



INTERNATIONAL SECONDARY CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2022

HISTORY: PAPER II
MARKING GUIDELINES

Time: 3 hours

200 marks

These marking guidelines are prepared for use by examiners and sub-examiners, all of whom are required to attend a standardisation meeting to ensure that the guidelines are consistently interpreted and applied in the marking of candidates' scripts.

The IEB will not enter into any discussions or correspondence about any marking guidelines. It is acknowledged that there may be different views about some matters of emphasis or detail in the guidelines. It is also recognised that, without the benefit of attendance at a standardisation meeting, there may be different interpretations of the application of the marking guidelines.

SECTION A INDIVIDUAL SOURCE ANALYSIS**QUESTION 1 VISUAL ANALYSIS**

1.1 *What does the abbreviation AAM stand for?*
[LEVEL 1]

- Anti-Apartheid Movement.

1.2 *What does the photographer wish to capture about the significance of this march in 1985? Support your answer with TWO visual clues.*
[LEVEL 3]

- The photographer has focused on the leaders of this march to illustrate that it has international recognition.
- The leader of the ANC in exile Oliver Tambo is shown holding hands with Jesse Jackson the US civil rights activist and the head of the British AAM, Father Trevor Huddleston.
- The photographer has captured the multi-racial nature of the march and that it has support from all genders and age groups.

1.3 *Using the source and your knowledge, indicate how successful the AAM was in convincing the British Government, led by Margaret Thatcher, to impose sanctions on the apartheid government.*
[LEVEL 2]

- The AAM was successful to a certain extent in putting pressure on the British Government to move away from Margaret Thatcher's policy of constructive engagement with Botha's government
- Barclays Bank and other British companies did disinvest from apartheid South Africa.
- Candidates might choose to say that the AAM was not successful in convincing the British Government led by Margaret Thatcher as she was following a policy of constructive engagement and strongly believed that it was better to put gentle pressure on the apartheid government and that sanctions would only hurt the ordinary people.

1.4 *Using the source and your knowledge, give TWO examples of ways that the international community put pressure on the apartheid state to change their laws.*
[LEVEL 1]

- Boycotts of South African products
 - Sport Boycotts
 - Cultural Boycotts
- [ANY TWO relevant points.]**

1.5 *How would this photograph have been received by the people living in Soweto in 1985?*

[LEVEL 4]

- This photograph would have inspired hope in the people of the townships of South Africa in 1985.
- They would have been so proud to see Oliver Tambo joining hands with international figures like Jesse Jackson and Father Trevor Huddleston to lead a march of 150 000 people to Trafalgar Square.
- They would have been so excited to see that the ANC and the liberation struggle had so much support in England. They were not alone in their struggle against apartheid.

[ANY TWO relevant points.]

QUESTION 2 TEXTUAL SOURCE ANALYSIS

2.1 *Which liberation movement was Sam Nujoma the leader of in 1990?*
[LEVEL 1]

- SWAPO – South West African Political Organisation

2.2 *Use your own knowledge to explain how 'the changed international situation' contributed to the smooth transition to independence in Namibia in 1990. Provide TWO comprehensive points.*
[LEVEL 3]

- The Cold War was ending by 1990 and this meant that liberation organisations like SWAPO could no longer rely on support from the Soviet Union and that the South African government could no longer rely on support from the west for their anti-communist stance.
- This forced both sides to negotiate a way forward for Namibia.

2.3 *Use your knowledge to explain when and how South African rule in Namibia began.*
[LEVEL 1 AND 2]

- It began after the First World War when South Africa was awarded a mandate over German South West Africa for their contribution to the Allied victory in 1918.
- The South African Government was able to administer South West Africa as if it was part of their territory.

