



HISTORY
HIGHER AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1

Friday 2 November 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 origins of the two 1917 Russian Revolutions.

DOCUMENT A *A report from the Okrana [the Tsar’s secret police], 26 February [old style / Julian Calendar] 1917.*

The movement [rebellion] broke out spontaneously, without preparation, because of the **problems of food supply**. The military units did not hinder the crowd and in some cases stopped the police from acting. The masses gained confidence after two days of unchecked movement on the streets, and revolutionary bodies have raised the slogans “Down with the war”, “Down with the government”. The people are convinced that the masses are winning and that the revolution has begun. They also think that the authorities are powerless because the military units are not on their side, and will soon come out openly on the side of the revolutionary forces, who will be victorious, and the Tsar’s government will be overthrown.

DOCUMENT B *An extract from a letter from Lenin to the Bolshevik Central Committee, 29 September, 1917 [old style / Julian Calendar].*

The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets of workers’ and soldiers’ deputies in Petrograd and Moscow, must take power into their own hands. They can do so because the active majority of revolutionary elements in both cities is large enough to carry the people with it, to overcome our opponents, to smash them and for us to gain and retain power. The Bolsheviks, by immediately proposing a democratic peace, by immediately giving the land to the peasants and by restoring the democratic institutions which have been destroyed by Kerensky, will be able to form a government which nobody will be able to overthrow.

Why must the Bolsheviks assume power at this very moment? Because the imminent surrender of Petrograd will reduce our chances, and the army headed by Kerensky cannot save it.

Nor can we wait for the Constituent Assembly. It would be naive to wait until the Bolsheviks achieve a formal majority. No revolution ever waits for that. History would not forgive us if we do not assume power now.

DOCUMENT C *Trotsky's version of the October events, taken from his book "The Lessons of October", published in 1924.*

In October 1917 the **working class masses, or at least their leading section**, had come to the conclusion, on the basis of the April demonstration, the July days, and the Kornilov events that **isolated protests were no use**, but that we must carry out a decisive insurrection for the seizure of power.

It is quite clear that to prepare for the insurrection [revolution] and to carry it out under cover of preparing for the Second Soviet Congress and under the slogan of defending it, was of inestimable [great] advantage to us.

The outcome of the insurrection of October 25 was at least three-quarters settled the moment we opposed the transfer of the Petrograd garrison to the war front, created the Revolutionary Military Committee on 16 October, and appointed our own commissars in all army divisions. We thereby isolated the general staff of the Petrograd [army] zone, and the government. The moment that the Regiments, on instructions from the Military Committee refused to leave the city, we had a victorious rebellion there.

The insurrection of October 26 was only supplementary [additional]. That is why it was painless. It was "legal" in the sense that it was the natural outcome of dual power in the Petrograd Soviet, workers and soldiers working together.

DOCUMENT D *An extract from a telegram sent by the German Foreign Minister to the German army headquarters on 3 December 1917 [western style / Gregorian Calendar].*

The disruption of the Entente powers is the most important aim of our diplomacy. Russia appeared to be the weakest link, therefore we worked to loosen and destroy it. This was the purpose of subversive activity we caused to be carried out in Russia behind the front – in the first place to promote separatist tendencies and support the Bolsheviks. It was not until the Bolsheviks had received from us a steady flow of funds that they were able to build up their main organ *Pravda*, conduct energetic propaganda, and extend the support of their party. The Bolsheviks have now come to power; how long they retain it cannot yet be foreseen. They need peace. It is in our interest that we exploit the period that they are in power to obtain first an armistice and then if possible peace.

DOCUMENT E

A cartoon from Punch [a British publication] 12 December 1917 [western style / Gregorian Calendar].

**Betrayed.**

“Come on; come and be kissed by him.”

Note: the rear figure is German, the middle figure Bolshevik and on his bag is written German Gold, and Russia is written on the woman’s hat.

