



TEMASEK JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 Preliminary Examinations
HIGHER 2



HISTORY

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945-2000)

9752/01
28 August 2018
3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your centre number, index number, name and CG on all the work you hand in.

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

Start each answer on a fresh piece of writing paper.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together with the cover sheet on top.

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

This document consists of **6** printed pages.

SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE SOVIET UNION IN CRISIS AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR

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

Source A

Comrades, perestroika in the USSR has become a matter of global significance. The important changes in our own home have called for new approaches to international affairs as well...As we analyse the contemporary world, we realise more clearly that international relations, without losing their class character, are increasingly coming to be precisely relations between nations. We note the enhanced role in world affairs of peoples, nations and emerging new national entities. And this implies that there is no ignoring the diversity of interests in international affairs. Consideration for these interests is an important element of the new political thinking...

...A key factor in the new thinking is the concept of freedom of choice. We are convinced that this is a universal principle for international relations at a time when the very survival of civilization has become the principal problem of the world, its common denominator.

Adapted from Gorbachev's speech at the Nineteenth Party Conference, June 1988.

Source B

Common sense also told us that to preserve the peace, we'd have to become strong again after years of weakness and confusion. So, we rebuilt our defences, and this New Year we toasted the new peacefulness around the globe. Not only have the superpowers actually begun to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons – and hope for even more progress is bright – but the regional conflicts that rack the globe are also beginning to cease. The Persian Gulf is no longer a war zone. The Soviets are leaving Afghanistan. The Vietnamese are preparing to pull out of Cambodia, and an American-mediated accord will soon send 50,000 Cuban troops home from Angola.

...

Nothing is less free than pure communism – and yet we have, the past few years, forged a satisfying new closeness with the Soviet Union. I've been asked if this isn't a gamble, and my answer is no because we're basing our actions not on words but deeds...

*Extract from a farewell address to the American nation by President Ronald Reagan,
11 January 1989.*

Source C

It has been necessary to take a fresh look at the practice of military build-up as it established itself during the decades of the Cold War...The tempo and scale of growth of the military-industrial complex added little to security of the country from the purely military viewpoint. And they badly affected the state of the economy, weighed heavily on all our social structures...

Without the utilisation of [the resources of the military-industrial complex], without their application to the solution of public social tasks, we cannot carry out perestroika. Such a gap between non-military and military potentials was absolutely unacceptable, all the more so since in NATO countries, especially in the United States, these [military and civilian] industries are concentrated in the same corporations and spill-over from one into another ensuring powerful economic growth up to the modern level.

Still, the governments of NATO countries have not ceased to be our potential adversaries, have not renounced their intention "to roll back communism," to undermine the role of the Soviet Union as a world power. Emerging positive trends have not yet become irreversible. The restructuring of international relations is a long-term business and will require colossal endeavours.

Extract from notes prepared by a Soviet official for Gorbachev's report to the Soviet Defence Council, October 1989.*

* The Soviet Defence Council was the supreme decision-making body in the USSR on national security issues and controlled the military industry.

Source D

One can hardly overestimate the huge pressure exerted on Gorbachev by the USSR's economic and financial crisis that reached grave proportions by the end of 1988. In November, the Soviet leader cited the Soviet military burden ("two and a half times as much as the United States spends on defence") to obtain approval for the decision to unilaterally withdraw half a million elite Soviet troops from Central Europe. In a later December Politburo session, he admitted: "In no other country is [the military burden] so bad. Perhaps only in poor countries, where half of their budget goes to military spending." Only future research may determine what percentage of the Soviet gross national product was spent on the Cold War by the end of the 1980s; figures vary from 10 percent of direct costs to 70 percent of indirect costs related to military, defence, international assistance and propaganda needs.

Extract from an article, titled "New Evidence on the 'Soviet Factor' in the Peaceful Revolutions of 1989" by Russian historian Vladislav Zubok, 2001.

Source E



Political cartoon published in a US newspaper, one day after former US President Ronald Reagan's passing, August 2004.

Source F

Nine years earlier, when the tank-loving Brezhnev was still in power and Gorbachev was a loyal party secretary in the sticks, I was living in Poland, and thus witnessed the unthinkable becoming real.

In August 1980, millions of Poles demanded the legalisation of Solidarity, an independent mass-membership organisation whose very existence challenged the one-party state. Previous protests had ended in bloodshed. Commentators around the world agreed: the strikers could never win. And yet, within weeks, the legalization of Solidarity was agreed. It was a de facto legal opposition in the heart of the Soviet bloc.

These achievements were never fully reversed, even when tanks went on the streets the following year. Brezhnev, busy with little local difficulties in Afghanistan, did not send Russian tanks into Poland, as he had done with Czechoslovakia in 1968. He subcontracted the task to the Polish Communist leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. But the protests didn't stop. Finally, after seven restless years, Poland's rulers accepted they had no option but to talk.

Extract from recollections by a journalist in a British newspaper, 2014.

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and C on the objectives of Soviet foreign policy in the 1980s. [10]
- b) How far do Sources A-F support the assertion that the Cold War ended because of the Soviet Union's domestic crisis in the late 1980s? [30]

SECTION B

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

EITHER

- 2** “It was economic liberalisation that accounted for the growth of the global economy between 1945 and 1970.” Discuss. [30]

OR

- 3** Assess the impact of economic decisions by the developing world on the development of the global economy between 1971 and 2000. [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** “Compared to the United Nations Security Council, the United Nations Secretary-General played a more important role in the maintenance of international peace and security.” How far do you agree with this assessment of the United Nations between 1945 and 2000? [30]

OR

- 5** How important was the Cold War in shaping the political effectiveness of the United Nations between 1945 and 2000? [30]

End of Paper

Acknowledgements for Question 1:

Source A – Sakwa, Richard. *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union 1917-1991*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1999

Source B – <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29650>

Source C – <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/426>

Source D – https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWIHPBulletin12-13_p1_0.pdf

Source E – <http://editorialcartoonists.com/cartoon/display.cfm/1358>

Source F – <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/world-history/fall-of-the-berlin-wall-a-people-s-uprising-that-grew-until-it-remade-europe-9824273.html>