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**General Certificate of Secondary Education  
2011**

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## **History**

**Unit 2: The Cold War 1945–1991**

**Higher Tier**

**[GHY22]**

**TUESDAY 7 JUNE, MORNING**

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# **MARK SCHEME**

The detail given in the Mark Scheme is for **teacher guidance** and candidates are not expected to cover **every** point suggested.

## Section A

### 1 This question is about Challenges to the USSR's Control of Eastern Europe: The Hungarian Uprising, 1956.

#### (a) Study **Source A**.

What does **Source A** tell us about the reasons why Khrushchev changed the policy of the USSR towards the states of Eastern Europe?

**Target AO3:** Understand source material as part of an historical enquiry.

No rewardable material [0]

Able to identify detail from Source A about why Khrushchev changed the policy of the USSR towards the states of Eastern Europe.

Award [1] for each piece of information

Candidates should include some of the following points:

- he wanted to keep control of Eastern Europe
- he wanted to improve living standards which were very low
- many could not afford basic goods like shoes or good food
- they were unlikely to remain communist if life did not improve
- he thought that too much money was being spent on weapons
- he wanted to end the cruelty and brutality of the Stalin years
- he wanted to keep their support.

Any other valid point

[4]

#### (b) Study **Sources A and B**.

How far does **Source B** support **Source A** about the reasons for opposition to the USSR in Hungary in 1956?

**Target AO3:** Understand, analyse and evaluate a range of source material to show similarity and difference as part of an historical enquiry.

Award [0] for responses not worthy of credit

**Level 1 ([1]–[2])**

Candidate is able to select one piece of information from either source which is linked to the question but fails to develop similarity and difference. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with limited accuracy.

**Level 2 ([3]–[4])**

Candidate is able to select two pieces of information from the sources to show similarity and/or difference. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with some accuracy.

**Level 3 ([5]–[6])**

Candidate is able to select three pieces of information from the sources to show similarity and difference. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with consistent accuracy.

Candidates may make the following points:

**Points of Agreement**

- both agree that living standards are low and that this leads to discontent
- both mention the shortage of food and other goods due to Russian policies
- both agree that the people living in Eastern Europe have been treated badly by Stalin and the USSR.

**Disagreement/Other points**

- in Source A Khrushchev is explaining how he hopes to improve relations with Eastern Europe by raising living standards and ending the cruelty and brutality with which Stalin treated the satellite states. Source B makes no reference to Khrushchev's hopes for better relations
- Source B gives very specific detail about actions of the AVH (secret police). Khrushchev makes no reference to the AVH in Source A
- Source B states that the Russians forbade the teaching of their own history and culture in schools and universities. Source A does not mention this
- Source B states that they wish to break free from Russian control – Source A states that Khrushchev was determined to keep control.

Any other valid point

[6]

**To access full marks candidates should note both points of agreement and of disagreement/other points**

(c) Study **Source B**.

How useful and reliable is **Source B** to an historian studying the reasons for challenges to the USSR's control over Eastern Europe in this period?

**Target AO2:** Use historical sources critically by comprehending, analysing and evaluating them.

Award [0] for no rewardable material/wrong source

**Level 1 ([1]–[3])**

A vague general account of the content of Source B with little attempt to address the question. Candidates at this level may discuss the content of the source but will not give any indication of the reliability and utility of Source B and will make little or no use of own knowledge. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with limited accuracy.

**Level 2 ([4]–[5])**

Answers at this level will discuss the reliability and/or utility of Source B in explaining the reasons for challenges to the USSR's control over Eastern Europe in this period. Candidates may point out that it is a primary source and discuss the value of this. They may begin to make observations on **authorship**, the fact that this source is the testimony of a student who lived in Hungary at the time and who was opposed to Russian control in 1956, and **motivation**, the reasons why this source was produced, and how these affect reliability and utility. They may use some outside knowledge to support their answers. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with some accuracy.

**Level 3 ([6]–[8])**

Answers at this level will discuss more fully the reliability and usefulness of Source B in explaining the reasons for challenges to the USSR's control over Eastern Europe in this period and may use outside knowledge to support their answers. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with consistent accuracy.

