who see the guns as being raised in salute and being part of a triumphal parade into Beijing should also receive **[1 mark]**.

Award **[1 mark]** for each point up to **[2 marks]**.

N.B. Do not enter half marks or + and – but compensate between (a) and (b) if necessary for a final mark out of [5 marks].

6. Compare and contrast the conduct of the Civil War by the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang (Nationalist Party) as expressed in Sources C and D.

[6 marks]

The demands of this question are to use both sources to compare and contrast the conduct of the two sides. Candidates are not asked to compare and contrast the two sources, but treat any candidate who does this as sympathetically as possible.

For comparison

- Both sides tried to control the areas they occupied (Source C).
- Both sides had problems in fighting in such a large country (Source D).

For contrast

- Nationalists acted as conquerors and alienated the population, whereas the CCP sought to abolish the old feudal system, give land to the peasants, and increase food production (Source C).
- Source D also implies alienation in that their forces changed sides.
- NP tactics were to launch an offensive and capture as much land as possible, whereas the CCP withdrew and regrouped from mobile bases (Source D).
- The NP were better armed and equipped, and had a larger army (Source D).
- The NP fought more traditionally and the CCP used more guerrilla-like tactics (Source D).
- Source C imposed civil administrators by NP and local political organs by CCP.

Do not demand equal treatment of comparison and contrast by the candidates. Candidates may find the comparisons difficult to identify. Please note the comment in the first paragraph regarding sympathetic marking. If only one source is discussed award a maximum of **[2 marks]**. If the two sources are discussed separately award a maximum of **[3 marks]** or with excellent linkage **[4 to 5 marks]**. For maximum **[6 marks]** expect a detailed running comparison/contrast.

7. **With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations for historians studying the emergence of Mao as leader of the People's Republic of China 1946-49, of Source A and Source B.** **[6 marks]**

The markscheme should be seen as a framework for the candidates. Reward all relevant evaluative comments or other material from the sources positively.

Source A

Origin: a recent biography of Mao, by Ross Terrill, and published in the USA.

Purpose: it was intended to explain and assess the life, importance *etc.*, of Mao in a regional and international context.

Value: as the biography was researched and written by an historian outside China, provided it has been thoroughly researched and referenced, it should be objective, and able to present Mao with the benefit of hindsight, and uncensored.

Limitations: in order to assess limitations it would be necessary to study the sources cited and if they are not adequate or convincing there could be some limitations. The author has a western background and is writing for a western audience, so could have difficulty in understanding the Chinese situation.

Source B

Origin: these directives were written by Mao during the civil war, and issued by the Central Committee of the CCP, of which he was the leading figure.

Purpose: they were intended to report the current position in the war, and explain the CCP's future tactics.

Value: as Mao was the CCP leader he should have the full and correct information about the current situation, and also as he was in charge of policy, it can be assumed that the directive reported his plans.

Limitations: as Mao was the leader he had to maintain the morale of his forces, so it was probable that he minimised the enemy's policies, position *etc.*, and maximised those of his own side.

Do not expect all the above. Ideally there will be a balance between the two sources, and each one can be marked out of **[3 marks]**, but allow a 4/2 split. If only one source is assessed, mark out of **[4 marks]**. For a maximum of **[6 marks]** candidates must refer to both origin and purpose, and value and limitations, in their assessment.

8. **Using these sources and your own knowledge, explain how and why Mao had emerged as the leader of China by 1949.** **[8 marks]**

Source material that might be used:

Source A Candidates could use Mao’s words that the “Chinese sky offered a choice between two suns” to show his determination to become the ruler of China.

Source B Reports of NP losses.
Indicates support from the population for the CCP.
Choice of war in the mountainous area which was safe and secure.
Good defensive tactics to wear down enemy.

Source C NP is alienating the people by acting like a conqueror.
Mao won over the peasants by land reform, and food production.

