



HISTORY

8838/01

Paper 1 The Cold War and the Modern World (1945-1991)

Friday, 23 August 2024

3 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet will be provided with this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. Write clearly the question numbers on the first page of every question attempted and the cover page.

Start each answer on a fresh page of the answer booklet.

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.

You are reminded of the need for good English and clear handwriting in your answer.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

The end of arms race

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

I know that all of you want peace, and so do I. I know too that many of you seriously believe that a nuclear freeze would further the cause of peace. But a freeze now would make us less, not more, secure and would raise, not reduce, the risk of war. With the Soviets' present margin of superiority, why should they agree to arms reductions knowing that we were prohibited from catching up?

We need to negotiate from a position of strength that can be ensured only by modernising our strategic forces. To ensure that our security didn't rely on threat of US retaliation against a Soviet attack, but on the ability to intercept and destroy ballistic missiles before they reached us or our allies. Tonight, I am directing a comprehensive and intensive effort to define a long-term research and development program that could pave the way for arms control measures to eliminate the weapons themselves. We seek neither military superiority nor political advantage. Our only purpose is to search for ways to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

President Reagan's address to the nation on defence and national security, 23 March 1983.

Source B

You said in your address that it was your dream to free mankind from the threat of nuclear destruction. Why take this extremely dangerous path of space weapons, which does not promise disarmament? Instead of spending the next 10-15 years developing new sophisticated weapons in space, which are allegedly intended to make nuclear weapons "obsolete" and "impotent", wouldn't it be better to eliminate those weapons?

We propose this plan to reduce nuclear weapons – during the next 5-8 years, the Soviet Union and US would reduce by half their nuclear weapons, on the basis of the mutual renunciation of space weapons. We have repeatedly warned that the development of space weapons will destroy the hopes for reductions of nuclear weapons on Earth. We are in favour of eliminating Soviet and US medium range missiles to free Europe from nuclear weapons. By the end of 1999, the liquidation of all remaining nuclear weapons will be completed. To facilitate the end of arms race, the Soviet Union has unilaterally suspended any nuclear explosions for three more months.

Excerpt from Mikhail Gorbachev's letter to President Reagan, 14 January 1986.

Source C

This treaty we're signing today is example of the rewards of patience. It was in November 1981 that I first proposed the zero option. For the first time in history, the language of "arms control" was replaced by "arms reduction" – in this case, the complete elimination of an entire class of US and Soviet nuclear missiles. Of course, this required a dramatic shift in thinking, and it took conventional wisdom some time to catch up. General Secretary Gorbachev...today we've seen what can be accomplished when we work together. The numbers alone demonstrate the value of this agreement. On the Soviet side, over 1,500 deployed warheads will be removed, and all ground-launched intermediate-range missiles, including 650 SS-20's, will be destroyed. On our side, our entire complement of 550 Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles, with some 400 deployed warheads, will be destroyed.

Excerpt from President Reagan's remarks on signing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, 8 December 1987.

Source D



An American cartoon published in 1989.

Source E

During the Reykjavik Summit in October 1986, Gorbachev unveiled Soviet proposals on arms control that represented several concessions toward the American positions. He also suggested that the US and Soviet Union cut their strategic weapons by half, including heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles, and eliminate all their intermediate range missiles in Europe. Reagan grew increasingly excited by Gorbachev's initiatives, but was unwilling to accept the limits on SDI.

Declassified documents show that soon after Reykjavik, Reagan attempted to galvanise the US government to consider the implications of abolishing ballistic missiles and how it could be accomplished. This sparked a strong backlash in Washington and among America's allies, who feared that removing ballistic missiles from Europe would expose the continent to the superior conventional forces of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies.

Why was Reagan willing to contemplate the elimination of ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons? He had more firsthand contact with the new Soviet leadership, which allowed him to sense Gorbachev's eagerness and growing desperation for a deal with the US that can limit Soviet military expenditures.

From an academic book by an American journalist, published in 2010.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B on the strategic priorities of the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1980s.
[10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-E support the assertion that the end of the arms race was a result of Reagan's strategic initiatives? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2** 'The easing of Sino-American relations from 1970s onwards was less about relationship and more about strategic necessity' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 3** To what extent did Japan's domestic politics contribute to the challenges in its relations with the United States during the Cold War? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** How far do you agree that Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in 1978 was a result of shifting Cold War dynamics among the major powers? [30]

OR

- 5** 'Economic priorities were at the heart of Singapore's foreign policy throughout the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this view? [30]

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