2.4 *Find a historical concept in the source that best fits each of the following definitions. Write down only the historical concept. (No explanation is required)*
[ALL LEVEL 2]

2.4.1 A nation's wealth or assets.

- capital

2.4.2 The set of laws that govern a nation.

- constitution

2.4.3 Brutal oppression and domination.

- repression

2.5 *According to the author, why was the peaceful transition to independence in Namibia so remarkable? Provide TWO reasons.*
[LEVEL 4]

- The author states that the peaceful transition to independence in Namibia was remarkable as there had been so much oppression from the apartheid South African state and the war for independence had been violent and had left a legacy of bitterness.
- Yet they were able to negotiate a peaceful transition to independence.

QUESTION 3 CURRENT ISSUE IN THE MEDIA

3.1 *Using the source and your knowledge, explain why the author Mac Maharaj wrote that FW de Klerk has left a complicated legacy. Provide TWO comprehensive points.*

[LEVEL 4]

- De Klerk's legacy is complicated as he was the last apartheid President who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize with Nelson Mandela for his role in bringing about the end of apartheid and the beginning of democracy in 1994.
- He is also remembered for being involved in some of the last stages of repression and for being aware of the role of the so-called Third Force that was responsible for some of the terrible violence in the 1990s.
- He was a loyal member of the National Party who stood by the apartheid laws until he began the process of unravelling the policy in 1990.
- He is also remembered for being unable to acknowledge that apartheid was a crime against humanity until the very end.

[ANY TWO points]

3.2 *According to the article, how did FW de Klerk treat the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Give ONE quote to support your answer.*

[LEVEL 4]

- According to this article, de Klerk was disrespectful towards the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as he did not tell the whole truth when he was called to account for some of apartheid's crimes that he knew about as the President.
- 'He was economical with the truth at the Truth & Reconciliation Commission ...'

3.3 *According to the author, what was FW de Klerk's greatest failure?*

[LEVEL 2 AND 4]

- According to the author FW de Klerk's greatest failure was that he was unable to understand that apartheid was a crime against humanity and was really unable to completely transform himself or the people he represented.
- The author wrote that this was a 'huge and indelible stain' that could not be removed.

3.4 *According to the author of this article, what was FW de Klerk's main concern in the negotiations towards the creation of the new nation that would emerge in 1994?*

[LEVEL 2]

- FW de Klerk's main concern in the negotiation process was to put the interests of the white minority above the interests of the new nation.

3.5 *How reliable is this article as an assessment of FW de Klerk's legacy as the last apartheid president?*

[LEVEL 6]

- This article is reliable to a certain extent or reliable with some limitations.
- The author, Mac Maharaj served alongside de Klerk in Mandela's cabinet from 1994 and was part of the negotiation process in the 1990s.
- It is however important to remember that he was an ANC stalwart who was involved in the armed struggle and therefore not likely to praise FW de Klerk.
- It is also important to recognise that this was published as an opinion piece after the death of FW de Klerk on 11 November 2021 and was one of many articles offering different opinions about the legacy of FW de Klerk.

To obtain full marks, mention should be made of origin, intention and bias/limitation and value within the source.

Use this rubric in conjunction with the abovementioned guidelines:

5–6	Evaluation/limitation & bias Comprehends the source/acknowledges limitation/focuses on origin and intention and acknowledges bias in order to deduce that the source has limited reliability. Must quote/provide some reference to bias in the source or bias of origin and publication to be credited with 6 marks.
3–4	Analysis and limitation Shows ability to comprehend the source/acknowledges origin and/or intention and vague mention of the limitation of the source if used on its own/no attempt to evaluate the source (bias, etc.).
1–2	Comprehension Describes the information obtained from the source/only able to comprehend the source but no attempt to evaluate the source itself (limited discussion of origin or intention).
0	No attempt to answer the question.

SECTION B SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Study the sources contained in the Source Material Booklet and then answer the following questions:

Refer to Source A

4. *Using the source, write down TWO of the challenges facing the Soviet Union in 1985 when Gorbachev came into power.*

[LEVEL 1]

- Economy was faltering
- Dissidents and critics inside and outside were calling for an end for political oppression.