1. (a) According to Document A, what was the importance of the reference to **the problems of food supply**? [2 marks]
- (b) Why according to Document C had the working classes or **at least their leading section** come to the conclusion that **isolated protests were no use**? [2 marks]
2. In what ways and to what extent does Document E support Document D? [5 marks]
3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Document A and Document B for historians studying the origins of the two 1917 Russian Revolutions. [5 marks]
4. Using these documents and your own knowledge explain how the origin of the Bolshevik Revolution differed from the origin of the February/March Revolution. [6 marks]

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SECTION B

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

The following documents relate to the role of the emperor, the politicians and the military in decision-making before the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941.

DOCUMENT A *An extract from **The Undefeated** by Robert Harvey, London 1994.*

Hirohito's public position represented the Japanese popular view and overruled his privately voiced objections. More damningly, he felt – perhaps because he believed he would run a real risk of assassination that he could not make use of his direct line to the militarists as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, a peculiarity of the Meiji constitution. However, the reverse certainly applied: the armed forces made use of their direct line to the emperor to bypass the civilians in the cabinet, and to use the stamp of his supreme authority as a cover for their actions. The emperor certainly deserves the charge of weakness, but not of evil intent.

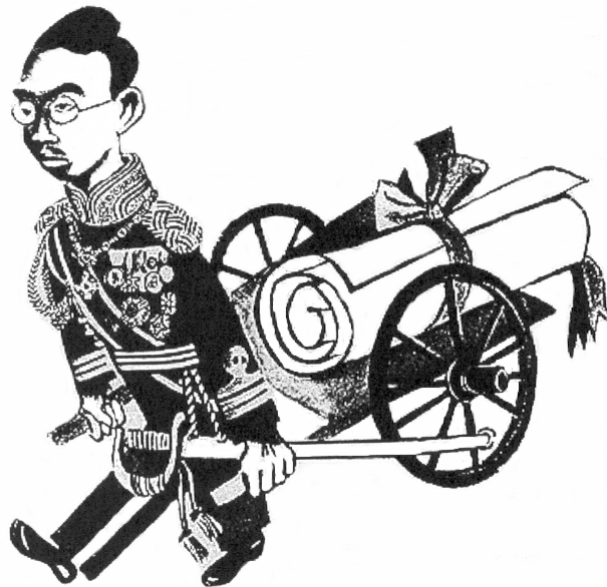
DOCUMENT B *An extract from **The Pacific War** by Saburo Ienaga, Tokyo 1968.*

The situation got so bad that even Premier Konoe, who had a good personal relationship with the military, was reduced to asking the emperor what was going on. The prime minister requested that the emperor inform the cabinet about matters the military reported directly to the throne which he, as prime minister, absolutely had to know for future planning. The emperor told Konoe that the military were unwilling to discuss certain matters at cabinet meetings because civilian politicians were present, and he agreed to pass on essential information to the premier and the foreign minister[...]. The crucial decision to go to war against America and England followed the same pattern. Everything related to Japan's military strength was classified. Cabinet ministers and other senior advisers lacked the information to assess Japan's chances for victory.

DOCUMENT C *An extract from a conversation between Emperor Hirohito and Grand Chamberlain Hisanori Fujita, January 1946, revealed for the first time by Fujita in 1969.*

Hirohito: “Naturally, war should never be allowed. In this case, too, I tried to think of everything, some way to avoid it. I exhausted every means within my power. The Emperor of a constitutional state is not permitted to express himself freely in speech and action and is not allowed to wilfully interfere with a minister’s authority invested in him by the Constitution. Consequently, when a certain decision is brought to me for approval, whether it concerns internal affairs, diplomacy or military matters, there is nothing I can do but give my approval as long as it has been reached by lawful procedure, even if I consider the decision extremely undesirable[...]. If I turned down a decision on my own accord, what would happen? The Emperor could not maintain his position of responsibility if a decision which had been legally reached based on the Constitution could be either approved or rejected by the Emperor at his discretion. It would be the same thing as if the Emperor had destroyed the Constitution. Such an attitude is unthinkable for the Emperor of a constitutional state.”

