HWA CHONG INSTITUTION College 2 Preliminary Examination 2008 General Certificate of Education Advanced Level Higher 2

# HISTORY

9731/01

PAPER 1 International History c.1945-2000

16 September 2009

3.0 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

# READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and CT on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer **four** questions.

You must answer **Question 1** (Section A) and any three questions from Section B.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together. All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists **4** printed pages.



[Turn over

## Section A

#### You must answer Question 1.

# The United Nations and International Terrorism

1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

## Source A

The Security Council strongly deplores the fact the Libyan Government has not yet responded effectively to the above requests to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for the terrorist acts against Pan Am Flight 103. The Security Council urges the Libyan government to provide a full and effective response to those requests so as to contribute to the elimination of international terrorism, and also urges all states individually and collectively to encourage the Libyan government to respond fully and effectively to these requests.

An excerpt from the UN Security Council resolution 731 (1992).

# Source B

The moderate, cooperative efforts of nations under the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) conventions and international law effectively reduced terrorist incidents after the early 1970s. International terrorism will probably exist as long as war does. However, the success of ICAO against skyjacking, and of the United Nations in negotiating the release of hostages from Lebanon and in mobilizing sanctions against Libyan terrorism shows what can be done under international law and the United Nations.

An excerpt taken from an American academic text on the subject published in 1997.

# Source C

Finally, Western nations, which are pertinent members in the UN, have generally not perceived international terrorism to be a highly significant threat. National measures have been fairly effective against internationally supported domestic terrorists, and to a somewhat lesser extent against international terrorists operating within Western borders. With some notable exceptions, most international terrorist acts committed in the West have been directed against non Western targets, inevitably attenuating the reaction of the Western nations concerned.

An excerpt taken from an American academic text on the subject published in 1986.

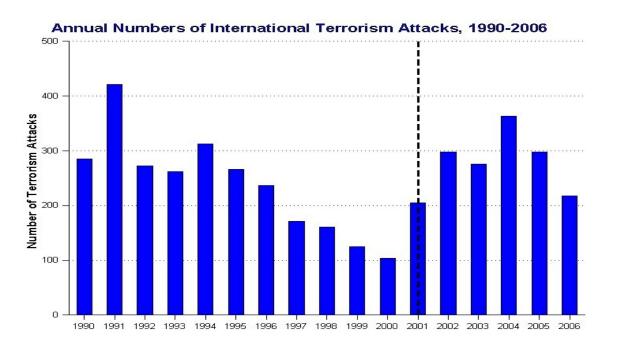
# Source D

During the 1980s, US officials hailed bin Laden and his recruits as "freedom fighters" in the CIA-financed war to oust the Soviets from Afghanistan. Bin Laden's associates were trained and armed by the CIA, and the camp in Khost hit by US missiles was a former

CIA camp. Also, several high ranking US government officials approved the sale of weapons and spare parts to Iran, which contradicts the anti terrorist policy of the US which had attempted to isolate Iran from the rest of the world, claiming that Iran sponsored international terrorism. The US is now suffering "blowback" from arming and training such international terrorists, which renders the global fight against international terrorism more challenging.

This type of counterterrorism operation reinforces widespread views in the Middle East and Africa that the US exercises a double standard with respect to issues of human rights, political support, retaliation, and more. Throughout much of the world, there is indignation at the US's strong support for Israel and failure to advance a genuine Middle East peace settlement. Responding to terrorism with military strikes only deepens those anti-American views.

A report from American scholars on when terrorism began, 1998.



# Source E

Statistics on international terrorism compiled by a leading US think tank

Now answer the following question:

How far do Sources A to E show that the UN was effective in the preventing the propagation of international terrorism from 1945 to 2000?

[Turn

over

# Section B

You must answer three questions from this section.

- 2 "Excessive apprehension, not aggression, led to the dawn of the Cold War." Discuss.
- **3** 'The coalition of international organizations and transnational corporations from 1945 to 2000 has merely resulted in greater servitude to first world country interests and the undermining of third world economic sovereignty" How far do you agree with this assertion?
- 4 To what extent do you agree that the development of the capitalist world economy in the period 1945-2000 was largely driven by countries which benefited from the Marshall Plan?
- **5** "It was primarily because of United Nation's lack of power in enforcement of its resolutions that aggravated the Arab Israeli conflict from 1948 to 2000."How far do you agree with this statement?
- **6** Which was a more significant cause for the rise of religious fundamentalism between the 1960s and 2000: the nature of competing ethnic religious factions or the failed promises of Western economic and political systems?

# Section A

## **1** Source based question: The United Nations and Human Rights

#### L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO VALID USE OF SOURCES

[1-5]

These answers will write about the United Nations and international terrorism and might use the sources. However, candidates will not use the sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay style answer to the question.