Source D NP overstretched their forces, lines of communication *etc.*
NP tried to capture and hold on to too many cities.
NP suffered from desertions.

Source E The photograph by showing guns *etc.* indicates Mao’s military strength.

Own knowledge that might be used:

Candidates should be able to develop the main reasons why Chiang lost, his alienation of the people, support from unpopular foreigners *e.g.* USA, corruption and brutality, and the appeal of the CCP, especially for the peasants with land reform, and Mao’s revolutionary policies and promises.

The best answers will be in the form of focused balanced thematic essays, rather than sequential treatment of sources and then own knowledge. It is not necessary to include material from all sources. Sources B, C and D are most relevant.

Do not expect all the above, and credit other relevant material. If only source material or only own knowledge is used, the maximum mark that can be obtained is **[5 marks]**. For maximum **[8 marks]** expect argument, synthesis of source material and own knowledge as well as references to the sources used.

SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War, 1960 to 1979

These questions relate to developments in the eastern bloc in 1968, and their impact on the Cold War. The accompanying sources are on pages 8 to 10 in the Source Booklet.

9. (a) **Why, according to Source A, did the French Communist Party disagree with “direct outside intervention” in Czechoslovakia?** [3 marks]

The reasons given in Source A are:

- The direct outside intervention proposed would violate a principle that ought to be fundamental to relations between communist parties.
- Direct outside intervention would start a process that could have dreadful consequences for socialism and the international communist movement.
- Though they agree on the need for action to ensure that socialism in Czechoslovakia was maintained, they differ on the method to be used to achieve this objective.
- Instead of direct outside intervention, the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party must be persuaded to take action on its own.

The question requires use of Source A, not own knowledge. Award [1 mark] for each satisfactory reason given, up to a maximum of [3 marks]. Candidates may not recognise three clear points. Candidates who identify two points and who include well-developed analysis of these points could also gain [3 marks].

- (b) **What message is conveyed by Source B?** [2 marks]

The cartoon shows Brezhnev and Kosygin dressed as gangsters. They appear determined to get rid of Dubcek. He is wrapped in chains and his feet are in a bowl, presumably filled with cement as an empty cement bag is nearby. The cartoon suggests Dubcek is at the mercy of the Soviet leaders, and that they – in gangster fashion – are about to arrange his disappearance. The reference to “surfing” indicates they had weighted Dubcek with chains and cement to dispose of him by drowning. The message is that the Soviet leaders wanted to remove Dubcek and that he seems powerless to stop them.

The cartoon could be understood as condemnation by the USA of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and/or as political propaganda against the USSR.

Award [1 mark] for a plausible suggestion of the cartoon’s message, and [1 mark] for explanation up to a maximum [2 marks].

N.B.: Do not enter half marks or + and – but compensate between (a) and (b) if necessary for a final mark out of [5 marks].

10. Compare and contrast the views expressed about Soviet foreign policy in Sources A and D.

[6 marks]

For comparison

- Both sources express opposition to the policy of offering direct outside intervention. Source A states “In our opinion, direct outside intervention of any sort must be excluded.” Source D also expresses opposition to direct intervention, describing the occupation of Czechoslovakia as “unacceptable”.
- Source A argues that direct outside assistance starts a process that could have dire consequences for the cause of socialism and the international communist movement. Source D echoes and substantiates this criticism, referring to the “unacceptable” invasion of Czechoslovakia and the suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries.

For contrast

- In Source A, disagreements with Soviet policy are expressed clearly and politely: “To our immense regret, it is impossible for us to comply with this request.”
- In Source D, criticisms are expressed more stridently: “the Soviet revisionist clique”; “collusion with US imperialism”; “dictatorship over the peoples of other countries in order to form the ‘socialist community’ ruled by the new Tsars.”
- In Source A, disagreement is couched in terms of disagreement over a principle and the only specific reference to actual events is to the situation in Czechoslovakia.
- In Source D the criticisms of Soviet policy are wide ranging, covering theories (so-called theory of “limited sovereignty” and theory of “socialist community”) and events involving the east European countries and China.