Some of the following points may be made:

**Useful**

- the author is a student who lived in Hungary in 1956
- gives the historian a first-hand account of the experience of those living under Russian control
- gives good detail of the reasons for the opposition to Russian control – lists some of their grievances
- the author can tell us about Hungary only. Would not be useful/reliable for telling us about challenges elsewhere

**Reliable**

- one-sided, focuses on the worst aspects of Russian control
- written by an opponent of the communist system so will obviously focus on the negative
- students played a leading role in the protests and demonstrations against Russian control
- at this time the Hungarians were hoping for outside support, from the USA and the West
- could have exaggerated the situation to win sympathy and support

**Overall**

- very useful but we'd need other sources to confirm the details given by this student.

Any other valid point

\*Some of these points may be made in Level 2. [8]

- (d) Using the **Sources** and **your own knowledge**, explain why there are different interpretations of the reasons for challenges to the USSR's control in Hungary in 1956.

**Target AO2 and AO3:** Demonstrate their understanding of the past through explanation and analysis. Understand, analyse and evaluate how aspects of the past have been interpreted and represented.

Award [0] for responses not worthy of credit

**Level 1 ([1]–[3])**

Limited response, with a weak general answer that does not really address the question. Candidates at the lower end of this level may extract limited information from one source which outlines one view about the reasons for challenges to the USSR's control in Hungary in 1956 (AO3). They may include some general points from their own knowledge which will enable them to achieve marks in the mid-upper end of this level (AO2). Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with limited accuracy.

**Level 2 ([4]–[7])**

Answers at this level may indicate an understanding of the different views of the challenges to the USSR's control in Hungary in 1956 (AO3) but may show limited knowledge or understanding of the reasons for these (AO2). They may refer to the view given by Khrushchev in Source A that no one will believe in communism if they are unable to afford basic goods and to the differing view in Source B that censorship and lack of freedom are also contributory factors (AO3). Candidates can access marks at the higher end of this level if they attempt to use these sources to reach a conclusion about the reasons for challenges to the USSR's control over Eastern Europe (AO3), e.g. Hungarian desire to break free (Source B). Candidates will make close reference to the sources and may begin to use some of their own knowledge (AO2). Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar

are used with some accuracy.

**Level 3 ([8]–[10])**

Candidates at this level will show a clear understanding of the different views about the reasons for challenges to the USSR’s control in Hungary as outlined in Source A, Source B and Source C (AO3) and of the reasons for these (AO2). At the top of this level they will use their contextual knowledge to explain clearly the reasons for these interpretations (AO2) and may make reference to the sources to support their explanation. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with consistent accuracy.

Candidates may make **some** of the following points:

- **Source A** is the view of the Russian leader Khrushchev. Therefore he explains the Russian point of view. He accepts that the people of Eastern Europe had suffered under Stalin and that living standards were low. They could not afford basic goods such as good food and shoes. They had been treated with cruelty and brutality and this led to discontent and protest. However, he insists that Eastern Europe, including Hungary, must remain under Russian control
- **Source B** is the view of a Hungarian student. He supports Khrushchev’s view that poor living standards caused discontent. But he also complains about the activities of the secret police, the AVH and of the fact that schools and universities taught nothing about Hungarian history and culture. He states his view that the communist system is wrong and stupid. He wants his country to break free from Russian control
- **Source C** is the view of an historian writing in 2001, more than forty years after the events. As a result he gives us a wider view of events. He explains the reaction of Hungarians to Khrushchev’s new policy. He describes how they demonstrated against Rakosi’s pro-Russian government in 1956, demanding free elections and an end to Russian control
- **Other relevant points** candidates may use their own knowledge to give more detail about the reasons for challenges to Russian control as outlined in the sources. They might also mention that it was the actions and policies of Khrushchev which brought these out into the open. His condemnation of Stalin encouraged the people of Hungary and other states in Eastern Europe to call for change. Candidates may reach the conclusion that it is the perspective of the author which determines the reason which they regard as most important.

Any other valid point [10]

**Section A**

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## Section B

Answer **one** question from this section.

### 2 This question is about the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1959–1962.

Explain why relations changed between the USA and the USSR as a result of events in Cuba between 1959 and 1962 and how the Cuban Missile Crisis affected relations between the USA and the USSR.