L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE **OR** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [6-8]

These answers use the sources as information rather than evidence le sources are used at face value only with no evaluation/ interpretation in context, eg

#### EITHER

Yes, the UN was effective in preventing the growth of international terrorism. Source B illustrates this point when it states that "*The moderate, cooperative efforts of nations under the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) conventions and international law effectively reduced terrorist incidents after the early 1970s.*"

Source E also seems to suggest that the UN was effective in countering terrorism from 1991 to 2000 as the number of international terrorist attacks dropped from 420 in 1991 to 100 in 2000.

#### OR

No, the UN was ineffective in preventing the growth of international terrorism. You can tell this from Source C, which states that "*National measures have been fairly effective against internationally supported domestic terrorists, and to a somewhat lesser extent against international terrorists operating within Western borders.*"

Also, in Source A, the Security Council seemed ineffective as "the Libyan Government has not yet responded effectively to the above requests to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for the terrorist acts against Pan Am Flight 103, and has urged the Libyan government to provide a full and effective response to those requests so as to contribute to the elimination of international terrorism."

#### L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE **AND** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9-13]

Yes, the UN was effective in preventing the growth of international terrorism. Source B illustrates this point when it states that "*The moderate, cooperative efforts of nations under the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) conventions and international law effectively reduced terrorist incidents after the early* 1970s."

Source E also seems to suggest that the UN was effective in countering terrorism from 1991 to 2000 as the number of international terrorist attacks dropped from 420 in 1991 to 100 in 2000.

No, the UN was ineffective in preventing the growth of international terrorism. You can tell this from Source C, which states that "National measures have been fairly effective against internationally supported domestic terrorists, and to a somewhat lesser extent against international terrorists operating within Western borders."

Also, in Source A, the Security Council seemed ineffective as "the Libyan Government has not yet responded effectively to the above requests to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for the terrorist acts against Pan Am Flight 103, and has urged the Libyan government to provide a full and effective response to those requests so as to contribute to the elimination of international terrorism."

#### L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **OR** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS

[14-16]

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, ie demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context ie not simply accepting them at their face value.

L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **AND** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS.

#### [17-21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (ie both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

Candidates are to include contextual knowledge and usefulness or reliability where applicable.

L6 AS L5 PLUS **EITHER** (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED **OR** (b) RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED.

#### [22-25]

For (a), the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing/disagreeing is better/preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement ie not just why some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse. They may include evidence from the sources, which are mentioned in L5 band descriptor to support and sustain the case offered.

For (b), include all L5 answers which support the evidence to modify the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it. This is especially so when the evidence from the sources are finely balanced.

#### **Modification of Hypothesis**

2 "Excessive apprehension, not aggression, led to the dawn of the Cold War." Discuss.

## **INTRODUCTION**

- **Topic**: Origins of Cold War
- **Key words:** Dawn of Cold War, Excessive apprehension, Aggression
- **Define key words:** Excessive apprehension (Exaggerated fear), Aggression (Hostile Actions: Soviet conquest of territories, political influence and ideological dominance, US economic embargos)
- Time Frame: 1945-1949 (very important to delineate clearly the time frame for every question)
- **Given factor (the factor you have to agree or disagree with):** *"Excessive apprehension"*
- Pitfall:

The temptation would be to simply plunge into the question without planning the essay. Remember to spend five minutes at the most for planning your essay.

#### MAIN ARGUMENTS

#### Argument Against (1945-1949)

This other point of view would mean that EXCESSIVE APPREHENSION and FEAR sparked the Cold War.

#### 1) Eastern Europe issue

USSR had a history of fending of foreign invasions and intervention. During the Russian Civil War (1917-1923), in a conflict where the Reds were against the Whites, the Westerners had supported the latter against the first. Also, it had been invaded by countries like Germany previously.

Besides, Winston Churchill had made the Iron Curtain Speech March 5 1946. Sent message to USSR that Western powers were labelling USSR as a dangerous entity, To Stalin, it was a deliberate provocation.

Hence, for the sake of ensuring its security, USSR believed that spheres of influence could help minimise conflict as individual interests were clearly demarcated and that each side would not interfere with one another.

Also, the Eastern European countries could help in the economic reconstruction of USSR by providing resources and markets for Soviet goods. To Stalin, it was a *legitimate security need* which did not threaten Western interest. This led to the creation of pro Soviet regimes in Eastern Europe as buffer zones so as to prevent them from being used as launch pads by other powers to invade USSR.

However USA perceived this act as a deliberate plan to expand and promote Soviet control over Europe.