5. *Using the source and your knowledge, explain the policy of glasnost. Give TWO points.*

[LEVEL 2]

- The policy of glasnost moved away from State secrecy and meant 'transparency and openness'
- It gave new press freedoms that were able to expose the most negative aspects of the Soviet Union – past and present.

6. *Using the source and your knowledge, describe how the policy of perestroika was going to transform the Soviet Union. Give THREE points.*

[LEVELS 3 and 4]

- The policy of perestroika was meant to restructure the Soviet politically and economically.
- Aimed to rebuild/reform the Soviet economy not just replace it with capitalism. Main focus to move away from complete State control (centrally planned economy) to allow space for market forces to operate.
- Private businesses were allowed to operate, and they could make their own decision about prices, production and marketing. They had to finance themselves from loans from newly created State banks.
- Bankrupt State-owned businesses could no longer rely on State support. The State withdrew many of its subsidies which resulted in more realistic pricing depending on supply and demand.
- People could buy and sell at a profit and international investment was encouraged.

[ANY THREE points]

7. *According to the author, what was the impact of these reforms on the Soviet Union? Support your answer with ONE quote.*
[LEVEL 4]

- The author states that these reforms were not the only reason for the end of the Soviet Union but that they made it happen quicker and instead of strengthening the Soviet Union they undermined its foundation.
- 'While the reforms of glasnost and perestroika were not the sole causes of the dissolution of the USSR, the forces they unleashed destabilised an already weakening system and hastened its end.'

OR

- 'There is little doubt that these reforms, intended to strengthen the economy and transform the political system, instead undermined the very foundation of the Soviet Union.'

Refer to Source B

8. *Why did Gorbachev feel most proud of perestroika? Give THREE reasons.*
[LEVEL 3]

- Perestroika was the programme he established to reform and restructure the Soviet economy and political system.
- It also meant restructuring international relations that would push for nuclear disarmament, and the end of intervening forcibly in other countries, and moving towards understanding that even superpowers lived in an interdependent world.
- It led to the end of the Cold War and moved towards a new world order.
- Ultimately resulted in the gradual movement away from a totalitarian state to a democracy.

[ANY THREE reasons]

9. *Give the name of the Soviet Union's policy towards the eastern European states before Gorbachev introduced the policy of non-intervention.*
[LEVEL 2]

- The Brezhnev Doctrine

Refer to Source C

10. *Does the cartoonist believe that Gorbachev's reforms wanted to destroy the ideology of communism? Support your answer with TWO visual clues.*

[LEVEL 4]

- No, he does not believe that Gorbachev wanted to destroy the ideology of communism.
- He draws Gorbachev pointing in a new direction, but he wants the ideas/ ideology of Communism to move with him.
- The cartoonist draws the former leaders of communism as not supporting Gorbachev's reforms, but he is trying to get them to join him.
- Gorbachev is drawn as a modern man wanting the ideas of Communism to move into a new era.
- The caption, 'Forward Comrades!' suggests that he does not want to leave communism behind – he wants Marx, Lenin and Stalin to move with him into the future.

[Must have a stand and then support it with TWO visual clues.]

Refer to Source D

11. *How did the leaders of Solidarity in Poland take advantage of Gorbachev's reforms in 1989? Give THREE points.*

[LEVEL 2 AND 4]

- Leaders like Lech Walesa were in a good position to take advantage of the reforms as they were already established as a movement that had 10 million members.
- They were the first to test Gorbachev's policy that said the Soviet Union would no longer use force to defend communism in the satellite states.
- They agreed to the roundtable talks with communist leaders that led to partially free elections in June 1989.
- Solidarity won a resounding victory and Tadeusz Mazowiecki formed a government that September.

12. *What does the story of Solidarity reveal about the role of nationalism and popular protest in the disintegration of the Soviet Union by 1991? Give THREE points.*

[LEVEL 6]

- The story of Solidarity reveals that nationalism and popular protest had a huge role to play in the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
- Their successful organisation even before Gorbachev's reforms led to mass opposition to communism and revealed that co-operation between trade unions, the Church and other organisations could be a powerful force that already had 10 million members by 1981.
- They set the example for other European countries to follow such as Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia.