Use the following guidelines to help you with your answer and any other relevant information.

- Castro in power and Cuba's relations with the USA, 1959–October 1962
- Castro in power and Cuba's relations with the USSR, 1959–October 1962
- The Thirteen Days, October 1962
- Effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis on Superpower Relations.

**Target AO1 and AO2:** Recall, select and communicate their knowledge and understanding of history and demonstrate their understanding of the past through explanation and analysis of key concepts, and key features and characteristics of the period studied.

Award [0] for responses not worthy of credit

#### Level 1 ([1]–[7])

Simple descriptive answer rather than explanation and analysis, which may be episodic and lack historical accuracy. To reach the top of level 1, answers must attempt to provide detail of some of the reasons why relations between the USA and the USSR changed over events in Cuba between 1959 and 1962. In level 1, answers may use only two of the bullet points. Answers may be limited in range. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with limited accuracy.

#### Level 2 ([8]–[15])

Developed but limited explanation which goes beyond level 1 by providing a more informed, if limited, analysis. To reach the top of level 2, answers must give more specific detail on the reasons why relations between the USA and the USSR changed between 1959 and 1962. In level 2, answers may use three of the bullet points or may contain omissions in coverage of some episodes and developments. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with some accuracy.

**Level 3 ([16]–[22])**

Well-informed, accurate explanation and a clear and coherent analysis of events. Answers must display sound understanding of the reasons why relations between the USA and the USSR changed over Cuba between 1959 and 1962. In level 3, answers must use all four bullet points with accurate illustrative detail. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with consistent accuracy.

Answers may include some of the following:

**Castro in Power and Cuba's relations with the USA, 1959–October 1962**

- Cuba, the largest island in the Caribbean was situated only 90 miles from Florida in southern USA. Americans owned most of the businesses, banks, sugar and tobacco plantations, as well as a large naval base. The Monroe Doctrine was a key part of USA's foreign policy. The USA regarded the American continent as its sphere of influence and would not tolerate outside influence. In the context of the Cold War the USA would not tolerate a communist government in power
- the overthrow of the pro-American dictator General Batista in 1959 led to a deterioration in US relations with Cuba. The new leader, Fidel Castro, nationalised industries and banks and introduced land reforms. This hurt US banking and business interests. In 1960 the USA ended an agreement to buy Cuba's sugar exports, and in 1961 the USA broke off diplomatic relations and cut off all trade links with Cuba. Cuba was economically dependent on the USA so Castro turned to the USSR for trade. Cuba signed trade agreements with the USSR and most countries in the Soviet Bloc. By 1962 over 80% of Cuba's trade was with the USSR. Cuba exported sugar, fruit and tobacco and imported oil and machinery
- in January 1961 the USA broke off all diplomatic relations with Cuba. In 1961 Castro announced that Cuba was a communist country. This alarmed the USA. President Kennedy was not prepared to tolerate the existence of a Russian satellite so close. In April 1961 the CIA and 1400 Cuban exiles organised an invasion to overthrow Castro. The USA provided transport, weapons and military advisers. The Bay of Pigs invasion was a failure. Most of the rebels were captured or killed. This failed operation embarrassed Kennedy and the USA and made Castro a national hero. The USA continued with attempts to overthrow and assassinate Castro



**Castro in power and Cuba's relations with the USSR, 1959–October 1962**

- after the USA cut diplomatic relations with Cuba, Castro moved closer to the USSR. In May 1962 the USSR agreed to supply Castro with weapons to protect Cuba from future US invasion. Thousands of guns, patrol boats, tanks and jet fighters made the Cuban army the best equipped in Latin America. 42,000 Russian soldiers were also sent to Cuba
- by 1962 the USSR was increasingly concerned at the “missile gap” resulting from the USA’s superiority in long-range nuclear missiles. Khrushchev, the Russian leader, was also concerned about American/NATO missiles in Turkey close to the USSR. Russian influence in Cuba offered Khrushchev an opportunity to balance this threat. The USSR sent technicians to secretly build silos, missile erectors and install 43 short and medium range nuclear weapons by September 1962. The USA was unaware of these developments. Now most of the USA was in range of Russian nuclear missiles. The USSR believed that this would restore balance in the nuclear arms race

