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

Wednesday 14 November 2012 (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.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is *[25 marks]*.

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 the consequences of Gorbachev's policies for Eastern European reform movements: fall of the Berlin Wall.

**SOURCE A**                    *Extract from **Berlin Rising: the Biography of a City** by Anthony Read and David Fisher, 1994. Anthony Read and David Fisher are British television writers who have collaborated on a number of historical books.*

On 7 November the DDR government resigned. On 8 November the entire *politburo* followed. The next day a new *politburo* was appointed. At its first meeting they decided to listen to the pleas from the Czech government to stem the flow of refugees, which was causing chaos. One answer would be to issue passports to all East Germans who wanted them, which should stop the immediate rush and allow time to think.

During his press conference, after announcing new appointments, Schabowski, the Berlin party chief, was asked about travel arrangements. Almost without thinking, he reported the decision to issue passports and travel permits on demand. When asked when the regulation would come into force, he replied, "Immediately". East Berliners took Schabowski at his word. His announcement was broadcast on television and radio. Within minutes thousands were hurrying to the nearest checkpoint demanding to be let through. The border guards had received no orders, and did not know what to do. They tried turning people away, but as crowds built up they gave up. Some guards had heard the radio and decided it must be true. One by one, barriers were raised. The Cold War ended almost by accident.

[Extract from Anthony Read and David Fisher (1994) *Berlin Rising: the Biography of a City*, W. W. Norton, London.]

**SOURCE B**                    *Extract from **Why Did Communism Collapse in 1989?**, a research paper by Charles S Maier, January 1991. Charles S Maier is currently Professor of History, Harvard University and was Director of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies 1994–2001. The Minda de Gunzburg Center's governing committees represent the major social science departments at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA.*

Economic difficulties of the 1970s posed harsh alternatives for East and West. With social conflict and confusion over policy, the West opted for the discipline of the world market. The East retreated from economic reforms. Looking back we can see the collapse of 1989 in that difference. Through the 1950s and 1960s Eastern and Western Europe enjoyed comparable growth rates. Socialism and capitalism responded to opportunities and demands of recovery from war. The West remained ahead of the East, but it started from a stronger position. It benefited from the undamaged economy of the United States. East Germany had to serve as the major source of Soviet reparations until 1950; thereafter the Russians exploited their domination to draw industrial goods from their satellites through favourable trading devices imposed through COMECON.

**SOURCE C**

*Extract from **1989 as a Return to Europe: On Revolution, Reform, and Reconciliation with a Traumatic Past** by Dragoş Petrescu, 2008. Dragoş Petrescu is Lecturer in Comparative Politics and Recent History in the Department of Political Science, University of Bucharest. He is a member of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (CNSAS), Bucharest and a Member of the Advisory Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania.*

The coming to power of Gorbachev and his domestic perestroika had an immense impact on the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe. The Soviet policy of non-intervention during 1989 contributed enormously to the collapse of Communist regimes. After 1968 relations between the USSR and the Sovietized countries were dominated by the Brezhnev Doctrine, asserting that the USSR could intervene in any country in which the communist government was threatened. Under Gorbachev the Sinatra Doctrine stated that every country must decide for itself the path to be pursued.

The collapse of Communist regimes cannot be discussed separately from events in neighbouring countries. The “snowball” effect had a decisive role on public opinion. The snowball started in Poland. In Hungary, the regime was influenced by the Polish Round Table Talks of February–April 1989.

**SOURCE D**

*Extract from **Rebirth of a Nation: Anatomy of Russia** by John Lloyd, 1998. John Lloyd was associate editor of *New Statesman*, a British political and cultural magazine, and former Moscow correspondent of the *Financial Times*, UK.*

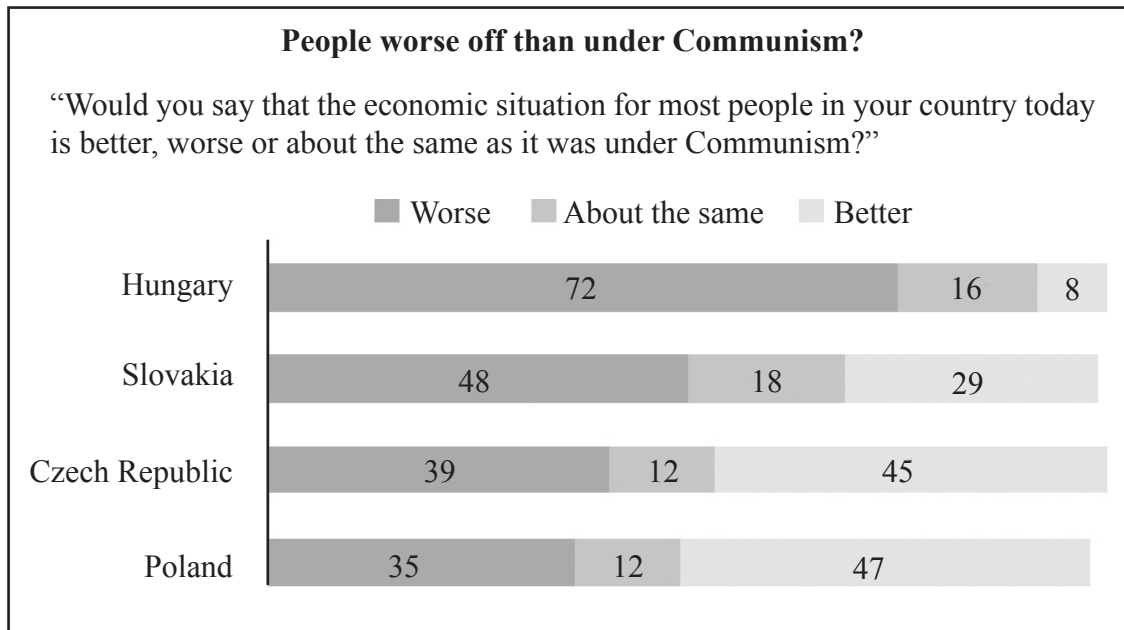
Gorbachev had taken on four vast tasks, which no one could have achieved totally. These were: effect fundamental change in Soviet foreign policy; sweeping economic reform; political liberalization and glasnost; the renewal of relations between the centre and republics/localities. He had poor advice about these, with the partial exception of foreign policy.

He never seemed to grasp that once he started to remove such foundation stones as terror, untouchability of the party, iron unity of the Union, he could not stop the resulting avalanche once it had been allowed to gather momentum. He did not seem conscious that, in encouraging autonomous [independent] action, free expression and initiative from below, he was threatening not just the Communist legacy but the Russian one.

[John Lloyd (1998) *Rebirth of a Nation: Anatomy of Russia*. Michael Joseph Ltd., London.]

**SOURCE E**

*Extract from the Global Attitudes Survey carried out by Pew Research Center, an independent public-opinion polling organization based in the United States, 2009.*



Extract from the Global Attitudes Survey carried out by Pew Research Center, an independent public opinion polling organization based in the United States, 2009. Used with permission, Pew Research Center.

This graph shows opinions about life under Communism up to 1989 when the Czech Republic and Slovakia were still combined as Czechoslovakia.

1. (a) What, according to Source A, contributed to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989? *[3 marks]*  
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? *[2 marks]*
  
2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D about Gorbachev’s policies. *[6 marks]*
  
3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source E for historians studying the consequences of Gorbachev’s policies for Eastern European reform movements. *[6 marks]*
  
4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the reasons for the collapse of Communism by the end of 1989. *[8 marks]*