#### 2) Greece issue- Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

The Truman Doctrine, 12 March 1947

The Communist pressure was building up in Greece, which was under the British's influence. But in February 1947, the British government informed the American government that it could no longer afford to give financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey.

The USA thought that USSR was the one controlling the Communists in Greece. In reality, the Communist party in Greece were largely indigenous.

USA thought that If USSR took over Greece and Turkey, then they would eventually try to extend its influence into Middle East and gain control of the oil resources and the strategic location.

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All these, coupled with the strongly worded "Long Telegram" by George Kennan, resulted in an exaggerated fear of Soviet expansionism, which then led to the formation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan of June 1947. This plan was to speed up the economic recovery and preserve the political freedom of Western Europe.

In fact, the USSR had reason to fear as USA was aggressive in formation of Truman Doctrine and economic containment through Marshall Plan. The USA used *dollar diplomacy*, seeking political influence over foreign governments by encouraging American financiers to make loans to countries where indebtedness could be used to further American interests. This was an area of affluence and influence which the USSR could not compete with USA.

#### 3) Post War German issue

USSR wanted to punish Germany severely. A ruined and devastated Germany would represent a symbol of victory for USSR.

In July 1946, USA and Britain decided to merge their zones in Germany into one political and economic unit called Bizonia. There was the increasing acceptance that the division of Germany was imminent. It was the Marshall Plan that caused the Western powers to create a separate economic bloc, Bizonia. The Western powers, USA, Britain and France planned for a West German State through a series of conferences which the USSR was not invited to or informed about.

The three Western powers created a new currency Deutschmark

It was the West that provoked the Soviets through the formation of Bizonia and Trizonia first. When the west created the Deutschmark currency in Bizonia and Trizonia, the Soviet zone in Germany was deliberately excluded. There was the Soviet fear that a revived Germany would prove a security threat to USSR. Germany had inflicted great damage on USSR during WW2. Also, the West could use Germany as a platform to attack USSR.

Hence, the Blockade was a response to the Western provocation. USA's perception to the Blockade as an act of war was not justified.

## Argument against (1945- 1949)

The other point of view would mean that AGGRESSION sparked the Cold War.

## 1) Post War German issue

At the Yalta Conference, and subsequently, at the Potsdam Conference, it was agreed that:

- Each occupying power will take reparations from its own zone.
- USSR was allowed to carve out more territories from the Western
  German zones in exchange for food and raw materials from the Soviet zone.
- The four zones were to be treated as one economic unit despite being carved out. This meant that goods were meant to move freely among the various zones.
- Allied Control Council would meet to coordinate the occupation of the country.

While some reparations from the British and American zones had been delivered to the Soviets, *the Soviets did not always deliver food and other basic commodities in return.* To the West, the Soviets could not be trusted as they had not honoured the agreement.

In return the West cut off reparations to the Soviet zone  $\rightarrow$  Berlin Blockade

#### 2) Iran issue

The Iran crisis was an international crisis concerning Iran in 1946. The Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin continued to occupy Iran.

USSR demanded the rights to continue to exploit oil from Iran.

#### 3) Broken Promises issue

There were two conferences held before World War Two ended- Yalta Conference (Feb 1945) and Potsdam Conference (July 1945). In the Yalta conference, the "Declaration of Liberated Europe" was signed which ensured that the European nations would have the right to exercise self determination and could hold free democratic elections after the war.

Stalin used unscrupulous tactics to gain control of Eastern Europe. Communist exiles who had spent the war in Moscow would return to their homelands committed to Stalin and USSR. Stalin would insist that they take up positions in key ministries. Then, slowly, they would take up positions in key ministries and get rid of non-Communist members of the government. This would also involve rigging elections, intimidation and violence; finally edging out competition and being fully in control. Non- Communists would be put on show trials.

USA viewed Stalin's measures in Eastern Europe as violation of the Yalta Agreement. It was a broken promise. This led to a lack of trust.

Europe was important to USA as it held a very large market for USA goods and investment. Also USA needed important resources that Europe had. If Europe were taken over by Communism, then USA would be deprived of a lucrative source of trade and income.

#### 4) Formation of blocs

The West provoked the USSR through the Marshall Plan. USSR formed economic and political blocs to ensure its continual security. Stalin rejected the Marshall Plan because it posed a threat to USSR's control over Eastern Europe, which was needed for the economic reconstruction of USSR. Acceptance of the plan would involve the flow of USA goods into Eastern Europe. In response, USSR announced the introduction of its own Molotov Plan, which is a series of bilateral trade treaties between the USSR and in the individual Eastern European countries. In 1949, it set up COMECON, a Soviet alternative to the European Recovery Programme.

