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

Wednesday 8 May 2013 (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: Poland – the role of Solidarity.

**SOURCE A**                      *Extract from an article “Was the Pope Polish? Yes, Thank God” by Lech Walesa, published in the **Los Angeles Times**, 17 April 2005.*

In the 1960s and 1970s, strikes and demonstrations thundered through Poland. Time after time, the authorities crushed our uprisings. Before 1979, I had tried to organize a group to fight Communism. In two decades, I attracted ten fellow activists. People had no hope that they could overthrow Communism and no faith that world leaders would offer support. Then something unbelievable happened. A Pole became pope. And a year after Pope John Paul II's election, he returned to Poland, and the world observed millions of people in a Communist country participating in public meetings. The Communist regime had stifled national pride. The pope's visit restored it. He spoke to us: “Do not be afraid! Change the face of the world!” These words connected with hearts and minds – and not just Poland's. Consciences began to awaken. Strikes and protests occurred across Poland, followed by negotiations. Within a year of his visit, my group of ten blossomed into the ten-million-member movement called *Solidarność* [Solidarity]. Faith that we could change the world took root, and the democratic world offered support.

**SOURCE B**                      *Extract from **The Cold War** by John Lewis Gaddis, 2005. Gaddis is a professor of History at Yale University, USA, and a historian of the Cold War.*

Reagan's election ensured that any [Soviet] occupation of Poland would provoke an even harsher response than Carter's to the invasion of Afghanistan ... The Soviet economy could hardly stand the strain of supporting Eastern Europe, something it would have to do if, as seemed certain in the event of action against Poland, the West imposed still further sanctions. ... By December 1981, the *Politburo* had decided not to intervene. Andropov told his colleagues “Even if Poland falls under the control of ‘Solidarity’, that is the way it will be. We must be concerned above all with our own country”.

This was a remarkable decision. It meant the end of the Brezhnev Doctrine, and the Soviet Union's willingness to use force in Eastern Europe. Had these conclusions become known at the time, the undermining of Soviet authority that took place in 1989 might well have occurred eight years earlier. But they did not become known: the *Politburo* convinced the new Polish leader, Jaruzelski, that the USSR was about to intervene. Desperate to avoid that, he reluctantly imposed martial law on the morning of 13 December 1981, and imprisoned the organizers of Solidarity.

**SOURCE C** *Extract from Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations General Assembly, 7 December 1988.*

The compelling necessity of the principle of freedom of choice is also clear to us ... Our country is undergoing a truly revolutionary upsurge ... In order to involve society in implementing the plans for restructuring it had to be made more truly democratic ... We foresaw the possibility of breaking in individual sections.

Today I can inform you of the following: The Soviet Union has made a decision on reducing its armed forces ... By agreement with our allies in the Warsaw Pact ..., the armed forces will be given a different structure from today's which will become unambiguously defensive.

**SOURCE D** *Extract from an article "Signposts: Why did Communism end when it did?" by Archie Brown, published in the British magazine **History Today**, March 2010. Brown was a professor of Politics at Oxford University and his work focused on Soviet and Communist politics and the Cold War.*

Communism would have ended years earlier throughout Eastern Europe but for the belief that any attempt to remove Communist rule would produce Soviet armed intervention to reimpose it. Thus the change in the USSR was crucial for all that happened in 1989. That Gorbachev – a radical reformer – played the decisive role in all of this has become increasingly accepted. Claims have also been made for the importance of the part played by President Reagan and Pope John Paul II, but Reagan achieved no positive change in the Soviet Union from the first three of the four Soviet leaders with whom he overlapped. Things changed only after Gorbachev came to power. The Pope helped to inspire the rise of Solidarity, but was powerless to prevent the imposition of martial law in December 1981. It re-emerged as a serious force only three years after the launch of the Soviet perestroika in 1985.

**SOURCE E** *A photograph of Lech Walesa addressing Polish workers in August 1980, taken from the website of the German magazine **Der Spiegel**.  
<http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/photo-gallery-the-father-of-solidarity-fotostrecke-48595.html>. Used with permission.*



1. (a) Why, according to Source A, did Solidarity grow as a movement after 1979? *[3 marks]*  
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? *[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]*
  
  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]*
  
  4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the factors that led to the end of Communism in Poland in 1989. *[8 marks]*
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