**The Thirteen Days, October 1962**

- the Cuban Missile Crisis, known as the Thirteen Days lasted from the 14th until 27th October 1962. On 14th October an American spy plane took photographs which confirmed that Russian missile sites were well advanced and that most of the USA was in range of short and medium range missiles. President Kennedy set up EXCOMM, a small group of military and political advisers to deal with the crisis. 18 Russian ships, many carrying parts for nuclear missiles were sailing towards Cuba. Kennedy decided to set up a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent the Russian ships landing. This avoided direct confrontation with the USSR by avoiding an invasion of Cuba. On 24th October the Russian ships turned back
- Kennedy demanded the removal of Russian missiles from Cuba and threatened an invasion. This increased the risk of confrontation and nuclear war. An exchange of telegrams between Kennedy and Khrushchev on 26th and 27th October eased tensions and allowed the possibility of compromise and a move away from a nuclear war. The USSR promised to withdraw its ships and remove its nuclear weapons from Cuba if the USA removed its Jupiter missiles from Turkey. Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba provided the missiles were removed and an unofficial promise was made to the USSR to remove American missiles from Turkey. Khrushchev accepted this and on 28th October the crisis was over
- the world was on the brink of a nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Kennedy had rejected advice from members of EXCOMM to

invade Cuba. The shooting down of a USA U2 spy plane on 26th October could have triggered a nuclear war

### **Effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis on Superpower Relations**

- Kennedy's reputation was enhanced as he had shown firmness in standing up to Khrushchev. The Russian ships returned home and the Russian missiles in Cuba were removed. Kennedy played down any show of triumph and praised Khrushchev's willingness to compromise
- Khrushchev was criticised in the USSR for losing face in this game of brinkmanship. He was removed from office in 1964. Khrushchev, however, viewed his actions during the Cuban Missile Crisis as a success. The USA agreed that Castro remain communist leader of Cuba and the security of Cuba was recognised. The removal of US missiles from Turkey in April 1963 was viewed by Khrushchev as a victory
- the USA and the USSR realised how close they had come to a nuclear war and the Cuban Missile Crisis helped promote peaceful coexistence. A direct phone link or "hot line" between the two leaders of the USA and the USSR was set up in 1963
- the Cuban Missile Crisis showed the need for nuclear arms control and led to the first attempt to slow the nuclear arms race. In 1963 the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty stopped atmospheric and underground testing of nuclear weapons. In 1969 the USA and the USSR signed the Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which paved the way for a period of détente between the superpowers in the 1970s.

Any other valid point

[22]

22

### 3 This question is about the Vietnam War, 1954–1975.

Explain why the USA became involved in Vietnam and how US involvement changed between 1965 and 1975.

Use the following guidelines to help you with your answer and any other relevant information.

- Reasons for involvement, 1954–1964
- US actions in Vietnam, 1965–1968
- Actions and tactics of the Viet Cong, 1965–1968
- Vietnamisation and withdrawal, 1968–1975.

**Target AO1 and AO2:** Recall, select and communicate their knowledge and understanding of history and demonstrate their understanding of the past through explanation and analysis of key concepts, and key features and characteristics of the period studied.

Award [0] for responses not worthy of credit

#### **Level 1 ([1]–[7])**

Simple descriptive answer rather than explanation and analysis, which may be episodic and lack historical accuracy. To reach the top of level 1, answers must attempt to provide detail of some of the reasons why the USA became involved in Vietnam and how the involvement of the USA changed between 1965 and 1975. In level 1, answers may use only two of the bullet points. Answers may be limited in range. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with limited accuracy.

#### **Level 2 ([8]–[15])**

Developed but limited explanation which goes beyond level 1 by providing a more informed, if limited, analysis. To reach the top of level 2, answers must give more specific detail on the reasons why the USA became involved in Vietnam and how this involvement changed between 1965 and 1975. In level 2, answers may use three of the bullet points or may contain omissions in coverage of some episodes and developments. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with some accuracy.