[Give THREE comprehensive points]

Refer to Source E

13. *What does the photograph reveal about the motivations of the protestors in 1989? Support your answer with TWO visual clues.*

[LEVEL 6]

- This photograph reveals that the people of East Berlin wanted change and that they believed that Gorbachev heard their demands and supported their desires for a new government.
- It supports the protestors as it suggests that everyone in East Berlin was in favour of democracy and saw Gorbachev as their hope. They were motivated to take advantage of his visit to bring about peaceful change.
- You can see this in the happy faces and that they are clapping their hands for Gorbachev. Their attention is focused on Gorbachev.
- The description of the photograph also quotes from the diary of Anatoly Chernyaev who described how the crowds in East Berlin ignored Eric Honecker and chanted, 'Gorby! Gorby!'.

Refer to Source F

14. *Refer to Source F as well as your own knowledge to state whether the following statements are TRUE or FALSE. Write down only TRUE or FALSE. (No explanation required.)*

[ALL LEVEL 2]

- 14.1 *Gorbachev caused the decline of communist ideology.*
- FALSE
- 14.2 *The Soviets were especially adept at dealing with information.*
- FALSE
- 14.3 *Gorbachev's policy of perestroika could not enable the Soviet Union to catch up to the United States.*
- TRUE
- 14.4 *The Soviet Union focused too much on military power.*
- TRUE
- 14.5 *Gorbachev was responsible for the violent destruction of the Soviet Union.*
- FALSE

Refer to Source G

15. *Find a concept in Source G that best fits each of the following definitions. Write down only the historical concept. (No explanation is required.)*

[ALL LEVEL 2]

- 15.1 *An extremist viewpoint not open to compromise.*
- Hardline communist
- 15.2 *A person more concerned with official paperwork than individual needs.*
- bureaucrat
- 15.3 *Soviet secret service agency formed in 1954.*
- KGB
- 15.4 *The nations that were part of the USSR.*
- Constituent Republics
- 15.5 *A group of people who share a common culture, language, or religious practices.*
- Ethnic majority

Refer to Sources G and H

16. *Who does the author of Source G hold responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union? Provide ONE quote to support your answer.*

[LEVEL 4 AND 2]

- The author holds Boris Yeltsin most responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
- 'Yet the person who gained the most from these events was not Gorbachev, who had been powerless throughout the coup, but Yeltsin, who was widely credited with defeating it.'

OR

- 'He now worked with other leaders of the constituent republics to destroy the USSR.'

17. *According to Source G, what role did Gorbachev's reforms play in the collapse of the Soviet Union? Give TWO points.*

[LEVEL 4]

- The attempt to democratise the Soviet Union had only led to division within the Soviet Union.
- This led to a coup in mid-August 1991 where hardline communists imprisoned Gorbachev. The failed coup then led to the abolition of the KGB and the suspension of the Communist party itself.

18. *According to Source H, why did Gorbachev resign as President in December 1991?*

[LEVEL 4]

- He resigned out of considerations of principle.
- He was in favour of the independence of people and recognised the sovereignty of the republics, but he could not agree with the policy that led to the dismembering of the country.

19. *Did Gorbachev want the Soviet Union to disintegrate? Provide ONE quote from Source H to support your answer.*

[LEVEL 2]

- No, Gorbachev did not want the Soviet Union to disintegrate.
- 'But at the same time, I have favoured the preservation of the United State and the integrity of the country.'

20. *According to Source H, did Gorbachev regret introducing his democratic reforms? Provide ONE quote to support your answer.*

[LEVEL 4 AND 2]

- No, Gorbachev did not regret his democratic reforms, but he acknowledged that they were risky.
- 'But even today I am convinced of the historical correctness of the democratic reforms that were begun in the Spring of 1986.'

SECTION C SOURCE-BASED ESSAY

Use Sources A to H in the Source Material Booklet to write a source-based essay on the following topic:

To what extent were Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union by December 1991?

