

H2 HISTORY 9752/01

Paper 1: Shaping the International Order (1945–2000)

No Additional Materials are required.

26 AUGUST 2020 3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and home tutorial group on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. Start each question on a fresh sheet of paper.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer two questions*.

*Questions set on the Common Last Topic of the syllabus do not form part of the assessment. They will not be marked by the Examiners.

Do not answer the following question from Section B:

Question 5 on page 7

Turn to the question and cross it out by drawing a line through the question.

The total time allowed for this Question Paper has not been changed.

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

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SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE END TO SUPERPOWER RIVALRY

1. Read the sources and then answer the questions which follow.

Source A

Today, I know there are a great many people who are pointing to the unimaginable horror of nuclear war. I welcome that concern. Those who have governed America throughout the nuclear age and we who govern it today have had to recognize that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. So, to those who protest against nuclear war, I can only say, "I'm with you." Like my predecessors, it is now my responsibility to do my utmost to prevent such a war.

It would be wonderful if we could restore our balance with the Soviet Union without increasing our own military power. But let's not fool ourselves. Soviet negotiators will not make unilateral concessions. Many have been attracted to the idea of a nuclear freeze [...] (but) the current level of nuclear forces is too high on both sides. It must be the objective of any negotiations on arms control to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons. We are preparing a new arms reduction effort with regard to strategic nuclear forces and are already in negotiations in Geneva on intermediate-range missiles threatening Europe. Our objective in these talks is for the elimination of such missiles on the strategic nuclear forces. We will aim on those at substantial reductions on both sides leading to equal and verifiable limits.

Adapted from a radio address by Reagan, 17 April 1982.

Source B

A truly remarkable thing happened in the 1980s. We began the decade with an administration that was uninterested in arms control and adamant about not talking to the Soviets. We are ending the decade with an administration which is not only talking to the Soviets, but has concluded the first treaty that is going to eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons. What happened between 1981 and 1988 was the nuclear freeze movement. The other remarkable thing is that the nuclear freeze movement was at its height when we were at the worst of Reagan's rhetoric against the Soviet Union. That was when the Reagan Administration started going back to the bargaining table with the Soviets, showing the impact of the anti-nuclear movement in the United States. The Administration realised that it was not possible to come out successfully with a legacy [...] without an arms control agreement.

Excerpt from an interview with Randall Forsberg, founder of the Nuclear Freeze movement in America, 1988.

[Turn over

Source C

The role played by the Soviet Union in world affairs is well-known. In view of the revolutionary Perestroika under way in our country, which contains a tremendous potential for peace and international cooperation, we are now particularly interested in being properly understood. It is obvious that the use or threat of force no longer can or must be an instrument of foreign policy. All of us must exercise self-restraint and totally rule out any outward-oriented use of force. That is the first and the most important component of a non-violent world as an ideal which we proclaimed and which we invite you to follow. It is also quite clear to us that the principle of freedom of choice is mandatory. Its non-recognition is fraught with extremely grave consequences for world peace. Freedom of choice is a universal principle that should allow for no exceptions.

Excerpt from Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations, 1988.

Source D

Fate had it that when I found myself at the head of the state it was already clear that all was not well in the country. There is plenty of everything: land, oil and gas, other natural riches, yet we lived much worse than developed countries and keep falling behind them more and more.

The reason could already be seen: The society was suffocating in the vice of the command-bureaucratic system, doomed to serve ideology and bear the terrible burden of the arms race...We could not go on living like that. Everything had to be changed radically.

Work of historic significance has been accomplished. A breakthrough has been achieved on the way to democratic changes [...] The movement to a diverse economy has started, economic freedom of the producer has been legalized, and entrepreneurship, shareholding, and privatization are gaining momentum. We opened ourselves to the world, gave up interference into other people's affairs. The nations and people gained real freedom to choose the way of their self-determination.

Some mistakes could surely have been avoided, but I am convinced that sooner or later our common efforts will bear fruit, and our nations will live in a prosperous and democratic society.

Adapted from Gorbachev's farewell address to the USSR, December 1991.

Source E

The last six weeks of our peaceful revolution has shown the enormous human, moral and spiritual potential, and the civic culture that slumbered in our society under the enforced mask of apathy. Everywhere in the world people wonder where those meek, humiliated, skeptical and seemingly cynical citizens of Czechoslovakia found the marvelous strength to shake the totalitarian yoke from their shoulders in several weeks, and in a decent and peaceful way. We must also bear in mind that other nations have paid even more dearly for their present freedom, and that indirectly they have also paid for ours. The rivers of blood that have flowed in Hungary, Poland, Germany and recently in such a horrific manner in Romania, as well as the sea of blood shed by the nations of the Soviet Union, must not be forgotten. They must not be forgotten because it is these great sacrifices that form the tragic background of today's freedom or the gradual emancipation of the nations of the Soviet Bloc, and thus the background of our own newfound freedom.

Our state should never again be an appendage or a poor relative of anyone else.

President Vaclav Havel's "New Year's Address to the Nation", 1 January 1990.

*Havel was the last president of Czechoslovakia, and was a dissident against the USSR.

Source F



A cartoon published in an American newspaper after Reagan's passing in 2004.

[Turn over

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources C and D on Soviet foreign policy in the 1980s. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A F support the view that the end of the Cold War was mainly brought about by popular movements? [30]

SECTION B

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

2.	How far did the global economy benefit from trade liberalisation during the	ne period between
	1945 and 2000?	[30]

OR

3. "Private businesses played the most critical role in the economic growth of South Korea from the 1970s to 1990." Discuss. [30]

AND EITHER

4. "The United Nations failed to achieve its aims from 1945 to 1988." Assess the validity of this statement.

OR

5. To what extent did the reforms of the United Nations enable it to address its challenges? [30]

**** End of paper ****