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**HISTORY**  
**ROUTE 2**  
**HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL**  
**PAPER 1 – COMMUNISM IN CRISIS 1976–89**

Thursday 10 November 2011 (afternoon)

1 hour

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.

*Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.*

*Sources in this paper 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.*

*These sources and questions relate to domestic and foreign problems of the Brezhnev era: economic and political stagnation; Afghanistan.*

**SOURCE A**                    *Extract from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: remarks by Leonid Brezhnev at a meeting of top officials in Prague, 9 December 1967. This is a national security archive document.*

The Soviet Union is forced to allocate vast resources to defence. Although the budget officially refers to 22%, much more than that actually must be spent ... Soviet comrades are aware that concern for the defence of the USSR and the entire socialist camp must at all times have pride of place. ... That is why we are continuously working to consolidate the Warsaw Treaty Organization and to ensure that unity on this question will prevail [be accepted] among all its members. Experience from the time of the civil war and the [Second] World War teaches us that we must have a powerful army. The reason that the imperialists do not dare attack Czechoslovakia, Poland or the other socialist countries is that they are aware of the immense military strength of the Soviet Union.

**SOURCE B**                    *Extract from Britannica Online Encyclopedia, 2009.*

Under Brezhnev, Russia dominated the USSR. Three-quarters of the defence industries, the priority sector, were in Russia, and the Russian republic accounted for about three-quarters of the Soviet gross national product. The rapid expansion of the chemical, oil, and gas industries boosted exports so that Russia earned most of the union's hard-currency income. Ownership of consumer goods, such as refrigerators and cars, became a realistic expectation for a growing part of the population. The availability of medical care, higher education and decent accommodation reached levels unprecedented in the Soviet context. But the income from the sale of Russia's natural resources also allowed the Soviet regime to evade undertaking necessary but potentially politically dangerous structural economic reforms.

Kosygin, the Soviet premier, recognized the seriousness of the problems more than Brezhnev and attempted to implement reforms in 1965 and 1968, but the Brezhnev leadership stopped them. By the mid 1970s, growth in the non-natural resource sector of the economy had slowed greatly. The Soviet economy suffered from a lack of technological advances, poor-quality products unsatisfactory to both Soviet and foreign consumers, low worker productivity and highly inefficient factories. At the same time, the agricultural sector of the economy was in crisis.

**SOURCE C**                    *Extract from Modern Afghanistan: a history of struggle and survival by Amin Saikal, Professor of Political Science at the Australian National University, London, 2006.*

The PDPA (People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan) regime’s growing reliance on the USSR found reflection in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed by Brezhnev and Taraki [the leader of the PDPA] on 5 December 1978.

This document was conceived to complement the Afghan–Soviet Treaty of 1921. A clause in Article 4 paved the way for the Soviets to intervene, militarily if necessary, “to guarantee security, independence and territorial unity” of Afghanistan on request and after consultations with its legitimate government.

... this confronted the Soviet leadership essentially with two policy options: either to send troops into Afghanistan to salvage the Communist regime, and therefore the mechanisms of Soviet control and foundations of influence in the country; or to let an Islamic regime take over Afghanistan. It opted for the former.

... There is a point of dispute among scholars as to whether the Soviet action amounted to an invasion or intervention. Bodansky, an American scholar, argued that initially the direct involvement of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was an escalation of Moscow’s previous policies rather than an invasion with the aim of achieving direct and complete control over the country.

At the time the Soviets considered the invasion to be merely a further development of a predetermined policy. They expected the Afghan army to go over to the offensive, while the insurgents [rebels] would be reluctant to take on such a force. Soviet troops were supposed only to provide the initial stiffener [support] and were, therefore, organized for a brief stay of a few months among a friendly and safe population which would welcome the new leadership brought in.

**SOURCE D**                    *Extract from The Collins History of the World in the Twentieth Century by JAS Grenville, Professor Emeritus of Modern History at the University of Birmingham, UK, 1994.*

In the Soviet Union the approach to economic reform was piecemeal [lacked any overview], and good results were achieved in only a few sectors of the economy, which were held back from making faster progress by the backward sectors, the lack of communication, poor roads, widespread corruption, mismanagement and an overall lack of coordination with each ministry seeking to achieve the best results statistically in its own sphere without regard to the whole. This “sectional” approach rarely brought any benefits to the consumer, unless a particularly efficient section actually produced what consumers required. Sometimes this had bizarre consequences. The Strategic Rocket Forces began to produce the best refrigerator, and the Ministry of Aviation manufactured an excellent vacuum cleaner.

**SOURCE E**

*A cartoon of Brezhnev, published in The Sun News Pictorial, Australia, on 6 May 1980.*



*“Gathering a harvest ...”*

[Source: www.geoffook.com, used with permission]

1. (a) What does Source D suggest about the economy of the Soviet Union during the Brezhnev era (1964–1982)? [3 marks]  
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? [2 marks]
  
2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and C about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union during the Brezhnev era (1964–1982). [6 marks]
  
3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source B for historians studying the domestic and foreign problems of the Brezhnev era (1964–1982). [6 marks]
  
4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the reasons for economic and political problems (or stagnation) in the Soviet Union during the Brezhnev era (1964–1982). [8 marks]