Do not demand all the above. If only one source is discussed award a maximum of **[2 marks]**. If the two sources are discussed separately award a maximum of **[3 marks]** or with excellent linkage **[4 to 5 marks]**. For maximum **[6 marks]** expect a detailed running comparison/contrast.

- 11. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations for historians studying developments in the eastern bloc in 1968 and their impact on the Cold War, of Source C and Source E. [6 marks]**

The markscheme should be seen as a framework for the candidates. Reward all relevant evaluative comments or other materials from the sources positively.

Source C

Origin: extract from a speech by the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, to Polish workers in Warsaw in November 1968, two months after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by forces of some of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Purpose: the speech attempts to justify the invasion, not only to the Polish workers at the meeting but also people in other socialist countries.

Value: provides insight into the thinking and beliefs of the Soviet leader, who was a key figure in arranging the invasion.

Limitations: it indicates what Brezhnev chose to say, rather than what he believed for sure, and it is an extract so does not cover the full spectrum of his views.

Source E

Origin: an extract from a book written by McCauley, an historian, and published in London in 1998.

Purpose: to inform readers about significant developments in the Cold War, particularly the significance of Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Value: it is written after the end of the Cold War and the opening of the Russian archives, by a respected historian and with the benefit of considerable hindsight. Provided the author has researched the topic thoroughly, it could present a balanced account providing accurate detail and well substantiated explanation.

Limitations: it was written long after the events described, by a western historian.

Do not expect all the above. Ideally there will be a balance between the two sources, and each one can be marked out of **[3 marks]**, but allow a 4/2 split. If only one source is assessed, mark out of **[4 marks]**. For a maximum of **[6 marks]** candidates must refer to both origin and purpose, and value and limitations, in their assessment.

12. **Using these sources and your own knowledge, explain to what extent you agree with the verdict that the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was an important turning point in the Cold War.** **[8 marks]**

Source material that might be used:

Source A Shows the division between the French Communist Party and Brezhnev regarding direct outside intervention of any sort.

Source B Shows Soviet leaders likened to gangsters in their treatment of Dubcek. The dark humour of the cartoon projects a negative image of communism.

Source C Presents Brezhnev’s argument that the measures taken strengthened the socialist community, but also that weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism affects all the socialist countries.

Source D Provides strong evidence of the Sino-Soviet split with Lin Biao saying the invasion of Czechoslovakia was “unacceptable”, criticizing the theories of “limited sovereignty” and “socialist community” that arose from the invasion, and claiming that Soviet policy is aimed at a “socialist community ruled by the new Tsars”.

Source E Asserts that the invasion seriously weakened the communist world, led to a slow decline of the Soviet economy, the Brezhnev doctrine, a widening of the Sino-Soviet split, and later the invasion of Afghanistan (1979).

Own knowledge used could include reference to the shift from Khrushchev’s “separate roads to socialism” to the Brezhnev Doctrine, further details of the Brezhnev Doctrine and Sino-Soviet split, the rapprochement between China and the US, and the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. Some candidates may refer to the economic problems leading to the collapse of the USSR – though these are mainly outside the timeframe of the prescribed subject and cannot be expected. Some use of own knowledge may possibly focus on “important” and argue the case of other turning points (*e.g.* the Korean War, involvement in Afghanistan).

Due to the nature of Source E candidates may find it difficult to use their own knowledge extensively as some of this material is already covered in the source. Détente could also be included under own knowledge. To reach top marks candidates must focus on the issue of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as being seen as a “turning point” in the Cold War.

Do not expect all the above, and credit other relevant material. If only source material or own knowledge is used the maximum mark that can be obtained is **[5 marks]**. For maximum **[8 marks]** expect argument, synthesis of documentary material and own knowledge, as well as references to the sources used.