Be sure to use the sources provided to construct your argument and remember to reference the sources by letter.

[LEVEL 2, 3, 4, 5, 6]

The essay is marked holistically using the IEB source-based essay rubric with the memoranda as a guideline.

- Candidates may argue **to a large extent** Gorbachev's reforms were responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union by 1991.
- Policy of Glasnost – openness/transparency exposed negative aspects of the Soviet Union – invited debate.
- Perestroika – aimed to restructure the economy and society. These reforms undermined the very foundation of the Soviet Union.
- Reforms encouraged popular protests in eastern Europe.
- Non-intervention as opposed to Brezhnev Doctrine.
- His ideas/new thinking clashed traditional hardline communist thinking.
- Moved away from totalitarian state to democracy (democratisation).
- Gorbachev's reforms and tolerance of dissent encouraged Poland's Solidarity movement and other eastern European states to protest for new regimes.
- The people of East Germany saw Gorbachev as their hope that they could move away from Soviet domination.
- Gorbachev's reforms brought about the peaceful end of the Empire.
- Internal opposition to Gorbachev's reforms divisions that gave power to the ethnic majorities in the republics who wanted to be free of Russian control.
- Gorbachev himself acknowledged that to begin reform on such a scale was risky but it was the right thing to do.

OR

- Candidates may argue **to a lesser extent** Gorbachev's reforms were responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union by 1991.
- The Soviet Union was a state in crisis and Gorbachev's reforms were merely an attempt to tackle these challenges.
- His intentions were largely on perestroika – restructuring the political and economic system not to destroy but to save the Soviet Union.
- The Solidarity Movement and dissenting voices in other eastern European states already existed before Gorbachev came to power.
- Professor Nye stated that the main causes of the collapse/disintegration of the Soviet Union were the decline of communist ideology and economic failure. Disintegration was inevitable as their biggest mistake was to focus on military power at the expense of technological innovation.
- The real reason was in fact Yeltsin's role after the failed coup.
- Gorbachev stated that he was forced to resign as he had not intended his reforms to lead to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. He did not agree with the new policy that aimed at dismembering the country.

To what extent were Gorbachev's reforms responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union by December 1991

