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

Wednesday 14 May 2014 (afternoon)

1 hour

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 domestic and foreign problems of the Brezhnev era: Afghanistan.

SOURCE A *Extract from an article written by Alexander Bovin, published in the Soviet newspaper **Izvestia**, 1980. Alexander Bovin was a Russian journalist and diplomat.*

We had either to bring in troops or let the Afghan revolution be defeated. We decided to bring in the troops. We knew that the victory of counter-revolution would pave the way for massive American military presence in a country which borders on the Soviet Union and that this was a challenge to our country's security. We knew that the decision to bring in troops would not be popular in the modern world even if it was absolutely legal. But we also knew that we would have ceased to be a great power if we refrained from taking unpopular but necessary decisions. There are situations when non-intervention is a disgrace and a betrayal. Such a situation developed in Afghanistan.

SOURCE B *Extract from a speech by President Carter to the US Congress, 23 January 1980.*

The implications of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could pose the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War. The vast majority of nations on Earth have condemned this latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others and have demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops ... The Soviet Union must pay a price for their aggression ... That's why the United States has imposed stiff economic penalties on the Soviet Union ... I've asked our allies and friends to join with us in restraining their own trade with the Soviets and not to replace our own embargoed items. And I have notified the Olympic Committee that neither the American people nor I will support sending an Olympic team to Moscow ... The Soviet Union must realize that its decision to use military force in Afghanistan will be costly to every political and economic relationship it values. The region which is now threatened by Soviet troops in Afghanistan is of great strategic importance ... An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

SOURCE C *Extract from **Cold War** by Jeremy Isaacs and Taylor Downing, 1998. This book was the companion to a television series on US news channel CNN. Both authors have had careers producing historical documentaries for television.*

The Western belief that the Soviet invasion was part of a plan to dominate the region as far as the Persian Gulf was mistaken. The decision to intervene was the act of a divided and leaderless Politburo that was already beginning to lose its grip on power ...

Carter denounced the invasion and called for trade sanctions against the Soviet Union ... The administration now dropped its support of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) II treaty and initiated a rapid increase in arms spending ...

Brezhnev denounced Carter's "lies" about Afghanistan and insisted that Soviet troops had entered Afghanistan at the request of the Afghan government, and that there was no intention of withdrawing them ...

America's allies did not see the need to abandon détente because of events in Afghanistan. As US trade with the Soviet Union dropped, other Western nations stepped in; huge trade deals cancelled with American companies were picked up by European firms. That summer the Olympic Games were due to be held in Moscow. The games went on despite the American-led boycott, and a majority of nations competed.

SOURCE D *Extract from **The Cold War** by John Lewis Gaddis, 2005. John Lewis Gaddis is a professor of History at Yale University, US.*

Détente had failed ... to prevent the Soviet Union from using military force again to save "socialism". That much was clear in January 1980, a month in which President Carter withdrew the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) II treaty from the Senate, imposed embargoes on grain and technology shipments to the USSR, asked for a significant increase in defence spending, announced that the United States would boycott the Moscow Olympics, and denounced the invasion of Afghanistan.

What was not so clear at the time though, was what all this meant for the global balance of power ... It should have been clearer at the time that the Soviet Union was on the path to decline, and that détente was concealing their difficulties ... The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan looks less like a coordinated strategy to shift the global balance of power and more like the absence of any strategy at all. What kind of regime provokes those upon whom it has become economically dependent?

SOURCE E

*A cartoon by Stanley Franklin, published in the British newspaper **The Sun**, 19 July 1980. The athlete shown in the cartoon is Leonid Brezhnev. The small bear is Misha, the mascot for the 1980 Olympic Games.*



ATHLETE'S FOOT

[Source: A cartoon by Stanley Franklin, published in the British newspaper *The Sun*, 19 July 1980. Used with permission.]

1. (a) Why, according to Source A, did the Soviet Union decide to invade Afghanistan? *[3 marks]*
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? *[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]*

 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]*

 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]*
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