



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
SUPPLEMENTARY 2014

HISTORY: PAPER I

**SOURCE MATERIAL
FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C**

SOURCE A

An extract from an article which appeared in *The New York Times* by the American reporter Serge Schmemmann who was based at the newspaper's office in Moscow, USSR.

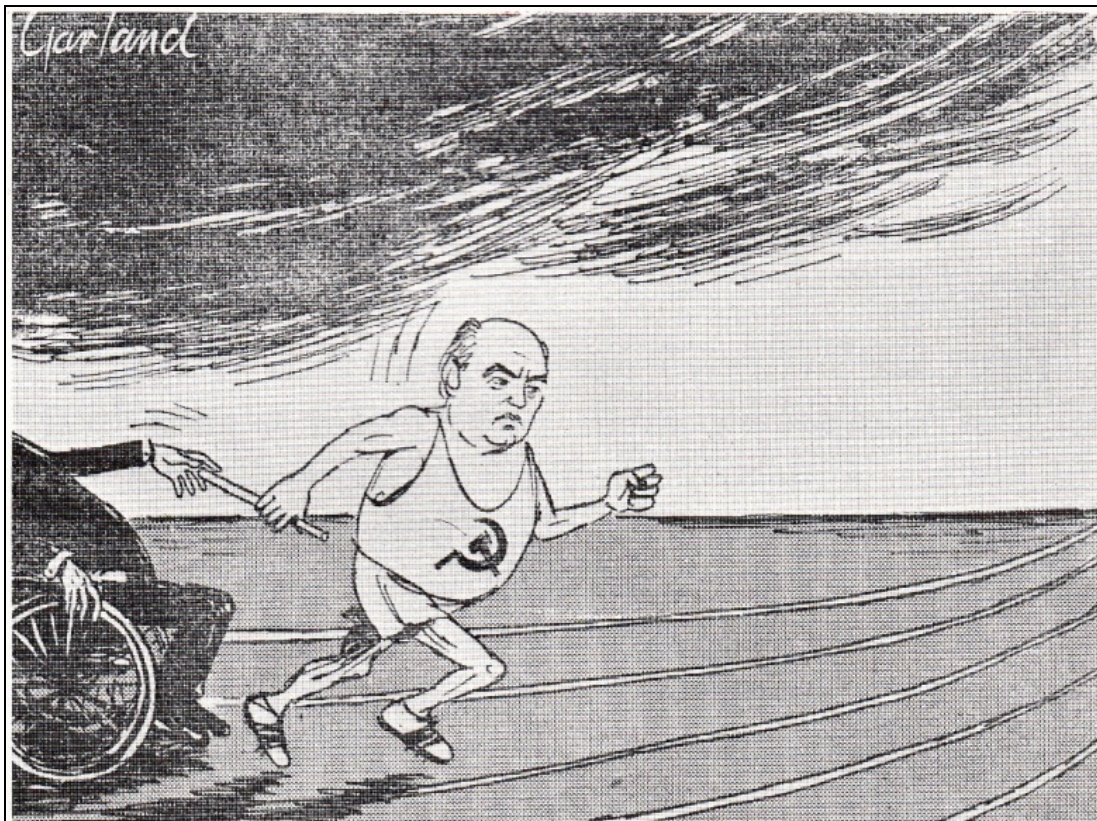
I was in Moscow when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power on March 11 1985. The Soviet Union had been stagnating* under a progression of doddering* old Communist leaders who ruled through fear and inertia*. The few people who criticised the system, known as dissidents*, were regularly sent to prison, and the government fought desperately to keep Western information and ideas out. But the absence of information served only to push the Soviet Union further behind the West, where widespread access to computerised information was opening a new era. More and more Communists were beginning to understand that unless the system allowed some freedom of expression and thought, it would grind to a halt. Finally the last of the old leaders died and Gorbachev was chosen as the new leader. He had just turned fifty-six and he was impatient to reform the system from top to bottom.