To a large extent Gorbachev's reforms were responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union by December 1991.	To a lesser extent Gorbachev's reforms were responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union by December 1991.
<p>Source A: Gorbachev's policy of Glasnost (transparency/openness and freedom of press) shone a light on many of the most negative aspects of the Soviet Union – both past and present. Perestroika aimed to restructure and transform the economy and society. They were not the only cause of the dissolution of the USSR – The forces they unleashed destabilised an already weakening system. Although this was not the intention of the reforms they undermined the very foundation of the Soviet Union.</p>	<p>Source A: Even the hardliners realised change was necessary. The economy was in crisis and there was pressure to end political repression and a lack of transparency. Gorbachev's reforms were merely an attempt to tackle these challenges.</p>
<p>Source B: Gorbachev himself was most proud of what Perestroika achieved in restructure/reforming the Soviet economy and political system. This policy encouraged popular protest in the eastern European states as they could now rely on non-intervention unlike previous policies (like the Brezhnev Doctrine). Gorbachev commented that this policy ultimately led to the end of the Cold War and a new world order and a gradual movement away from a totalitarian state to a democracy.</p>	<p>Source B: According to Gorbachev, 20 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union his intentions were largely focused on perestroika – restructuring the Soviet Union's political and economic system and international relations that recognised they could not forcibly impose their will on other nations. This encouraged the eastern European states to produce internal regime change ... they needed to take the opportunities.</p>
<p>Source C: This cartoon by Behrendt illustrates Gorbachev as bravely taking the Soviet Union in a new direction – shown visually by his statement of; 'Forward Comrades!' and his pointing in a new forwards direction whilst the founding fathers of Communism – Marx, Lenin and Stalin are all pointing backwards to conservative Russia. The Soviet flag is also depicted as flying in the backwards direction of the traditional Russian leaders. All suggesting that what Gorbachev is doing with his reforms is not the traditional Russian way and could lead to the end as he is intent on taking the nation where none have gone before.</p>	<p>Source C: The use of the phrase 'Forwards Comrades!' suggests that the cartoonist does not see that Gorbachev plans to destroy the Soviet Union but wants to rather move it forwards into the modern world. The flag is drawn in tatters which suggests that there are real problems and they need to move forwards rather than follow the traditional conservative ways. This could suggest that Gorbachev's reforms were not intended to destroy the Soviet Union but rather to save it.</p>
<p>Source D: The leaders of Poland's Solidarity Movement were best prepared to take advantage of the new thinking/reforms of Gorbachev. Their leader Lech Walesa and his rivals and advisers were the first to test the waters after Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would no longer defend communism by force. Without Gorbachev's reforms they might not have won the victory that led to a new regime in September 1989 and set in motion similar events in Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia.</p>	<p>Source D: The Solidarity Movement had already engaged in mass opposition to Communist rule in eastern Europe and by 1980-81 had 10 million members. It was a Trade Union that involved co-operation with workers and intellectuals and was supported by the Catholic Church. Their protests were stopped with the imposition of Martial Law by the Soviets in 1981 but they were more than ready to take advantage of Gorbachev's reforms and to build on what they had already established in Poland.</p>
<p>Source E: This photograph captures how popular Gorbachev's leadership was in Eastern Germany. The people are clamouring to meet him and according to the diary of Anatoly Chernyaev chanting 'Gorby! Gorby! And holding up posters stating that Gorbachev was their hope. The friendliness of Gorbachev's face and his willingness to shake the crowd's hands suggests that he was genuinely on their side and that he would not sanction any use of force against these pro-democracy crowds.</p>	<p>Source E: Once again it is possible to say that this photograph illustrates how there were already popular movements in East Germany and they were emboldened by Gorbachev's reforms but would be protesting anyway.</p>

<p>Source F: Professor Nye commented that we should not discount the importance of leaders with humanitarian values and that although the Soviet Union was doomed he made sure that the Empire ended peacefully. Hence his reforms were largely responsible for the peaceful end of the Empire.</p>	<p>Source F: Professor Nye stated that the deepest causes of the Soviet collapse were the decline of communist ideology and economic failure. He claimed that disintegration was inevitable and would have happened without Gorbachev and his reforms. A major reason was the lack of technological innovation and in spite of perestroika and glasnost by the late 1980s only eight percent of Soviet industry was globally competitive. The Soviet Union's biggest mistake was to focus on military power at the expense of economic power and soft power.</p>
<p>Source G: Gorbachev's reforms had met with internal opposition even from those who had been promoted. The Union Treaty was particularly unpopular with conservatives who feared losing control and this led to a coup in mid-August 1991. The attempt to democratise the country had only succeeded in dividing it against itself by giving power to the ethnic majorities in the republics who wanted to be free of Russian control.</p>	<p>Source G: The real reason for the disintegration of the Soviet Union was the failed coup that resulted in not signing the Union Treaty which would have preserved some unity. Gorbachev's reforms were not responsible for how Yeltsin worked with the leaders of the constituent republics to destroy the USSR.</p>
<p>Source H: Gorbachev acknowledged in his resignation speech televised on 25 December 1991 that to begin reforms on such a scale and in such a country as ours was an extremely difficult and risky endeavour but that he did remain convinced that it was historically correct to do so and that the ultimate outcome had destroyed the totalitarian system that had prevented Russia from flourishing had been eliminated.</p>	<p>Source H: Gorbachev stated that he was forced to resign as he had not intended for his reforms to take the form of the disintegration of the Soviet Union into the Commonwealth of Independent States. He had favoured independence for the peoples and recognition of the sovereignty of the republics but had wanted to preserve the Union. He could not agree with the new policy that aimed at dismembering the country and disuniting the state.</p>

Total: 200 marks