DOCUMENT D *Cartoon from a western newspaper in the late 1930s.*



Japan’s Emperor gets the Nobel Peace Prize.

DOCUMENT E *An extract from a television interview on 5 September 2000 between Jennifer Byrne, an Australian journalist, and an historian, Professor Herbert Bix, author of the book **Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan**.*

Byrne: “Why didn’t the truth come out during those war crimes trials in Tokyo?”

Bix: “I mean, the truth about the Emperor’s role, if that’s what you’re asking – that was covered up. One thing leads to another but the end result was, for the Japanese people, that there would not be any closure on the lost war because the Emperor had to be protected during his life. I’m talking about a militarist and I’m talking about a man who was never a figurehead, as the deeply entrenched stereotype of the Japanese Emperor. Never a powerless figurehead and a puppet of others, but an active participant in the process of policy formation.”

5. (a) What message is portrayed in Document D? [2 marks]
- (b) According to Document B what concerns are expressed about the way in which the Japanese government made decisions prior to Pearl Harbor? [2 marks]
6. Compare and contrast the explanations given in Documents A, C and E of Hirohito’s influence on making military decisions. [5 marks]
7. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of documents C and E for historians investigating the role of Emperor Hirohito in Japanese politics. [5 marks]
8. Using these documents and your own knowledge assess the responsibility of the military, the politicians and the emperor for Japan’s decision to attack Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941. [6 marks]

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SECTION C

Prescribed Subject 3 The Cold War 1945–1964

These documents relate to the Berlin Crisis of 1961.

DOCUMENT A *An extract from **The USA and the Cold War**, by Oliver Edwards, London, 1997.*

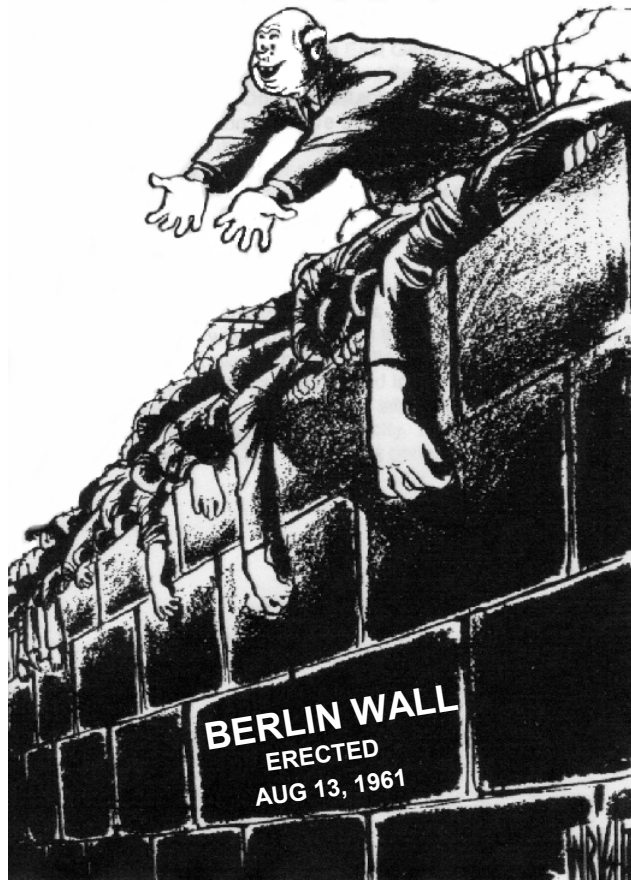
In June 1961 Kennedy and Khrushchev held a summit in Vienna. The Soviet leader was a difficult adversary [opponent] [...] Kennedy suspected that Khrushchev would try to exploit his relative inexperience in foreign affairs [...] One of the key issues at the summit was the future of Berlin. Since 1958 Khrushchev had been seeking a new Berlin settlement and he now reopened the issue. He told Kennedy that unless Western forces withdraw from the city, the Soviet Union would conclude a separate peace treaty with East Germany. Such a treaty would terminate the post war rights of the Western powers in Berlin and allow East Germany to close off the air, road and rail corridors to West Berlin [...] Berlin represented a chink [gap] in the iron curtain. Many Germans were exploiting the freedom of movement between the eastern and western sectors of the city permitted by post war agreements [...] In particular, the haemorrhage [great loss] of skilled labor was hurting the East German economy and Khrushchev wanted to halt the damaging exodus of refugees. Kennedy's response to Khrushchev's threat was unyielding. He stated that the presence of western troops in Berlin was non-negotiable.

