



MARKSCHEME

May 2011

HISTORY

ROUTE 2

Higher Level and Standard Level

Paper 1 – Communism in crisis 1976–89

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For the attention of all examiners: if you are uncertain about the content/accuracy of a candidate's work please contact your team leader.

1. (a) **What, according to Source A, were the problems facing Gorbachev as a result of his policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring)?** [3 marks]

- Restructuring weakened the Communist Party, which was Gorbachev's source of strength;
- People demanded higher standards of confidence and honesty and it did not become possible to have openness and centralized control at the same time;
- Deputies made use of television (glasnost) for their own ends, which were not necessarily the same as those of Gorbachev.

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

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

- The policy is new (shown as a baby);
- The baby is difficult to control for Gorbachev. This is shown by the sticking plaster on his face, and the fact that the baby is beating him; it can be anticipated that it may cause even more problems for Gorbachev when it is grown up;
- The baby is holding a flag "Democracy, Freedom" which conveys the idea that Glasnost will bring further demands for these ideals;
- Gorbachev is wearing shoes with the communist symbol on them while the baby demands for democracy and freedom. This may be interpreted as illustrating the tension between continuity and change the policies will produce.

Award [1 mark] for each valid point up to a maximum of [2 marks].

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 in Sources A and B about Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika and their consequences for the Soviet Union.** **[6 marks]**

For “compare”

- Both sources imply weakening/decline of the Communist Party as a result of Gorbachev's policies;
- Both sources mention that actions are becoming more difficult to control;
- Both sources imply tension between a party-controlled centralized regime and democracy;
- Both sources view perestroika as starting from above.

For “contrast”

- While Source A assesses the role of Gorbachev's reforms in weakening the USSR, Source B attributes greater responsibility to the role played by Yeltsin in burying the USSR;
- Source A mentions criticism from the people; Source B mentions opposition from the old guard of the party;
- Source B refers to the ending of Soviet mastery in Eastern Europe; Source A does not refer to the foreign relations of the USSR.

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

3. **With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source C and Source D for historians studying Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika.** **[6 marks]**

Source C

Origin: Memoirs written by Mikhail Gorbachev, former leader of the Soviet Union and proposer of glasnost and perestroika, published in London in 1995.

Purpose: To put Gorbachev's version on record and possibly to justify and explain his policies to Western and Russian audiences.

Value: Published in London, so it is probably uncensored; it has the benefit of hindsight and of the opening of some of the Soviet records; it is written by the architect of glasnost and perestroika, the leader of the Soviet Union.

Limitations: Gorbachev is attempting to explain and justify his policies; his memoirs may lack objectivity.

Source D

Origin: This article was written in March 1989 for an academic journal by a US academic with expertise in Political Science.

Purpose: To evaluate events in the Soviet Union as they occurred.

Value: This is a contemporary source, which shows academic US views/thinking/understanding of events in the Soviet Union as they unfold. The academic background of the author.

Limitations: This source represents a view of an ongoing situation that is constantly changing and its accuracy will depend upon the intelligence available at the time and the skill of the writer in interpreting it.

Do not expect all of the above and allow other valid points. 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 marks]** 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.

4. **Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the contribution made by the policies of glasnost and perestroika to the collapse of the Soviet Union.**

[8 marks]

Source material

- Source A: Gorbachev's policies of glasnost/perestroika weakened the Communist Party which started to lose control; glasnost exposed leaders for what they were. A party-controlled regime and democracy were incompatible, leading to instability.
- Source B: The old guard were resistant to Gorbachev's policy of perestroika, while others gave it impetus, therefore creating tension; the reform changed to revolution; the role played by Yeltsin is briefly mentioned.
- Source C: Gorbachev claims that the populace had expected him to provide prosperity through restructuring, but this did not happen, therefore resulting in possible dissatisfaction.
- Source D: This source mentions economic problems that existed in the USSR which called for the application of perestroika. Glasnost, a concession that Gorbachev had to make to get the workers' behind perestroika, brought consequences that contribute to explain the eventual collapse of the USSR. Dissent began to manifest itself in the Soviet Union as well as a growing awareness of the need for a transformation of the political structure.
- Source E: This source shows that Gorbachev is no longer in complete control as glasnost [openness] gains momentum. It indicates that as glasnost moves more towards democracy/freedom, the more it damages Gorbachev and the old regime.

Own knowledge

Own knowledge could include: glasnost and perestroika unleashed demands for more political freedom, for example the demands to democratise the election of members to all state organisms and the demands for the legalisation of trade unions. Such demands quickly became voiced by the media which, with more freedom to report, also focused on the severe social and economic problems previously denied by the Soviet government such as poor housing/alcoholism/absenteeism. Detail on the economic problems brought about by policies such as the failure to increase output; the rise in wages which led to an increase in demand, shortage of basic goods and a rise in prices (which reached near 10% per annum by 1989); the strikes and demonstrations which began to take place such as the coalminers' strikes in Siberia and Ukraine in 1989; additional relevant details on the effects of the tensions between reformers and conservatives and on Gorbachev's problems to satisfy everyone; a development of the role played by Yeltsin up to 1989; his disagreements with Gorbachev over the pace of reforms and their impact; the 1989 demonstrations after Yeltsin and other reformers failed to be elected to the Soviet Supreme; the rise of parties opposed to communism. Glasnost and Perestroika encouraged the republics forming the USSR to demand for greater independence from Moscow

and more power for their respective parliaments (*e.g.* the Baltic States). The reforms also contributed to the rise of nationalism and conflicts such as Nagorno- Karabakh between Armenia and Azerbaijan breaking out in 1988 and leading to demands for separation from the USSR; the growth of independence movements in the Baltic States, particularly after Gorbachev's decision to publicise the secret terms of the Nazi Soviet Pact of 1939.

Do not penalise candidates if, in an attempt to explain how some events contributed to the collapse of the USSR, they go beyond 1989 but do not demand specific knowledge after 1989.

Do not expect all of 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 a maximum of **[8 marks]** expect argument, synthesis of source material and own knowledge, as well as references to the sources used.