#### **Level 3 ([16]–[22])**

Well-informed, accurate explanation and a clear and coherent analysis of events. Answers must display sound understanding of the reasons why

the USA became involved in Vietnam and how this involvement changed between 1965 and 1975. In level 3, answers must use all four bullet points with accurate illustrative detail. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with consistent accuracy. Answers may include some of the following:

**Reasons for involvement, 1954–1964**

- Vietnam had been part of French Indo China until 1940 when it was taken over by Japan. After 1945 France tried to regain control but the Viet Minh, a resistance organisation led by a communist Ho Chi Minh fought a guerrilla war against the French. Thus Vietnam became a country of importance in the Cold War. The Truman Doctrine committed the USA to prevent the spread of communism and it provided  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the cost of the war between the French and the Viet Minh. France was defeated at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and withdrew from Vietnam. Vietnam was divided along the 17th parallel. The non-communist South Vietnam was capitalist and North Vietnam was communist and led by Ho Chi Minh
- the government of South Vietnam was dominated by the minority Catholic landlord class. It met resistance from the beginning from the Viet Cong, a communist guerrilla army which wanted a united communist Vietnam. Its members were mainly from South Vietnam but its leader was Ho Chi Minh. Between 1954 and 1964 the USA provided indirect support to the government of South Vietnam to contain the spread of communism. In the 1950s the USA believed in the Domino Theory and saw South East Asia as vulnerable to the spread of communism. Vietnam was seen as “the cornerstone of the free world in South East Asia”. The USA was angry at the presence of North Vietnamese soldiers in South Vietnam and was determined to keep South Vietnam non-communist. By 1964 the USA provided 16,000 advisers and more than \$3 billion in military equipment and financial aid to South Vietnam. President Diem of South Vietnam was killed in November 1963 and the Viet Cong controlled 60% of the country
- President Johnson increased US involvement and in 1964 said that “I am not going to be the President who saw South East Asia going the way that China went”. In 1964 an American ship was attacked by North Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin. The USA used this as the opportunity for direct involvement. The Tonkin Resolution of 1964 allowed President Johnson to take “all necessary measures” against North Vietnam and transformed the USA’s role from indirect to direct involvement. The USA launched an intensive bombing campaign against North Vietnam called Operation Rolling Thunder. In 1965, US soldiers were sent to South Vietnam to help the government against the Viet Cong. By 1968 there were over 540,000 US troops in South Vietnam

**US Actions in Vietnam, 1965–1968**

- the US army was far superior in size and weapons, and expected an easy victory. The USA was frustrated that its vast superiority in weapons could not be used effectively against an unseen enemy. The USA used its planes to bomb North Vietnam, the chief supplier of men and weapons to the Viet Cong. The USA bombed army bases, bridges and weapons factories. Thousands of innocent civilians were killed in these intensive raids
- the USA adopted the unpopular tactic of moving the South Vietnamese peasants out of their villages into strategic hamlets controlled by the Americans. About 40% of the population of South Vietnam was moved. This tactic was resented and only served to gain more recruits for the Viet Cong
- the USA wanted to destroy the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the vital Viet Cong supply route through the dense jungle of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The Americans used chemical defoliants dropped from the air, e.g., Agent Orange, to destroy trees and vegetation. They also used Napalm, a petrol-based liquid which cleared undergrowth but also caused terrible skin burns. These bombing raids caused casualties among civilians: about 300,000 were killed
- the Americans lost the battle to win the hearts and minds of the people of South Vietnam. The Americans were not seen as defenders of freedom but as foreign aggressors. The Americans could not speak the language and could not distinguish between the Viet Cong and the rest of the population. They treated all Vietnamese as suspects. They used search and destroy tactics to burn down villages and shoot suspects. This tactic was aimed at frightening civilians to move to areas controlled by the government
- American frustration against this unseen enemy led to atrocities against civilians, especially the infamous My Lai Massacre in March 1968 when over 300 civilians were killed. Low morale, drug abuse and poor discipline increased in the American army as the prospect of victory became more remote

