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

Friday 12 November 2010 (afternoon)

1 hour

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.

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 consequences of Gorbachev’s policies for Eastern European reform movements: Poland – the role of Solidarity, Czechoslovakia – the Velvet Revolution.

SOURCE A *An extract from “Gorbachev and Glasnost – A New Soviet Order? Implications for US Foreign Policy”, Thomas M Magstadt, taken from the journal **Policy Analysis**, March 1989. Magstadt was chairman of the Political Science department at Kearney State College, USA.*

Eastern Europe poses a terrible dilemma for Gorbachev. He cannot encourage reforms without jeopardizing party rule [and therefore Moscow’s dominant position in the region]. He cannot relax the party’s grip without risking instability and possibly rebellion. He cannot undertake economic and political reforms without opening the floodgates of nationalism. Finally, he cannot continue to speak with moral authority about the “new thinking” needed to revitalize a languid [weak] society at home while remaining silent on the need for similar reforms elsewhere within a stagnating Soviet bloc.

SOURCE B *A picture taken in 1989 depicting crowds gathering in protest in Prague. (Source: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/images/0097752ccbb856ca2a28fdb7ed6bc78f.jpg>.)*



Hundreds of thousands took to the streets for days in 1989.

SOURCE C *An extract describing the events of the Velvet Revolution, taken from Radio Prague’s “History Online” website, 1997.*

The protest began as a legal rally to commemorate the death of Jan Opletal, but turned into a demonstration demanding democratic reforms. Riot police stopped the students halfway in their march. After a stand-off in which the students offered flowers to the riot police and showed no resistance, the police began beating the young demonstrators. One student was reportedly beaten to death and – although this was later proved false – this rumour served to crystallize [strengthen] support for the students and their demands among the general public. In a severe blow to the communists’ morale, a number of workers’ unions immediately joined the students’ cause.

Massive demonstrations of almost 750 000 people at Letna Park in Prague on November 25 and 26 and the general strike on November 27 were devastating for the Communist regime. The Civic Forum presented a list of political demands at their second meeting with Adamec [Czech Prime Minister], who agreed to form a new coalition government and to delete three articles – guaranteeing a leading role in political life for the Czechoslovak Communist Party and for the National Front, and mandating Marxist–Leninist education – from the Constitution. These amendments were unanimously approved by the Communist parliament on 29 November 1989.

SOURCE D *An extract from “Solidarity – the trade union that changed the world”, taken from the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty website, 24 August 2005.*

The strike that changed the world began around dawn on 14 August 1980.

Some 17 000 workers seized control of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to protest, among other things, about a recent rise in food prices. Their leader, Lech Walesa, had narrowly avoided arrest by secret police and had managed to scale the shipyard gate and join the workers inside. Soon, workers in 20 factories in other areas joined the strike in solidarity.

Seventeen days later, after negotiations with Poland’s Communist government, Walesa appeared before the workers in the shipyard with an historic message: “We have an independent self-governing trade union! We have the right to strike!”

In September 1980, the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity – or NSZZ Solidarnosc – was officially formed. Over the next 15 months, the union’s membership grew from 1 million to 9 million people – a quarter of the country’s population.

On 13 December 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski [Polish Prime Minister] declared martial law and outlawed Solidarity.

SOURCE E

*An extract from **Politics in Eastern Europe**, George Schöpflin, Oxford, UK, 1993. Schöpflin was born in Hungary and has worked as a Lecturer in Political Institutions of Eastern Europe at the London School of Economics, UK.*

It [the system of Democratic Centralism] could still control the streets and attempts to demonstrate the symbolic weakness of the system by rallies could generally be dispersed by force, certainly in the first part of the decade. The regular confrontations in Poland between workers and the detested riot police, the ZOMO (Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia), ended in a victory for the latter. While the Jaruzelski regime was prepared to live with dissension behind closed doors and in factories, it would not tolerate the open and symbolic flouting of [challenge to] its power that the demonstrations represented. To that extent there remained a degree of safety for the regimes, but an internal canker [disease] proved more serious to their health – the erosion of the Leninist system of organization.

1. (a) What does Source A suggest about the problems facing Gorbachev in March 1989? [3 marks]
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source B? [2 marks]
 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D about the methods and successes of the protesters. [6 marks]
 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source D and Source E for historians studying Communism in crisis and the role of Solidarity in Poland. [6 marks]
 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the reasons for the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. [8 marks]
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