

RAFFLES INSTITUTION
PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2022
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
Higher 2

HISTORY

9752/01

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945-2000)

12 September 2022

3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your **full name**, class and index number on the answer booklet(s).
Write in dark blue or black pen.
Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Use **only** the answer booklet provided and use both sides of the paper.

This document consists of **5** printed pages.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

The Emergence of Bipolarity

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to carry out a way of life free from coercion. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations. The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world – and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

President Harry S. Truman's address before a joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947.

Source B

Externally the "Marshall Plan" appears as if the United States has decided to give the European states themselves the initiative in establishing a programme of economic reconstruction in Europe ... But it cannot be doubted, however, that matters here will not be decided without some prompting [from the United States] This task, apparently, is already being carried out by America's representatives in the appropriate countries. It is to this end that the talks of Clayton* in London are directed. In this way, the "Marshall Plan", in place of the previous disorganised actions, directed at the economic and political subordination of the European countries to American capital and the creation of anti-Soviet groupings, envisions a broader frame of action, aiming to solve this problem more effectively. Our participation in the design of the program will hinder the realisation of American plans for the subordination of Europe and the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc.

*W.L. Clayton was the United States Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

*From Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US to Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister,
24 June 1947.*

Source C

George Kennan stated that containment was now "irrelevant" and for some time. With the possible exception of the period of the Berlin blockade of 1948-49, the Soviet Union had never posed a serious military threat to the United States. The more serious Soviet ideological challenge largely disappeared after the European countries on the American side of the Elbe had regained their economic and political footing in the 1950s and 1960s. Not even the communists believe in their ideology any longer. Marxism-Leninism was "a stale and sterile ritual", Kennan wrote. Soviet leaders paid lip service to the old icons to provide sole legitimation for the leaders' continued hold on government. But the communist ideology no longer moved the leaders or their country. "The communist aspect of it all has very little to do with the Soviet Union today."

Adapted from the views of academics writing in 2001.

Source D

Very often the role of Western Europe was scarcely looked into and often portrayed as innocent bystanders. However, they played a more important role than often stated, even if it was indirect. All Western European governments were whole-heartedly anti-communist and determined to protect themselves against possible Soviet military attack. It was reduced to a bilateral game played by the Soviet Union and United States with the nations of Europe as spectators watching someone else's match and played too. The attitude of Western Europe itself was important. There was fairly constant pressure on the United States to play a more active role in European politics. The influence of Britain was especially important. It had the best relations with the United States and worked most actively to draw the United States closer to Western Europe although they could not agree on certain important matters. They had an important mutual interest in containing Soviet influence. The American influence was in large measure a result of West European initiatives; it was the British who pushed hard for American participation in a Western European defensive alliance.

Adapted from the views of academics writing in the 1990s.

Source E



Cartoon by Edwin Marcus, US Library of Congress, 1947.

Source F

The ruling clique of American imperialists has taken the path of outright expansion, of enslaving the weakened capitalist states of Europe and the colonial and independent countries. It has chosen the path of hatching new war plans against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. The clearest and the most specific expression of the policy is provided by the Truman-Marshall plans. [With regard to] such countries as Yugoslavia and Poland, the United States and Great Britain are pursuing a terrorist policy imitating the Hitlerites, the new aggressors are using blackmail and extortion.

*G.M Malenkov, a Soviet politician,
speaking at the Cominform conference about US policy, September 1947.*

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the reasons for US intervention in Europe between 1945 and 1949. [10]

- (b) How far do Sources A to F support the view that the Cold War was a result of Soviet policies in Europe between 1945 and 1949?
[30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2** 'Economic liberalisation was the key to the growth of the global economy.' How far do you agree with this explanation of the development of the global economy from 1945 to 1973?
[30]

OR

- 3** To what extent do you agree with the statement that Taiwan's economic transformation in the 1970s and 1980s was mainly dependent upon the role of the government?
[30]

AND EITHER

- 4** How far do you agree that the veto power of the permanent members was the main factor that affected the effectiveness of peacekeeping action between 1945 and 1995?
[30]

OR

- 5** To what extent do you agree that the United States was the key obstacle to the attempts to reform the United Nations between 1950 and 2000?
[30]