**Actions and tactics of the Viet Cong, 1965–1968**

- the South Vietnamese who wanted a united communist Vietnam were called the Viet Cong. They used guerrilla tactics and avoided open conflict against the Americans. President Johnson sarcastically called them “a bunch of guerrillas in black pyjamas”. They were experienced guerrilla fighters and knew the jungle terrain well. The Viet Cong gained the support of most South Vietnamese peasants who viewed the Americans as foreign aggressors, not defenders of freedom. This close link was described by one Viet Cong leader: “the people are the water, our armies are the fish”
- the Viet Cong also received vital supplies from Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The Viet Cong also received indirect help in the form of money and weapons from the USSR and China
- the Viet Cong guerrilla tactics included grenade attacks and ambushes on the US troops. The Viet Cong were hidden in the jungle and used Punji traps, land mines and launched surprise attacks from a

system of underground tunnels. The unexpected nature of these attacks and the difficulty of finding those responsible caused frustration for the US army

- in January 1968 the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops launched the Tet Offensive, a sudden attack which captured 75% of the main towns in South Vietnam. The American Embassy in Saigon was attacked. Though the Viet Cong suffered heavy casualties, this offensive convinced many Americans that they could not achieve a military victory against the Viet Cong

### **Vietnamisation and withdrawal, 1968–1975**

- media coverage of the war, e.g. the Tet Offensive and the My Lai Massacre shocked the American people and reduced support for the war in the USA. Anti-war protests and draft dodging increased, especially among students and Black Americans. Over 58,000 American soldiers were killed and 270,000 wounded in a far-away war that many Americans didn't understand. The war was costing \$28 billion each year and was disrupting social and welfare reforms
- Richard Nixon became President in January 1969. He was determined to end US involvement in the war in Vietnam by following a policy called Vietnamisation. This transferred responsibility to the government and army of South Vietnam and allowed the USA to withdraw without losing face. By 1971, the number of US troops in South Vietnam was reduced to 157,000. In 1970, Nixon expanded US bombing into Cambodia and Laos. Nixon wanted to destroy the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the main Viet Cong supply route. However, this widening of the scope of the war led to international condemnation and increased communist support in these countries
- peace talks with North Vietnam dragged on until January 1973. Nixon tried to persuade the USSR and China to put pressure on North Vietnam. In January 1973 the USA and North Vietnam signed a cease fire allowing the USA to withdraw from the war
- soon the North Vietnamese Army launched an attack on the government of South Vietnam. In 1975 Saigon was recaptured and Vietnam reunified under communist control. The new capital of Vietnam, Saigon, was renamed Ho Chi Minh City. However, only part of the USA's fears in the Domino Theory were realised as communist governments were established in Cambodia and Laos but no other Asian country followed.

Any other valid point

[22]

22

**4 This question is about events in Eastern Europe, 1968–1991.**

Explain how and why relations between the USSR and Eastern Europe changed between 1968 and 1991.

Use the following guidelines to help you with your answer and any other relevant information.

- Czechoslovakia, 1968
- Gorbachev: Glasnost and Perestroika
- Events in Eastern Europe, 1989–1991
- Collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany.

**Target AO1 and AO2:** Recall, select and communicate their knowledge and understanding of history and demonstrate their understanding of the past through explanation and analysis of key concepts, and key features and characteristics of the period studied.

Award [0] for responses not worthy of credit

**Level 1 ([1]–[7])**

Simple descriptive answer rather than explanation and analysis, which may be episodic and lack historical accuracy. To reach the top of level 1, answers must attempt to provide detail of some of the changes in relations between the USSR and Eastern Europe between 1968 and 1991. In level 1, answers may use only two of the bullet points. Answers may be limited in range. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with limited accuracy.

**Level 2 ([8]–[15])**

Developed but limited explanation which goes beyond level 1 by providing a more informed, if limited, analysis. To reach the top of level 2, answers must give more specific detail on the changes in relations between the USSR and Eastern Europe between 1968 and 1991. In level 2, answers may use three of the bullet points or may contain omissions in coverage of some episodes and developments. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with some accuracy.

**Level 3 ([16]–[22])**

Well-informed, accurate explanation and a clear and coherent analysis of events. Answers must display sound understanding of how and why relations between the USSR and Eastern Europe changed between 1968 and 1991. In level 3, answers must use all four bullet points with accurate illustrative detail. Spelling, punctuation and the rules of grammar are used with consistent accuracy.

