HISTORY

Paper 1 The Cold War and the Modern World (1945–2000)

8838/01 9 September 2024 3 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and civics tutorial group on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working. Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid. DO **NOT** WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer two questions.

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

At the end of the examination, slot in any additional answer booklets into the original 12-page booklet.

Hand in your answer booklets for each section **separately**.

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN POLAND

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

Source A

Solidarity symbolises the battle of real workers in a so-called workers' state to sustain the fundamental human and economic rights they began to win in Gdansk in 1980 – the right to reap the fruits of one's labour, the right to strike, and the right to freedom of expression. Solidarity sought to address Poland's deep-rooted economic ills by pursuing a path of peaceful and constructive dialogue with the Polish Government.

However, a brutal wave of repression has descended on Poland. The imposition of martial law has stripped away all vestiges of newborn freedom. Authorities have resorted to arbitrary detentions, and the use of violent force. By persecuting Solidarity, the Polish military government wages war against its own people.

We hold in high esteem the leadership and objectives of Lech Walesa, the head of Solidarity. As Americans, we feel a special affinity with Solidarity and the basic human values it seeks to uphold. I hereby designate January 30, 1982, as Solidarity Day. I urge Americans, and free peoples everywhere, to observe this day in meetings, demonstrations, rallies and worship services. We will show our Solidarity with the courageous people of Poland and call for an end to their repression and the restoration of their rights.

From a public proclamation of "Solidarity Day" by US President Ronald Reagan, 20 January 1982.

Source B

US President Reagan and Pope John Paul II, who was Polish, believed they could work together to keep Solidarity alive. They planned to do it by secretly undermining the Polish government. They believed that, as a result, the USSR would lose its grip on Poland and the country could regain freedom and other communist states would follow suit. From 1982 to 1989, various Western organisations and the CIA provided money to the banned union. Solidarity also received equipment, such as telephones and transmitters, that were smuggled into Poland by priests and foreign trade unions. Above all, Solidarity received advice on how to deal with the Polish government and the USSR. This advice was based on secret information which the USA received from Polish priests and even spies in the Polish government.

From a British secondary school History textbook, 2005.

[Turn over

Source C

Polish leader Jaruzelski is very worried that no one from the political leadership of the USSR has arrived to consult with us about large-scale economic and military aid. The situation in Poland has changed. The adversary is supported from outside and is making the situation more tense. The Catholic Church, which had taken a neutral stance earlier, is now creating tensions. It might join forces with Solidarity and draw young people to its ranks, forcing a confrontation. We appealed to the Soviet leadership – but there is no answer. We cannot embark on any adventurist actions if the Soviets do not support us. Jaruzelski said that if there will be no political, economic and military support from the USSR, the Warsaw Pact might lose our country. Psychologically, his state of mind is very nervous.

From the notebook of a Polish military general, 11 December 1981.

Source D

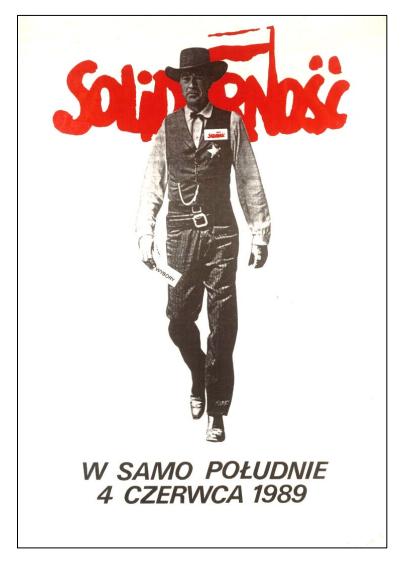
This meeting today in the Parliament would not have been possible had there not been the resolute protest of Polish workers in Gdansk in the unforgettable August of 1980. It would not have been possible without Solidarity, which chose the way of peaceful struggle for the rights of the people and the nation. Solidarity also adopted the principle that "there is no freedom without solidarity": without solidarity with others, the solidarity which overcomes all kinds of barriers of class, ideology, culture and even geography.

The events of 1989, which set in motion the great political and social changes in Poland and Europe, were the result the peaceful means of struggle for a society of free citizens and a democratic state. We cannot forget those events. They brought not only the long-sought liberty, but also contributed decisively to the collapse of walls, which for almost half a century separated the societies and nations of our part of the continent from the free world.

From Pope John Paul II's address to the Seim (Polish Parliament), 1999.

[Turn over

Source E



^{* &}quot;Solidarity" is printed at the top in the background.

The caption below reads, "At High Noon 4 June 1989". (Note: "High Noon" was a Hollywood film.)

A Solidarity election poster, 1989.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence about the United States' policy towards Solidarity. [10]
- **(b)** How far do Sources A-E support the assertion that the fall of communism in Poland was a result of Solidarity's actions? [30]

[Turn over

Section B

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

EITHER

2 How far was the development of Sino-American relations between 1950 and 1991 shaped by the Taiwan issue? [30]

OR

3 To what extent were Sino-Japanese relations between 1950 and 1991 hostile in nature? [30]

AND EITHER

4 'Sino-Vietnamese tensions were the main reason that caused Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in 1978.' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

5 'Singapore adopted a pro-American foreign policy during the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this view? [30]