



# **MARKSCHEME**

**May 2014**

**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 the Soviet Union decide to invade Afghanistan? [3 marks]**

- To save the Afghan revolution from being defeated;
- Fear of a possible massive American military presence in the region if the Afghan revolution was defeated because such a presence would threaten the Soviet Union's border security;
- If the Soviet Union did not make this difficult decision then it would cease to be a great power;
- The Soviet Union could take action as it was "legal";
- If they did not invade it would be a disgrace and a betrayal.

*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 caption "Athlete's Foot" and/or the "Afghanistan" bandage on Brezhnev's foot imply that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has wounded Brezhnev and the Soviet Union and/or damaged the country in international affairs;
- The track made of skulls represents the huge death toll from the Soviet war in Afghanistan;
- The empty stands and/or Brezhnev running alone symbolize the boycott of the Olympic Games and/or represent the disapproval of the US and some other Western nations;
- The hammer and sickle emblem waved by a smiling Misha (the bear mascot) suggests that Moscow attempted to use the Olympics to promote a positive image of Communism;
- The soldier with the starting pistol suggests a military influence on events.

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

2. **Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D about the impact of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on foreign relations.** *[6 marks]*

**For “compare”**

- Both suggest that the US withdrew support for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) II treaty and increased arms/defence spending;
- Both suggest that Carter imposed trade sanctions and/or embargoes against the Soviet Union;
- Both discuss the US boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow;
- Both imply that the decision to invade Afghanistan was indicative of the Soviet Union’s lack of effective leadership and of poor strategy and/or both sources imply that the USSR was losing power or in decline.

**For “contrast”**

- Source C says that America’s allies did not see the need to abandon détente whereas D implies that the US abandoned détente by withdrawing SALT II and/or imposing sanctions;
- Source C explains that other Western nations picked up the trade deals with the Soviet Union that the US had dropped, but Source D does not discuss the consequences of the US trade sanctions;
- Source D only mentions the US announcement of a boycott of the Olympics whereas Source C considers the outcome of the boycott and says that the majority of nations ignored it;
- Source C says that detente was damaged by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan whereas Source D says that detente was already a failure because it did not prevent the Soviet invasion;
- Source D claims the USSR entered Afghanistan using force to ‘save socialism’ whereas Source C claims it had done so at the request of the Afghan government.

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. Award up to *[5 marks]* if two sources are linked/integrated in either a running comparison or contrast.

3. **With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source D for historians studying the domestic and foreign problems of the Brezhnev era.** [6 marks]

**Source B**

- Origin: This is an extract from President Jimmy Carter's speech to the US Congress on 23 January 1980 about Afghanistan.
- Purpose: The purpose of the speech is for Carter to report to the US Congress about the American response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, to outline future US policy and to warn the USSR against encroaching into the region.
- Value: This speech is delivered by the President of the US who leads the government, therefore, it may be a valuable source for a historian to identify how the US government interpreted Soviet actions, the US government's fears, the US government's sense of outrage and the way the US government intended to respond. It gives an insight into the public and/or official response of the US at the time of the invasion.
- Limitations: The limitations for a historian are that this speech only gives the US government's perspective about the situation and it may be a form of propaganda. Moreover, its origin suggests it is intended for the general public so it might not give insight into complex details. Carter may want to appear to be a strong leader who takes a tough Cold War stance. The speech is a statement of intent rather than an outline of what the US actually did. There is a lack of hindsight.

**Source D**

- Origin: This source is from *The Cold War* by John Lewis Gaddis, a professor of History at Yale University, published in the US in 2005.
- Purpose: To present an overview of the Cold War from an academic perspective and to inform his students and a general readership about the significance of the various events.
- Value: Gaddis is a professor of History at Yale and a Cold War specialist. The book was published in 2005 and therefore he may have had access to the Soviet archives. Sufficient time has passed since the end of the Cold War and this allows for the benefit of hindsight and reflection.
- Limitations: Gaddis is a professor at Yale in the US, therefore he may have a Western perspective about the Cold War. The book is an overview of the whole Cold War and only a small part of it is focussed on the invasion of Afghanistan and Soviet foreign policy.

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, to what extent do you agree that the invasion of Afghanistan was not in the Soviet Union's best interests? [8 marks]

**Source material**

Source A: This source claims that if the counter-revolution in Afghanistan succeeded this would be against the Soviet Union's vital interests because it could lead to a large US military presence along the Soviet border. Therefore the invasion of Afghanistan was necessary to secure the Soviet Union's security. However, Source A also acknowledges that the invasion was internationally unpopular.

Source B: This source shows the US's hostile response and, according to Carter, the opposition of most countries to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. Carter outlines a number of penalties, such as trade sanctions and a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Carter calls on other countries to join in these. He implies that the Soviet Union will suffer economically and politically as a result of the invasion of Afghanistan. Carter also threatened to use military force to protect the US's regional interests.

Source C: This source states that the US was mistaken in its belief that the invasion was part of a plan for Soviet domination of the Persian Gulf region and this belief led the US: to call for trade sanctions; to withdraw its support for SALT II; to increase its military spending; to boycott the Moscow Olympics. This source also shows that the Soviet Union's relations with other Western countries were not damaged significantly, because the allies of the US stepped into the void created by the US's economic sanctions and many countries ignored the US's request for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

Source D: This source shows the failure of détente. In January 1980 Carter withdrew SALT II, placed embargoes on grain and technology, requested increased defence spending and announced a US boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games. Also this source states that the invasion of Afghanistan alienated the Soviet Union's economic benefactors, thus damaging the Soviet Union's economy, and that it was the outcome of an absence of strategic thinking. Detente had concealed the USSR's difficulties.

Source E: The graphic shows that the Soviet Union damaged itself by the invasion of Afghanistan and that it was a burden, symbolised by the bandage on Brezhnev's right foot. It suggests the Soviet Union had little support in the world and this is indicated by the empty seats in the stadium. The skulls over which Brezhnev is running symbolise the huge casualties as a result of the war.

**Own knowledge**

The intervention could be viewed to be 'in the best interests' of the USSR as it had invested in Afghanistan, and had sent aid and military assistance to the government. The USSR believed that the regime of Amin and reports of increased CIA involvement were a threat. In addition, the Islamic revolution in Iran was a concern for the USSR as they did not want it to spread through its own central Asian Republics.

However, the invoking of the Brezhnev Doctrine damaged Soviet relations with neighbouring countries such as Iran, Pakistan and China. They condemned the invasion and resolutions to

this effect were passed in the United Nations General Assembly. The US gave military aid to the rebel forces in Afghanistan and allowed the CIA to conduct covert operations. The Soviet military did not have clear objectives and by 1982 the Soviet leadership realised that it was involved in a war that it could not win, but it refused to acknowledge this and withdraw. A diplomatic solution was not sought either. The war proved to be very unpopular with the Soviet people and became the Soviet Union's 'Vietnam'. The human cost of the war was damaging, with approximately 15,000 Soviets and more than a million Afghans killed. It also led to internal unrest amongst Muslims in the Soviet Union. The military expenditure, estimated at \$8 billion per annum, made the economic problems in the USSR worse. Brezhnev died in 1982 and he was succeeded by Andropov who was unable to solve the economic problems despite his cuts in government spending. These problems paved the way for Gorbachev who recognised the need for radical change and that *withdrawal* from Afghanistan was in the best interests of the USSR.

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.

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