

TEMASEK JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 Preliminary Examinations
HIGHER 2



HISTORY

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945-2000)

9752/1

Wednesday, 30 August 2017
3 Hours

No Additional Materials are required.

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name Centre number, index number and name on the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.

Start each answer on a fresh piece of writing paper.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together with the cover sheet on top.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

You are reminded of the need for good English and clear handwriting in your answer.

This question paper consists of **5** printed pages.

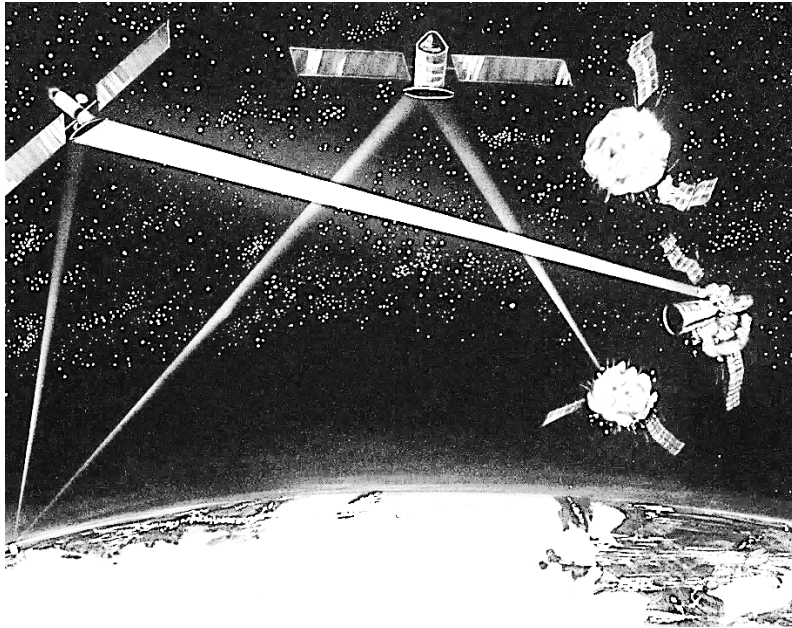
SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow:

Source A



A US Air Force artistic concept of the Strategic Defense Initiative, published in 1984.

Source B

As long as the gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament...

... the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. 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.

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? ... There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

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!

Ronald Reagan giving a speech in Berlin, 12 June 1987.

Source C

"Reagan came in with very simple and strongly held views," says Admiral Inman. "It is a valid point of view that he saw the collapse of communism coming and he pushed it - hard." During the first half of 1982, a five-part strategy emerged...

- The U.S. defense buildup already under way, aimed at making it too costly for the Soviets to compete militarily with the U.S. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative became a centerpiece of the strategy.
- Covert operations aimed at encouraging reform movements in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.
- Financial aid to Warsaw Pact nations calibrated to their willingness to protect human rights and undertake political and free-market reforms.
- Economic isolation of the Soviet Union and the withholding of Western and Japanese technology from Moscow...
- Increased use of Radio Liberty, Voice of America and Radio Free Europe to transmit the Administration's messages to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

*US News Magazine interview with Admiral Bobby Inman,
Deputy Director of the CIA (1981-1982), 2001.*

Source D

[Why did European Communist states cease to be Communists at the time they did?] The place to start is with the single most important reason why the Eastern European Communist states in particular, had not collapsed *earlier*. That was successive Soviet leaderships' willingness to use, in the last resort, as much force as was necessary to preserve Communist systems in the countries that mattered most to them... the Soviet Union had, up until the mid-1980s, given every indication that the preservation of what they called socialism in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and to a somewhat lesser extent, Romania was non-negotiable.

The second major, and connected, reason why Communism lasted so long in east-central Europe was that the populations of those countries, like governments in the capitals of Western Europe and Washington, *believed* in the Soviet Union's determination to uphold Communist rule throughout what had long been known as the 'Soviet bloc'... Solidarity had been reduced to an underground organization that was a shadow of its former self by the mid-1980s. If the Polish population could have been sure that there was no chance of a Soviet intervention, thus making a bad situation worse, it would have been harder for the internal forces of coercion in Poland to succeed in subduing Solidarity.

Excerpt from a history book titled "The Rise and Fall of Communism", 2009.

Source E

We were in the limousine on the way to the Brandenburg Gate and Reagan was reviewing the speech text one last time. He was not using a teleprompter - he was using prepared remarks and paper. When he got to the section of the speech, he looked at me and said, 'It's gonna drive the State Department boys crazy, but I'm gonna leave it in.'

I think Reagan's speech was an incredibly important moment, but it was fully realized a year and a half later, when the Wall came down... I heard him deliver the lines and also the forceful reaction from the audience - you could just sense it, you knew that inevitably that wall would come down. But I did not dream it would come down in a year and a half."

Peter Robinson, Reagan's speech writer in 1987, reflecting on the speech in 2012.

Source F

It was Gorbachev who had opened the door to these events. In his four years in power, he had introduced a series of social and political reforms across Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe — to enhance his Communist Party's control, not end it. These reforms put the hard-line dictators in East Germany in a bind. They felt they had to make some sort of concession, too. Politburo members in East Berlin decided to make minor changes to the state's draconian travel rules, but retain their power to deny travel permission...

The announcement on the night of Nov. 9, was botched. The bumbling Politburo member running the conference, Günter Schabowski, read the news release for the first time on air. Much of his reading was garbled, but a few phrases popped out: that trips abroad would be "possible for every citizen," starting "right away, immediately." Shorn of their context, these phrases mistakenly gave journalists and TV viewers the impression that the wall was open.

Politburo members making mistakes was nothing new, and the bottom line had not changed: The regime's armed sentries still stood at the wall, with orders to keep the gates closed...

What had changed was the self-assurance of the people. By autumn 1989, the protest movement had gained sufficient confidence to take advantage of this incompetence. The people already knew the authorities would back down: A month earlier, peaceful protesters in Leipzig had turned out in such overwhelming numbers that the security forces had backed off.

Adapted from a New York Times article celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall titled "How the Fall of the Berlin Wall Really Happened", 2014.

Now answer the following questions:

(a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources D and F on the different reasons for the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. [10]

(b) How far do Sources A – F support the assertion that President Reagan was the architect for the end of the Cold War? [30]

SECTION B

You must answer **two** questions from this section.

EITHER

2. "Culture was the deciding factor for the growth of the Asian Tigers." How valid is this view with reference to South Korea and Taiwan in the period between 1945 and 2000? [30]

OR

3. "American responses to the global economic problems did more harm than good." Discuss this with reference to developments in the global economy between 1970 and 2000. [30]

AND EITHER

4. Assess the view that the political effectiveness of the UN ultimately rests on the Security Council. [30]

OR

5. To what extent was the UN more effective in managing Cold War rather than post-Cold War conflicts? [30]