[Schmemmann, S., *When the Wall Came Down*. London, Kingfisher, 2006, page 40]

- * stagnating – showing little activity/progress
- * doddering – slow and unsteady
- * inertia – tendency to do nothing
- * dissidents – those who openly disagree with official policies

SOURCE B

A cartoon that appeared in the British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* in March 1985 showing the newly elected Soviet leader Gorbachev taking the baton of Soviet leadership



[Nichol, J and Shephard, K. *Russia*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, page 64]

SOURCE C **A view of Gorbachev's reforms by two British historians**

Mikhail Gorbachev needed great skill to tackle some of the very difficult problems facing the Soviet Union. Soviet troops had been stuck in a messy war in Afghanistan since 1980. Gorbachev had to try and find a way of getting out of the conflict which had been nicknamed the Soviet Union's 'Vietnam' because the Superpower seemed unable to win it. He was faced with mounting economic problems. The huge amounts of money spent on the arms race meant that badly needed modernisation of the economy could not easily take place. There were still queues in the shops. From time to time there were very serious problems with the harvest so the Soviet Union had to import grain from America. Gorbachev felt that the Soviet Union needed more democracy. People needed more of a say in the running of the economy and even of the government. This was no easy idea to accept in a country in which there was only one political party.

[Mantin, P. and Lankester, C., *From Romanov to Gorbachev: Russia in the 20th Century*. London, Hutchinson, 1989, page 85]

SOURCE D **An extract from an on-line article on Gorbachev's reforms in the USSR**

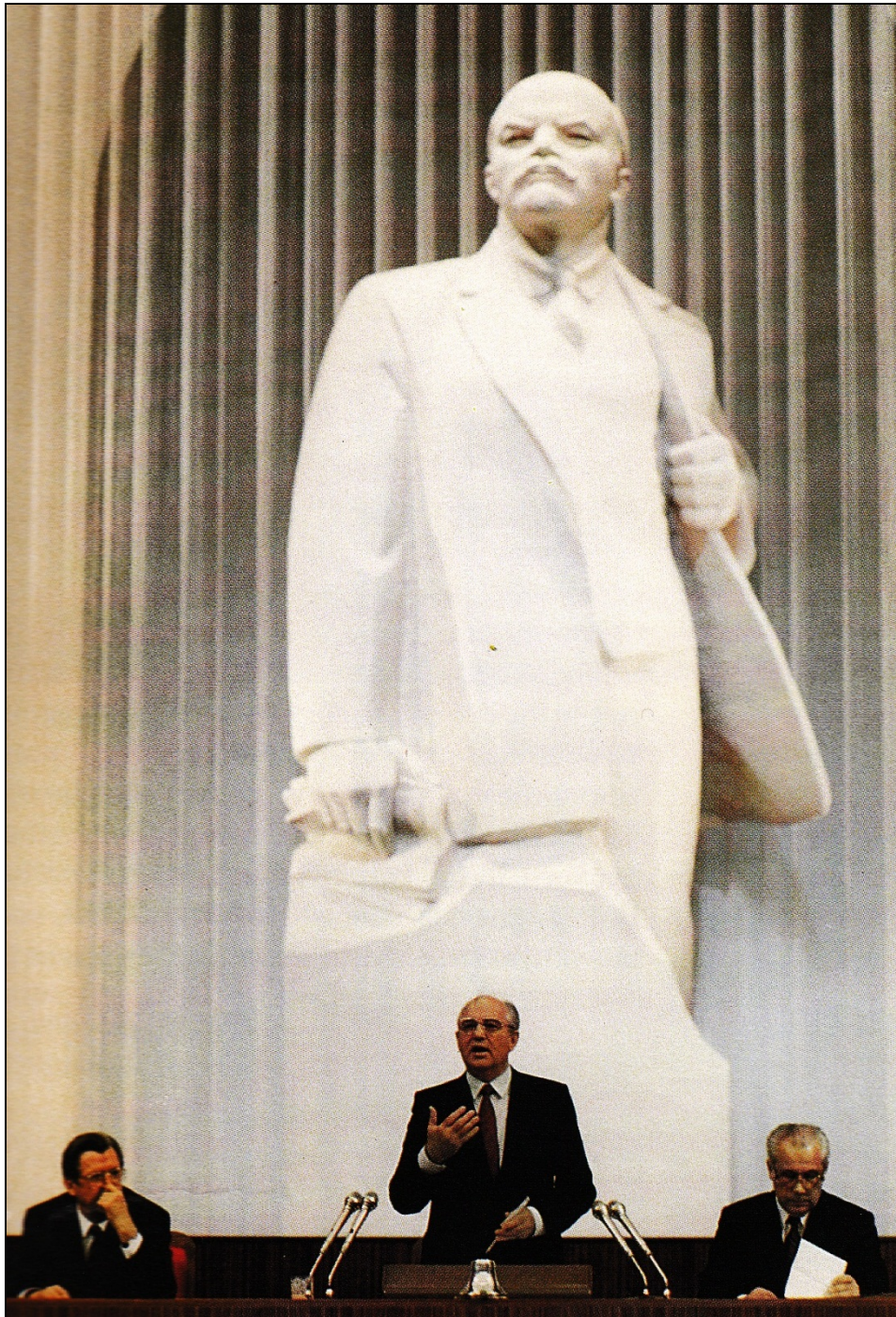
By the time of the 1985 rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's last leader, the country was in a situation of severe stagnation*, with deep economic and political problems which needed to be addressed and overcome. Recognising this, Gorbachev introduced a two-tiered policy of reform ... What Gorbachev did not realise was that by giving people complete freedom of expression he was unwittingly* unleashing emotions and political feelings that had been pent up for decades, and which proved to be extremely powerful when brought out into the open. Moreover, his policy of economic reform did not have the immediate results he had hoped for and had publicly predicted. The Soviet people consequently used their newly allotted* freedom of speech to criticise Gorbachev for his failure to improve the economy.

