



MARKSCHEME

May 2013

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) Why, according to Source A, did Solidarity grow as a movement after 1979? **[3 marks]**

- A Pole became Pope.
- The Pope's visit to Poland in 1979 restored national pride.
- Consciences were awakened and strikes and protests occurred.
- The democratic world offered support for change.

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]**

- Walesa/Solidarity is rallying support/has support from workers.
- The broadcast equipment suggests that Solidarity is reaching a wide audience.
- Walesa's position indicates his leadership of the movement.

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

2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources B and D about the role of foreign influence on events in Poland in the 1980s. [6 marks]

For “compare”

- Both sources indicate that Poland feared Soviet intervention.
- Both sources state that Communism would have ended years earlier if it had been realized that the USSR was not going to use force.
- Both sources name President Reagan as having played a part in influencing Soviet policy.
- Both sources state that it was the changes in the USSR that led to the end of Communism in Poland.

For “contrast”

- Source D mentions Pope John Paul II’s role in inspiring Solidarity, whereas Source B does not mention the Pope’s involvement in Solidarity.
- Sources B and D disagree about the effect of Reagan’s election. Source B states that Reagan’s election was crucial in affecting events in Poland, whereas Source D disagrees, it argues that “Reagan achieved no positive change” in his dealings with the first three Soviet leaders.
- Source B claims that a softening of the *Politburo’s* stance on Poland occurred under Andropov, but Source D dates this change to several years later and focuses on the role of Gorbachev.

End-on description of both sources would be worth up to [3 marks] if the comparative element is only implicit, and [4 marks] with excellent explicit linkage. If both sources are used with a good running linkage of both comparison and contrast award a maximum of [4–5 marks]. For the maximum of [6 marks] expect a detailed, comprehensive, running, comparison and contrast. If there is only either comparison or contrast award a maximum of [4 marks].

3. **With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source C for historians studying the role of Solidarity in Poland and Gorbachev’s policies for Eastern Europe.** [6 marks]

Source A

Origin: An article “*Was the Pope Polish? Yes, Thank God*” by Lech Walesa, published in the *Los Angeles Times*, 17 April 2005.

Purpose: To explain the impact that the election of Pope John Paul II had on the struggle against Communism in Poland; to give the former leader of Solidarity’s view on how the struggle against communism developed.

Value: The article was written by Lech Walesa, the leader of the Solidarity movement who was in a position to know how the movement increased its popular support. It was written many years after the end of Communism and therefore may have the value of hindsight. It was published in the US where there is a free press.

Limitations: Lech Walesa may lack objectivity about the role of Pope John Paul II in the struggle against Communism. It is in effect a memoir and therefore he may be trying to justify his actions. He may emphasise the role of Polish factors rather than foreign influence.

Source C

Origin: Mikhail Gorbachev’s speech to the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on 7 December 1988.

Purpose: To reassure the world that the Soviet Union was committed to world peace and disarmament and to inform the UN/world leaders of recent changes in Soviet policies.

Value: It is a statement of official policy from the Soviet leader. It offers a rationale for the Soviet Union’s public position at this point in time. As a statement before the UN, it suggests a commitment to this policy.

Limitations: It is a public speech, therefore some of the statements and promises may be idealistic or propaganda. It may be only a statement of intent. Being a public speech it may not reflect Gorbachev’s own personal opinion/view of others in Politburo.

Do not expect all of 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 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 factors that led to the end of Communism in Poland in 1989.** [8 marks]

Source material

Source A: This source explains how Pope John Paul II's election and how his visit inspired the struggle against Communism. It explains the role of Polish nationalism and Solidarity; it indicates the role of support from the democratic world.

Source B: This source explains that the Brezhnev Doctrine was abandoned in 1981 because of the fear of a strong response from Reagan's government. Soviet economic weakness was also a factor.

Source C: Gorbachev's decision to change the role of the Soviet Army to a defensive one was also a contributing factor to the end of Communism in Poland. His commitment to the principle of freedom of choice and democracy weakened Communism in Poland.

Source D: This source states that Gorbachev's perestroika policies were the main reason why things changed in Poland after 1985. Source D downplays the roles of President Reagan and Pope John Paul II.

Source E: This source shows Walesa as a leader in 1980 with the attention of Polish workers and the media. Solidarity as a growing popular movement.

Own knowledge

Candidates may discuss the role of Polish nationalism; the impact of economic problems such as inflation; the increasing cost of food in the 1970s; high foreign debt by 1980; the way in which Polish nationalism was linked to Roman Catholicism and religious observance as a means of defying the Communist state. The impact of the election of a Pole to the position of Pope and further detail about his visits to Poland and their impact on the growth of anti-Communist movements may be discussed. In 1980 there was another strike over food prices at the Lenin Shipyards led by Walesa that spread all over Poland and from it emerged Solidarity. Walesa won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983, which contributed to the increase of international support for the movement. Jaruzelski was influenced by Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika. He allowed limited reforms but Poland remained economically unstable. Nationwide strikes in 1988 led to talks and the Round Table agreement in 1989. Elections were held in June 1989 and Solidarity candidates won a landslide victory and in January 1990 the Polish Communist party dissolved itself. Some additional detail on the role of Ronald Reagan's government pressure on the USSR in relation to Poland may be included. More detail on the role of Gorbachev's policies, including the Sinatra Doctrine on events in Poland may also be discussed.

Do not expect all the above and accept 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 source material and own knowledge, as well as references to the sources used.