DOCUMENT B *Extract of Kennedy's report to the nation on Berlin, July 25, 1961. **Speeches by John F. Kennedy: the Berlin Crisis.***

Seven weeks ago tonight I returned from Europe to report on my meeting with premier Khrushchev and the others [...] In Berlin, as you recall, he intends to bring to an end, through a stroke of the pen, first to our legal rights to be in West Berlin and secondly our ability to make good on our commitment to the two million free people in that city. That we cannot permit [...] The immediate threat to free men is in West Berlin. But that isolated post is not an isolated problem. The threat is worldwide [...] We face a challenge in Berlin, but there is also a challenge in Southeast Asia, where the borders are less guarded, the enemy harder to find, and the danger of communism less apparent to those who have so little. We face a challenge in our own hemisphere and indeed wherever else the freedom of human rights is at stake. Let me remind you that the fortunes of war and diplomacy left the free people of West Berlin in 1945 110 miles behind the Iron Curtain [...] Thus our presence in West Berlin, and our access thereto, cannot be ended by any act of the Soviet government. The NATO shield was long ago extended to cover West Berlin, and we have given our word that an attack on that city will be regarded as an attack upon us all.

DOCUMENT C

An American cartoon by Don Write from the 1960s. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services, New York 1991.



“See How Many are Staying on Our Side.”

The main character in the cartoon is Khrushchev.

DOCUMENT D *An extract from Khrushchev's memoirs in **Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament**, translated by Strobe Talbott, Boston, 1974.*

The establishment of border control straightened things out at once. Discipline in East Germany increased. Plants began working better. So did collective farms. Comrade Ulbricht informed us that there were immediate improvements in the economy of the GDR. The population of West Berlin had been shopping for food in East Berlin, taking advantage of lower prices there. Thus, the West Berliners had been devaluating the East German mark, placing a heavy burden on the shoulders of the GDR's peasants and workers, and therefore extracting political as well as economic gains from the situation. Once we established border control, we put an end to the business [...] I would say that we didn't achieve the same sort of moral victory that a peace treaty would have represented, but on the other hand we probably received more material gains without a peace treaty. If the west had agreed to sign a treaty, it would have meant concessions in our side particularly with regard to the movement of people across the borders.

DOCUMENT E *An extract of Kennedy's comments quoted in **The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev 1960-1961**, by Michael Beschloss, Harper Collins Publishers, 1991.*

For eight days after the border was closed and as the barbed wire fence was replaced by a concrete wall, Kennedy did not say a word in public about what was happening in Berlin. Nor did he allow any statement on the subject to be issued in his name [...] Privately Kennedy told his aides "Why would Khrushchev put up a wall if he really intended to seize west Berlin? There wouldn't be any need of the wall if he occupied the whole city. This is his way out of his predicament. It is not a very nice solution, but a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war."

9. (a) According to Document A what can be inferred about the tone of the summit? *[2 marks]*
- (b) What political message is intended in Document C? *[2 marks]*
10. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Documents B and E. *[5 marks]*
11. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Documents D and E, for historians studying the Cold War. *[5 marks]*
12. Using these documents and your own knowledge assess the effects of the Berlin Crisis of 1961 on the development of the Cold War. *[6 marks]*
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