[<www.coldwar.org/articles/90s/fall_of_societ_union.asp> Accessed 13 April 2013]

- * stagnation – little activity or progress
- * unwittingly – not aware of the consequences
- * allotted – given

SOURCE E

A photograph of Mikhail Gorbachev addressing the Soviet parliament in 1986. Behind him is a large statue of Lenin – the founder of Communist Russia. Gorbachev wanted to preserve communism by reforming it. However, he faced opposition from older communists.



[Harbor, B., *Conflict in Eastern Europe*, London, Wayland, 1993, page 9]

SOURCE F An extract from a secondary school history textbook

The USSR had always controlled Eastern Europe to provide a security zone. Gorbachev turned this idea on its head*. He said that the USSR could not afford to have millions of troops in Eastern Europe to keep it Communist. He made it clear in 1989 that Soviet troops would not put down demonstrations in Eastern European countries ... Today Gorbachev is still regarded as a hero in the USA, Western Europe and Eastern Europe. However, he is less well-regarded in Russia. Many Russians see Gorbachev as the man who lost their empire. It is easy to see why. Gorbachev started a process of change that could not be stopped.

[Walsh, B., *Essential Modern World History*, London, John Murray, 2003, page 212]

* on its head – upside down

SOURCE G An extract from an on-line article on the collapse of the USSR

The Gorbachev initiative (reform) that had the most far-reaching effect was his decision to abandon Soviet control of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe ... Just over a year after taking power Gorbachev oversaw reforms that loosened the Soviet grip on these states. In a landmark* speech at the United Nations in December 1988 he declared that all nations should be free to choose their own course without outside interference*. To the amazement of millions he capped* his speech by announcing that the USSR would significantly reduce the number of troops and tanks that were based in the Eastern Bloc countries.

Gorbachev's move had unintended consequences. He had hoped that his reforms would revitalise* and modernise the Soviet Union. Instead they unleashed* social forces that brought an end to the USSR ... Despite his willingness to try new approaches, Gorbachev remained committed to the principles of socialism and determined to maintain the Soviet republics as one nation. In the end, however, his efforts to rein in the reform spirit he had turned loose were ineffective.

[Adapted from: <www.history.com/topics/endofussr> Accessed 12 April 2013]

* landmark – turning point in history

* interference – involvement

* capped – ended off; concluded

* revitalise – put life back into

* unleashed – set free

SOURCE H An extract from a book written by the British historian, Archie Brown

On 25 December 1991 the red flag was lowered from the Kremlin and by the end of the month the Soviet Union had passed into history. Fifteen new states stood where one mighty superpower had been. Neither the system nor the Union had to disappear in this particular way. Before Gorbachev's reforms only a handful of dissidents* dared voice their grievances and demands in public. A different leader from Gorbachev might have resorted to old-style force the moment he saw that reform was leading to loss of control.

[Brown, A., *The Gorbachev Factor*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, page 30]

* dissidents – those who openly disagree with official policies