



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION  
SUPPLEMENTARY EXAMINATION – MARCH 2018

**HISTORY: PAPER II**

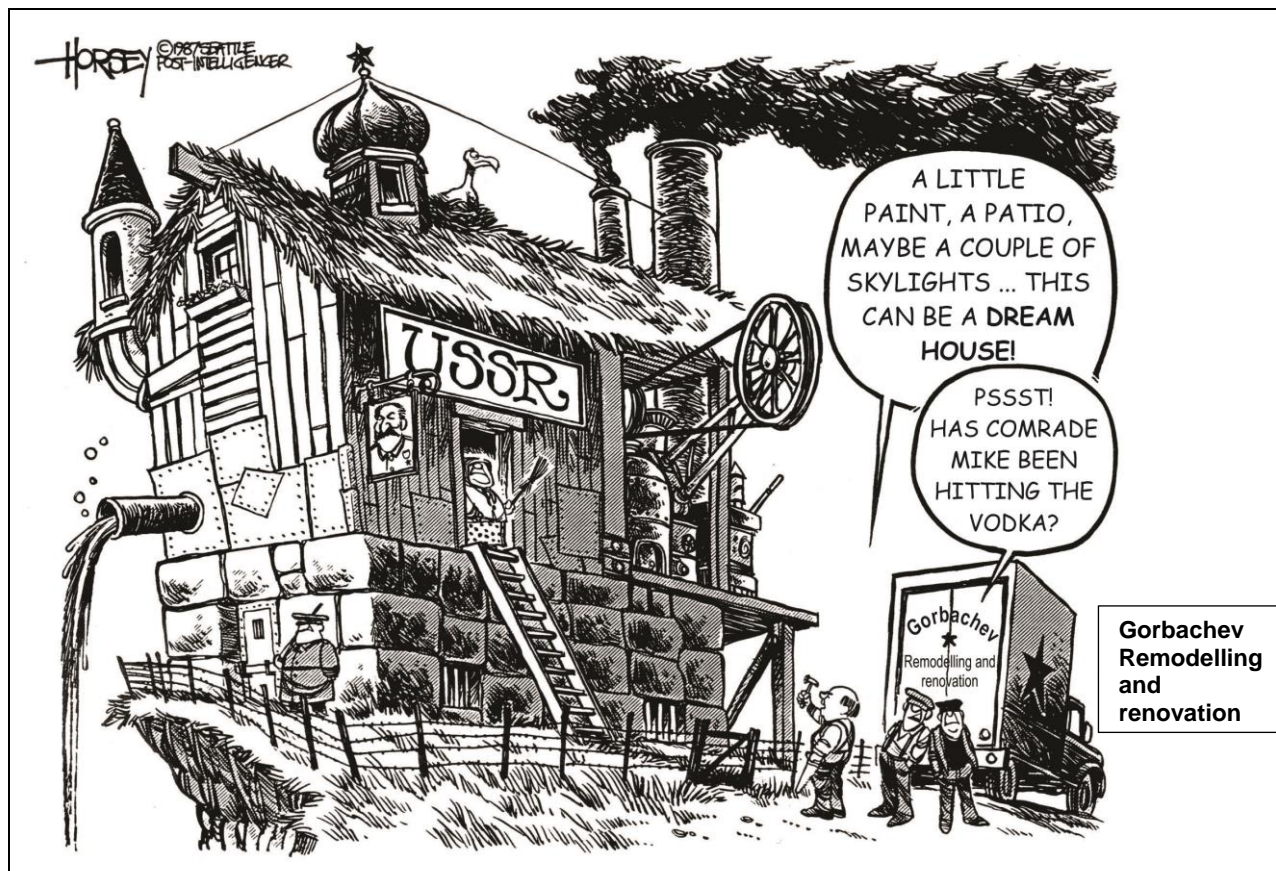
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<p><b>SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C</b></p>
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**SOURCE A**

This is a cartoon drawn by an American cartoonist in 1987 commenting on the USSR and the policies of Gorbachev.



[D. Horsey. 1987. [ONLINE]. Available at: <<http://www.ukrainebusiness.com.ua/news/16718.html>>  
Accessed 21 December 2016]

**SOURCE B**

An extract from an historian commenting on the economy of the Soviet Union in the 1980s.

Under communism, living standards lagged far behind those in capitalist West. Goods and services were in short supply. Housing was scarce and poorly built. Medical care was free but inadequate. Pollution poisoned the earth. The peoples of Eastern Europe wanted a complete change in how they were governed.

[Adapted from: D. Pietrusza. 1995. *The End of the Cold War*. San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, p. 11]

**SOURCE C**

**This is a table interpreting official Soviet statistics that charts Soviet food supplies during the 1980s.**

<b>Soviet Food Situation: Surplus or Deficit of Selected Foods<sup>a</sup></b>					
	<b>Meat</b>	<b>Milk<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>Grain<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>Potatoes<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>Vegetables</b>
Russia	–	–	–	–	–
Ukraine	+	+	+	+	+
Byelorussia	+	+	–	+	+
Kazakhstan	+	+	+	Even	–
Moldova	+	+	–	–	+
Armenia	–	–	–	+	+
Azerbaijan	–	–	–	–	+
Georgia	–	–	–	–	+
Kyrgyzstan	Even	–	–	–	+
Tajikistan	–	–	–	Even	–
Turkmeniya	–	–	–	–	–
Uzbekistan	–	–	–	–	+
<b>a</b>	Based on official Soviet statistics for production and consumption of major food products for 1988. Pluses indicate that area produces more than sufficient quantities based on historical consumption levels. Minuses indicate an area produces less.				
<b>b</b>	Includes butter.				
<b>c</b>	Adjusted for feed use.				