Also, USSR ordered Communist parties in Western Europe to change their tactics and to adopt the stance of militant anti government stance towards the Marshall Plan.

All these made Europe more divided into two separate blocs.

Also, the Berlin Blockade increased the USA's feeling of insecurity in Western Europe and the pressure for a common military force to defend the continent.

*NATO* was formed on the principle of collective security. USSR formed the *Warsaw Pact* in response.

So USSR aggressively formed these blocs in response to USA's measures first.

#### 5) Atomic issue

USA had concealed the development of the atomic bomb and used it on Hiroshima and Nagasaki without really informing the USSR, which was an ally of the USA during World War 2. The USSR perceived USA's not informing them about atomic bomb as evidence of aggressive Western intentions to destroy the USSR.

The USA also conceived the Baruch Plan 1946 to ensure that America could control the production of atomic weapons globally, USSR did not agree to the Baruch Plan from the USA and would not agree to inspections by US or the UN. Given such a context it was understandable why USSR embarked on the development of atomic and subsequently, nuclear weapons

#### **CONCLUSION**

- Reconcile Factors
- Show how excessive apprehension in the form Soviet security concerns and American paranoia were/ were not the *underlying cause* of the various issues that surround the onslaught of the Cold War
- Reiterate Stand
- 3 'The coalition of international organizations and transnational corporations from 1945 to 2000 has merely resulted in greater servitude to first world country interests and the undermining of third world economic sovereignty" How far do you agree with this assertion?

Candidates are expected to examine organizations like GATT, IMF, World Bank WTO and include privatized transnational corporations which work together with the international organizations. *Students must show awareness of the difference between International Financial organizations and transnational corporations.* 

Moreover, the students must show consciousness of the impact of the organizations and corporations' various policies on the developing world throughout the time frame of 1945 to 2000. Students who wish to agree with the question must show concrete evidence on how the policies benefited the first world and how the third world was discriminated against. Yet, a balanced argument is also expected where students have to provide substantiation for policies that still benefited the third world.

In addition, mere knowledge of the policies alone is not sufficient. In fact, the impact of the policies on countries must be established. So then, case studies of countries like Peru, Brazil, Tanzania, and also America and other developed countries must be featured in their scripts.

Key words:

International organisations, transnational corporations, 1945 to 2000, greater servitude, first world country interests, undermining of third world economic sovereignty

Topic: North South Divide, Third World debt, Holistic economic effectiveness of International Organisations

Note: The key focus of the question is to debate whether International organisations and privatised transnational corporations have helped the third world's economic growth. The scope of the question is primarily on the economic aspect of development.

# 4 To what extent do you agree that the development of the capitalist world economy in the period 1945-2000 was largely driven by countries which benefited from the Marshall Plan?

Candidates are expected to evaluate the role of both the USA and the countries benefiting from the Marshall plan throughout the stipulated time frame. Candidates should not simply narrate the events in each respective economic phase but should evaluate on the extent these beneficiaries contributed to the economy in relation the role of the USA. Candidates are also expected to provide adequate substantiation as to how the respective countries have promoted trade and generated investment confidence.

5 "It was primarily because of United Nation's lack of power in enforcement of its resolutions that intensified the Arab Israeli conflict from 1948 to 2000."How far do you agree with this statement?

The catch here in this question resides with the word "intensified". This means that the immediate scope of the question deals with actions that compounded the conflict.

However, to deal with that aspect, it would also involve coverage on the various actions of all of the factions involved in the conflict to show why it led to the

provocation of Israel or the non -cooperative stance of the Arabs.

Candidates are NOT to adopt a writing style that narrates an account of the conflicts sequentially. Rather the approach should be issue based. That means that each paragraph would deal with the issue on the given factor OR the opposing factor and then support it with evidence on efforts made towards resolutions with respect to the respective wars.

Candidates must also demonstrate their knowledge on various landmark UN resolutions and the Agreements signed (eg the Oslo Accords). The outcome of these agreements also helps answer the aspect on openness to resolution of conflict.

6 Which was a more significant cause for the rise of religious fundamentalism between the 1960s and 2000: the nature of competing ethnic religious factions or the failed promises of Western economic and political systems?

Candidates are expected to first define religious fundamentalism in the introduction of the essay. Candidates must also demonstrate understanding of the given factors- ethnic religious and failed promises of Western systems. The danger is to simply discuss generally about the generic causes of the rise of religious fundamentalism without first evaluating the roles and impact of the respective given factors. Moreover, the candidates need to provide substantial evidence from at least major two religions where radical elements have arisen. Finally, the links and connections between the given factors must be shown clearly. Candidates tend to treat these two factors as completely disparate reasons when, in reality, they are actually inter- related.