Answers may include some of the following:

### **Czechoslovakia, 1968**

- economic problems in Czechoslovakia led to political protest in early 1968. A new communist leader, Alexander Dubcek introduced reforms of the economy and a relaxing of political control. He called his reforms “Socialism with a human face”. Dubcek wanted to hold free elections and reduce censorship
- Brezhnev, leader of the USSR, expressed concern about these reforms. He feared that other countries in Eastern Europe would demand greater freedom and the USSR’s sphere of influence in Eastern Europe would be undermined. On 20th August 1968, 400,000 troops from the USSR and four other Warsaw Pact countries invaded Czechoslovakia “to restore order”. The Czechs put up passive resistance and Dubcek was arrested
- as a result of events in Czechoslovakia, in November 1968 the Brezhnev Doctrine was published. This stated that countries in Eastern Europe had to remain communist and under the USSR’s control to ensure the security of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. The Brezhnev Doctrine ensured that there were no challenges to the USSR’s control over Eastern Europe until 1980

### **Gorbachev: Glasnost and Perestroika**

- before 1985 the USSR was ruled by older conservative leaders who distrusted reform. The USSR continued to follow the Brezhnev Doctrine. Mikhail Gorbachev, who became leader in 1985, was determined to carry out reform. His two policies of Glasnost (openness) and Perestroika (economic reform) had a big impact on Russian control over Eastern Europe
- tension over Russian control over Eastern Europe had been a major cause of tension with the USA. Political freedom for Eastern Europe would remove one key reason for the Cold War. This encouraged Gorbachev to abandon the Brezhnev Doctrine and allow the countries of Eastern Europe more freedom to decide their future. He believed that each country should sort out its own problems
- Gorbachev’s policies of Glasnost had a profound effect on the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. Gorbachev wanted to reform the economy and political system in the USSR. The nuclear arms race accounted for 25% of the national budget and the standard of living was falling for many Russians. The war in Afghanistan was costly in money and lives and was unpopular. Glasnost (openness) and Perestroika (economic restructuring) were the cornerstones of Gorbachev’s policies. Gorbachev began to cut spending on defence and in 1987 the USSR and the USA signed a treaty to remove most of their missiles from Europe
- Gorbachev therefore adopted a new policy towards Eastern Europe. It was no longer needed as a buffer zone. Gorbachev abandoned the Brezhnev Doctrine and in March 1985 he made it clear that communist governments in Eastern Europe would no longer be propped up by the Red Army. The impact of this policy not to intervene to support communist governments was soon felt in Eastern



Europe

**Events in Eastern Europe, 1989–1991**

- there was much resentment at political repression and economic decline during the Cold War. In 1989 and 1990 the Communist Party lost control in almost all countries. By 1989 the trade union Solidarity led by Lech Walesa challenged the communist government over Poland’s economic problems. In 1989 the Polish government agreed to hold free elections and legalise Solidarity. In August 1989 Poland became the first country in Eastern Europe to have a non-communist government. In 1990 Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity was elected president of Poland
- free elections in Hungary and Czechoslovakia led to non-communist governments. For a time Romania and Bulgaria stayed loyal to the USSR and communism. In 1990 Ceausescu, the unpopular communist leader in Romania was executed and the communist government in Bulgaria resigned. By 1990 communist rule in Eastern Europe ended. In 1991 when Gorbachev met President Bush they declared that the Cold War was over. Gorbachev’s reforms also hastened the collapse of the USSR. In 1991 the Baltic States became independent and the rest of the USSR was broken into 15 semi-independent states

**Collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany**

- the sudden collapse of communist control in 1989, the “year of miracles” led to the collapse of the Iron Curtain. This was best symbolised by events in Germany and the demolition of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. In East Germany, Eric Honecker, the communist leader, ignored Gorbachev’s advice to make reforms. During 1989 thousands of East Germans had fled to West Germany through Hungary
- on 9th November thousands of demonstrators forced their way through checkpoints along the Berlin Wall. That night thousands using pick axes and hammers demolished large sections of the wall. The Berlin Wall had been a stark symbol of the East West divide. Many people were reunited with friends and family for the first time since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961. The opening of the Berlin Wall was the first step towards the reunification of Germany. In October 1990 East and West Germany were reunited.

Any other valid point [22]

**Section B**

**Total**

AVAILABLE MARKS

AVAILABLE  
MARKS

22

**22**

**50**