[Central Intelligence Agency, 'Soviet Food Shortages,' *Making the History of 1989*, Item #182, <<https://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/182>> Accessed 6 January 2017]

**SOURCE D**

**An extract from a western historian commenting on the economic and political climate in Eastern Europe in 1989.**

A revolution is born as much of hopes as of discontents\*? Yes, the economic 'discontents' were there, overwhelmingly in Poland and Romania, persistently\*, though less dramatically, elsewhere ... But, unlike in Poland in August 1980, it was not a turn of the economic screw that precipitated\* mass popular protest in any east European country in 1989. It was political hopes – and outrage at the repression with which the local regimes attempted to curb\* those hopes.

[Adapted from: T.G. Ash. 1999. The Year of Truth. In V. Tismaneanu (ed). *The Revolutions of 1989 Rewriting Histories*. London: Routledge, p. 111]

\*discontents – dissatisfied

\*persistently – existing or continuing for a long time

\*precipitated – caused

\*curb – restrict or hold back

**SOURCE E**

**This is an extract from a speech delivered by American President Ronald Reagan at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, Germany on 12 June 1987.**

We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. **(Paragraph 1)**

Are these the beginnings of profound\* changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. **(Paragraph 2)**

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall! **(Paragraph 3)**

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict\* this continent – and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defences of unassailable\* strength. **(Paragraph 4)**

[Adapted from: The History Place. 2017. *Great Speeches Collection*. [ONLINE] Available at: <<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/reagan-tear-down.htm>> Accessed 4 January 2017]

\*profound – very great

\*afflict – trouble

\*unassailable – unbeatable

**SOURCE F**

**This is an extract from an article commenting on the policies that Gorbachev put in place in the Soviet Union during the 1980s.**

In March 1985, a long-time Communist Party politician named Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the leadership of the USSR. He inherited a stagnant\* economy and a political structure that made reform all but impossible ... Gorbachev introduced two sets of policies that he hoped would help the USSR become a more prosperous, productive nation. **(Paragraph 1)**

However, these reforms were slow to bear fruit. ... but the market economy took time to mature ... Rationing, shortages and endless queuing for scarce goods seemed to be the only results of Gorbachev's policies. As a result, people grew more and more frustrated with his government. **(Paragraph 2)**

Gorbachev believed that a better Soviet economy depended on better relationships with the rest of the world, especially the United States ... Gorbachev vowed to bow out of the arms race. He announced that he would withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, where they had been fighting a war since 1979, and he reduced the Soviet military presence in the Warsaw Pact nations of Eastern Europe ... This policy of non-intervention had important consequences for the Soviet Union ... The first revolution of 1989 took place in Poland ... This, in turn, sparked peaceful revolutions across Eastern Europe. The Berlin Wall fell in November; that same month, the 'velvet revolution' in Czechoslovakia overthrew that country's Communist government ... This atmosphere of possibility soon enveloped\* the Soviet Union itself ... One by one, the Baltic states ... declared their independence from Moscow ... **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: History.com Staff. 2011. *Fall of the Soviet Union*. [ONLINE] Available at: <<http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/fall-of-soviet-union>> Accessed 28 December 2016]

\*stagnant – declining and slow moving

\*enveloped – surrounded completely

**SOURCE G**

**This extract describes the observations of John Simpson, a BBC TV news reporter in the USSR in April 1990.**

There's no food, no cars, nothing in the shops. What's the point in having money when there is nothing to buy? I've come to hate Gorbachev ... I hate the bloody Communists as well. They've wrecked this country ... This view was, I found, entirely representative ... No one had a good word to say for the Communist Party or Gorbachev.

[P. Fisher. 1998. *The Great Power Conflict after 1945*. Cheltenham: Thornes, p. 82]

**SOURCE H**

**This is an extract from an article written in 2012 for an American news website commenting on Gorbachev's reforms.**

Leonid Brezhnev's policy towards the Eastern European Bloc, known as the 'Brezhnev Doctrine,' forbade any democratisation or economic integration with the West amongst Warsaw Pact states, with the threat of military force. Joseph Stalin was equally intent on maintaining the Eastern Bloc as Soviet satellite states through the threat of force. However brutal these policies may be, they were actually the 'cornerstone of the East Bloc's stability'. Gorbachev's "profound miscalculation" was ... a complete failure 'to come to terms with the depth of popular East European disillusionment\* with and opposition to any form of communism, reformed or otherwise'. The very reason that Eastern Europe remained communist and in the Soviet sphere of influence was with the threat of the Red Army.

[Adapted from: The State of the Century. 2012. *Gorbachev's Miscalculation and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. [ONLINE] Available at: <<https://thestateofthecentury.wordpress.com/2012/11/22/gorbachevs-miscalculation-and-the-collapse-of-the-soviet-union>> Accessed 6 January 2017]

\*disillusionment – disappointment

**SOURCE I**

**This is an extract from an article written in 2011 by a British political scientist and historian discussing the collapse of the Soviet Union.**

The Soviet Union ... had serious political and economic problems. Technologically, it was falling behind not only Western countries but also the newly industrialised countries of Asia. Its foreign policy evinced\* a declining capacity to win friends and influence people. Yet there was no political instability within the country, no unrest, and no crisis. This was not a case of economic and political crisis producing liberalisation and democratisation. Rather, it was liberalisation and democratisation that brought the regime to crisis point.

[Adapted from: A. Brown. 2011. *Reform, Coup and Collapse: The End of the Soviet State*. [ONLINE] Available at: <[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/coldwar/soviet\\_end\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/coldwar/soviet_end_01.shtml)> Accessed 8 January 2017]

\*evinced – showed clearly