

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

The one-time movie actor accomplished something no one had been able to do. He won the Cold War—without firing a shot. When Reagan took office in 1980, the world had existed for decades under the threat of nuclear holocaust between communism and democracy. The two superpowers had steadily growing arsenals of incredible destructive power. Early on in his presidency, Reagan moved to hone the nation's defenses to razor edge. That military buildup, together with spending billions on the so-called "Star Wars" defense program, forced the Soviets into a more heated effort to stay ahead of the United States in the arms race. Reagan's continuing military buildup sowed the seeds of the ultimate end of communism in the Soviet Union and also the Cold War. As it turned out, Russia lost, bankrupting itself in the process. The spending exposed the many cracks in the Soviet Union's monolithic tyranny and led ultimately to its total collapse. Was it worth it? Of course. It must be.

Extract from a conservative newspaper in the USA, August 1992.

Source B

And now 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?

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!

Speech by Ronald Reagan in West Berlin, 12 June 1987.

Source C

The chief architect of the Soviet collapse was Mikhail Gorbachev himself. The policy of glasnost relaxed bureaucratic controls on information, broadened the parameters of permitted discussion and thereby enabled the people of the Soviet Union to say more, hear more and learn more about their past and present. Gorbachev's purpose had been to enlist the intelligentsia in his campaign to revitalize the country and to generate popular pressure on the party apparatus, which had resisted the changes he was trying to make. He plainly wanted to encourage criticism of his predecessor, Leonid Brezhnev, and to resume the campaign against Stalin that Nikita Khrushchev had launched but that Brezhnev had ended. Glasnost, however, did not just stop there. Instead Glasnost, called all of it into question, including, ultimately the role of the Soviet Union to lay claim to the public sphere after seven decades of exile from it.

An extract from an American professor, 1992.

Source D

If the Second Cold War was generated by a change in US policy, it was a change in Soviet political thinking that brought about the end of the Cold War...Gorbachev's new approach took the international community by surprise. Its impact was to have far-reaching consequences for the Soviet Union, its satellite states and ultimately stripped away preconditions of Cold War conflict...Gorbachev's aim was to make the Soviet system more productive and responsive. He recognized that in order to achieve this military spending had to be reduced. This could be done only if arms limitation talks with the USA were reopened...An indication of Gorbachev's new approach to the West was the replacement of veteran Foreign Minister Gromyko with Eduard Shevardnadze. Gorbachev and Shevardnadze launched a charm offensive on the West with their new political thinking. Margaret Thatcher had met Gorbachev in 1984 and declared, 'This is a man whom I can do business.'... When George Bush replaced Reagan as US President in 1989, Soviet actions had convinced the US government that Gorbachev could be trusted.

Steve Philips, The Cold War, 2001.

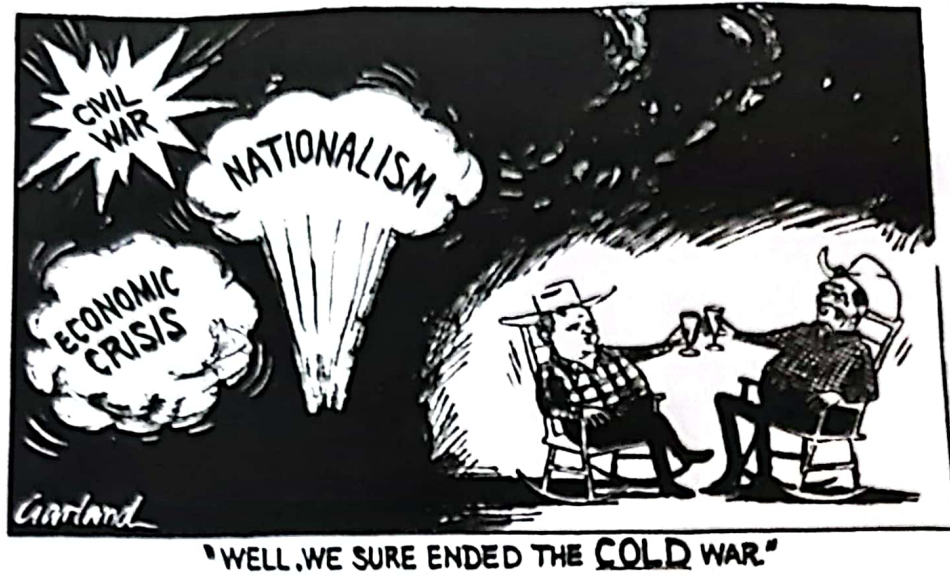
Source E

It was Gorbachev's acceptance of a non-Communist government in Poland that, more than anything, opened the floodgates for political change in Eastern Europe...While the events in Eastern Europe were unfolding, Gorbachev insisted on absolute Soviet non-intervention. As he explained to his Politburo, the Soviet Union could not afford to intervene, financially or in terms of the cost in its relationship with the West. But most importantly, Gorbachev believed that it would not be right to intervene—just like the Soviets, the East Europeans should decide their own futures. He attempted to use his willingness to allow change as a bargaining card in his relationship with the new US administration of George Bush, but the cautious Bush was unwilling to give much in return, economically or politically. Steadily though, the relationship between the two countries did improve, especially in terms of arms control, to the point that by 1990 both sides spoke of a partnership rather than a 'Cold War'.

Excerpt from an academic book on the Cold War, 2003.

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Source F



A cartoon by Nicholas Garland, published in the Daily Telegraph, a British newspaper, on 5 May 1992.

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on Reagan's foreign policy towards the USSR. [10]
- b) How far do Sources A–F support the assertion that Gorbachev ended the Cold War? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

2. How far do you agree that protectionism was the worst problem encountered by the global economy during the crisis decades? [30]

OR

3. 'The role of the government was the main reason for the rise of South Korea as an economic miracle.' How far do you agree with this view from the 1970s to 1990? [30]

AND EITHER

4. Evaluate the reasons that hindered the United Nations' ability to maintain international security from 1945 to 2000. [30]

OR

5. 'The United Nations General Assembly, more than the Security Council, has impeded the effectiveness of the United Nations.' Discuss. [30]

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