



CANDIDATE
NAME

CT GROUP

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NUMBER

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HISTORY

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945 – 2000)

9752/01

September 2021

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

3 hours

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Write your **name** and **CT class** clearly in the spaces at the top of this page.

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

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

Section A

Attempt **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Please start **every question** on a *fresh* sheet of paper and label each question clearly.

If you did not manage to attempt a question, write down the question number on the cover page of the booklet you would have attempted.

At the end of the examination, **insert** any additional writing paper used for responses into the response booklet.

This document consists of **5** printed pages, including the coverpage.

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

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

Which side triumphed? Who won? In this respect one may say it was sanity, the cause of security and peoples that won. The two sides displayed a sober approach and took into account the fact that unless steps were taken that could help to overcome the dangerous development of events, a third world war might break out.

As a result of mutual concessions and compromise, an understanding was reached which made it possible to remove the dangerous tension, to normalise the situation. Both sides made concessions. We withdrew the ballistic rockets and agreed to withdraw the IL-28 aircraft. This gives satisfaction to the Americans. But both Cuba and the Soviet Union received satisfaction too: the American invasion of Cuba has been averted; the naval blockade has been lifted; the situation in the Caribbean area is returning to normal; people's Cuba exists, is gaining strength and is developing under the leadership of its Revolutionary Government, its dauntless leader, Castro.

~ Khrushchev in a speech, December 1962

Source B

McNamara explained: "You have to remember that, right from the beginning, it was President Kennedy who said that it was politically unacceptable for us to leave those missile sites alone. He didn't say militarily, he said politically."

Revised chronicle shows that JFK's actions in resolving the crisis were reasonable, responsible, and courageous. Plainly shaken by the apocalyptic potentialities of the situation, Kennedy advocated, in the face of the bellicose and near-unanimous opposition of his pseudo-tough-guy advisers, accepting the missile swap that Khrushchev had proposed.

"To any man at the United Nations, or any other rational man, it will look like a very fair trade," he level headedly told the ExComm. "Most people think that if you're allowed an even trade you ought to take advantage of it."

He clearly understood that history and world opinion would condemn him and his country for going to war—a war almost certain to escalate to a nuclear exchange—after the USSR had publicly offered such a reasonable quid pro quo. Khrushchev's proposal, the historian Ronald Steel has noted, "filled the White House advisors with consternation—not least of all because it appeared perfectly fair."

~ An opinion piece in a current affairs magazine

Source C

The deal was done. Washington hailed it as a huge victory for President Kennedy, who became a national hero and icon. This mythology persists in the U.S. today. The American public is still largely unaware of the secret deal.

In the end, the Soviet Union came out ahead. Cuba was saved from a U.S. invasion, which was Moscow's principal strategic goal, along with preserving the Castro regime. U.S. missiles in Turkey and Italy (and likely Britain) threatening the USSR were removed, but the story remained secret for decades. Unaware of it, the Soviet politburo ousted Khrushchev a year later for "reckless, hare-brained schemes" and made the dim Leonid Brezhnev chairman.

~ An opinion piece by an American journalist, 2012

Source D

While the world concluded that Khrushchev has conceded more than Kennedy – and thus that the crisis had been a dramatic American victory – Kennedy himself refused to characterize it as such, and it is clear with the benefit of hindsight that the United States and the Soviet Union resolved the crisis on the basis of more or less reciprocal concessions. In Havana, it seemed to Prime Minister Fidel Castro that one of Khrushchev's more significant concessions was Cuba's security. But despite Castro's protestations and his attempts to frustrate the smooth resolution of the crisis...Americans took satisfaction in the generally successful resolution of an extremely dangerous encounter.

~ An academic in a book, 2002

Source E



~ American newspaper 29 October, 1962

Source F

Castro was hotheaded. He thought we were retreating – worse, capitulating. He did not understand that our action was necessary to prevent a military confrontation. He also thought that America would not keep its word and that once we had removed the missiles, the U.S. would invade Cuba. He was very angry with us, but we accepted this with understanding. We believed this came from his being young and inexperienced as a statesman. He had been deceived many times, so he had the right not to believe the word of the President. So we did not take offense, although we felt sorrow and pain to hear his words of disappointment in our Cuban policy.

~ excerpt from Khrushchev's secret tapes, 1990

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B regarding the views on the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis. [10]
- (b) How far do sources A – F support the view that the USA had won the Cuban Missile Crisis? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2 Assess the significance of American economic policies in shaping the challenges faced by the global economy since the 1970s. [30]

OR

- 3 How far do you agree that Confucian values played the most crucial role in explaining the economic transformation of Taiwan and South Korea from 1970-1990? [30]

AND

- 4 'The General Assembly served as little more than a talk shop.' How far do you agree with this assessment of the UNGA's contribution to international peace and security from 1945-1989? [30]

OR

- 5 Assess the view that the United Nations was ineffective in maintaining international peace and security because it was built to serve the victors of World War II. [30]

END OF PAPER

Acknowledgements:

Source A	The National Archives of the UK: Education: FO 371/171934. Speech by Soviet leader Khrushchev in December 1962 covering the causes and consequences of the Cuban Crisis.
Source B	Benjamin Schwarz The Real Cuban Missile Crisis. The Atlantic, 2013.
Source C	Eric S. Margolis, Who Really 'Won' the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis? Huffingtonpost, 2012.
Source D	James G. Blight, Bruce J. Allyn, David A. Welch Cuba on the Brink Castro, the Missile Crisis, and the Soviet Collapse. Rowman & Littlefield, 2002
Source F	Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes. Random House Value Publishing, 1992