



EUNOIA JUNIOR COLLEGE  
JC2 Preliminary Examination 2018  
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level  
Higher 2

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# HISTORY

**9752/01**

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945-2000)

**13 September 2018**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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## READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, civics group and question number on the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
Write your answer to each question on a fresh sheet of paper.  
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

### Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

### Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Start each answer on a fresh sheet of writing paper.  
You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.  
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 END OF BIPOLARITY

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

**Source A**

Both Pope John Paul II and President Ronald Reagan were convinced that Poland could be broken out of the Soviet orbit if the Vatican and the U.S. committed their resources to destabilising the Polish government and keeping the outlawed Solidarity movement alive after the declaration of martial law in 1981, ... and if Poland became democratic, other East European states would follow.

"Solidarity was the very weapon for bringing this about, because it was an organisation of the labourers of Poland." Nothing quite like Solidarity had ever existed in Eastern Europe, Reagan notes. Until Solidarity's legal status was restored in 1989 it flourished underground, supplied, nurtured and advised largely by the network established under the auspices of Reagan and John Paul II.

Yet in 1982 neither Reagan nor the Pope could anticipate the accession of a Soviet leader like Mikhail Gorbachev, the father of glasnost and perestroika; his efforts at reform unleashed powerful forces that spun out of his control and led to the breakup of the Soviet Union. In July 1988, Gorbachev visited Warsaw and signalled Moscow's recognition that the government could not rule without Solidarity's cooperation. On April 5, 1989, the two sides signed agreements legalising Solidarity and calling for open parliamentary elections in June.

*Time magazine cover story on the alliance between Ronald Reagan and the Catholic Church, 24 June 2001.*

**Source B**

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe.

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!

*Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, 12 June 1987.*

### Source C

In a day of protests across Western Europe, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated against the deployment of new American medium-range missiles at the end of this year.

Estimates supplied by local police authorities put the number of demonstrators in West Germany at over 620,000. It was estimated that over 180,000 took part in a festive rally at Bonn University, while anti-missile demonstrators formed a 64.8-mile human chain connecting the United States Army's VII Corps headquarters in Stuttgart to an American artillery unit at Neu-Ulm.

Hundreds of thousands jammed central London in what was said to be the largest protest of its kind in British history. In Rome, an estimated 350,000 marchers paraded through the centre of the city. Some 100,000 demonstrators brought Vienna to a standstill, while an estimated 25,000 people marched in Paris, 20,000 in Stockholm and 4,000 in Dublin.

In the United States, thousands joined largely peaceful protests at more than 140 sites.

*From The New York Times, 23 October 1983.*

### Source D



\*The two figures are holding a document that says "INF Treaty"

*A cartoon in an American newspaper, 29 November 1987. The cartoonist was known for his lack of admiration for Reagan.*

## Source E

It is obvious, for instance, that the use or threat of force can no longer, and must no longer, be an instrument of foreign policy. This applies, above all, to nuclear arms, but that is not the only thing that matters.

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. Denying that right to peoples, under whatever pretext or rhetorical guise, jeopardises even the fragile balance that has been attained. Freedom of choice is a universal principle to which there should be no exceptions.

Today I can inform you of the following: The Soviet Union has made a decision on reducing its armed forces. In the next two years, their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 persons, and the volume of conventional arms will also be cut considerably. These reductions will be made on a unilateral basis. By agreement with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, we have made the decision to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and to disband them by 1991. The Soviet forces situated in those countries will be cut by 50,000 persons, and their arms by 5,000 tanks. All remaining Soviet divisions on the territory of our allies ... will become unambiguously defensive, after the removal of a large number of their tanks.

*A speech by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations General Assembly, 7 December 1988.*

## Source F

In the summer of 1989, East German politicians praised the Chinese decision to use violence against democracy activists camping in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. In September and early October, East German police had cracked down forcefully on protesters in Dresden, Berlin and Plauen.

On Oct. 9, Leipzig hosted the largest protest demonstration in East German history: Between 70,000 and 100,000 peaceful demonstrators braved warnings from the feared Stasi, or secret police, and thousands of armed riot cops to march around the city center.

No one knew it at the time, but the peaceful Leipzig demonstrations exerted irresistible pressure to reform on the East German regime -- and led directly to the fall of the wall five weeks later. "It was a self-liberation. We did it without the dollar or the DAX, without the US or Soviet armies," Pastor Christian Fuehrer\* says. "It was the people here who did it."

*\*Pastor Fuehrer was one of the leading figures and organisers of the 1989 peaceful demonstrations in East Germany*

*From a German newspaper, 9 October 2009.*

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on Reagan's position towards Eastern Europe.  
[10m]
- b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that Reagan and Gorbachev deserve all the credit for the end of the Cold War? [30m]

**Section B**

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

**EITHER**

- 2** How significant were the roles played by Western Europe and Japan in the growth of the global economy from 1945-2000? [30]

**OR**

- 3** "The government's role in the growth of Korea's economy from the 1970s-1990 was more critical than any other factor." Discuss. [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4** Did the major powers help or hinder the United Nations' peacekeeping efforts between 1945 and 2000? [30]

**OR**

- 5** "A mere paper tiger." How far do you agree with this assessment of the International Court of Justice in the years 1945-2000? [30]

This document consists of **5** printed pages and **1** blank page.