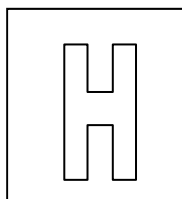


Candidate Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Class    Adm No

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## 2018 Preliminary Exams Pre-university 3

**H2 HISTORY**  
**Shaping the International Order**

**9752/01**  
**11<sup>th</sup> September 2018**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials:    Answer Paper

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### **READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name and class on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams or graphs.  
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Begin each question on a fresh sheet of writing paper.

#### **Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

#### **Section B**

Answer **TWO** questions.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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

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**This question paper consists of 5 printed pages.**

**[Turn over**

## Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

1. Read the sources, and then answer the question which follows.

When answering **Question 1** candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the Sources both individually and as a group.

### NATO and the Warsaw Pact

#### Source A

In a communique issued at the close of the meeting, pact members expressed the view that the colonial system would continue to disintegrate under the blows of national liberation movements. It criticized the proposal to make the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) the fourth atomic force and looked upon the restoration of the West German Army and its equipment with missile-nuclear weapons as a growing threat to peace in Europe. In view of the increasing military preparations of the imperialist states, the declaration stated, members had agreed upon further consolidation of their defence capacity and upon measure to strengthen peace throughout the world. In conclusion, the Warsaw Pact members declared that they would continue to follow unswervingly a policy of peaceful coexistence and that they were ready at any moment to take broad measures, agreed upon with other states to insure peace and security.

*Extracted from a report of the meeting of Warsaw Pact members, 1961.*

#### Source B

The Contracting Parties,

Reaffirming their desire for the establishment of a system of European collective security based on the participation of all European states irrespective of their social and political systems, which would make it possible to unite their efforts in safeguarding the peace of Europe;

Mindful, at the same time, of the situation created in Europe by the ratification of the Paris agreements, which envisage the formation of a new military alignment in the shape of "Western European Union", with the participation of a remilitarized Western Germany and the integration of the latter in the North Atlantic bloc, which increases the danger of another war, and constitutes a threat to the national security of peaceful states;

Being persuaded that in these circumstances the peaceable European states must take the necessary measures to safeguard their security and in the interests of preserving peace in Europe;

Have decided to conclude the present Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

*Extracted from The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance,  
May 14, 1955.*

### Source C



The bag slung across Stalin reads "Fear, Suspicion" and the sign on the bottom right "Atlantic Pact" (NATO).

*By a British cartoonist, 1949.*

### Source D

On this historic occasion, I am happy to welcome the Foreign Ministers for the countries, together with the United States, to form the North Atlantic community of nations. The purpose of this meeting is to take the first step towards putting into effect an agreement to safeguard the peace and prosperity of this community of nations. The nations represented here have known the tragedy of those two wars. As a result, many of us took part in the founding of the United Nations. Each member of the United Nations is under a solemn obligation to maintain international peace and security. Each is bound to settle international disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territory or independence of any country, and to support the United Nations in any action it takes to preserve the peace. In this pact we hope to create a shield against aggression and the fear of aggression – a bulwark which will permit us to get on with the real business of government and society – the business of achieving a fuller and happier life for our citizens.

*Extracted from the draft of President Truman's speech  
at the signing ceremony, April 1, 1949.*

### Source E

In an effort to deprive the three Western powers of their notion that the Soviet Union was not doing its part in consolidating peace, the Soviet delegation, consisting of Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, Marshal Zhukov and myself, announced that the Soviet Union was willing to join NATO. We argued that, since NATO was dedicated to the cause of peace, it could not but agree to include the USSR. [The Western delegations] were so stunned that for several minutes none of them said a word. Eisenhower's usual vote-winning smile vanished from his face. He leaned over for a private consultation with Dulles; but we were not given a reply to our proposal.

At later meetings of the four powers, however, it was evident the Western delegations did not wish to discuss our proposal further and they simply steered clear of it, giving mysterious, oracular smiles whenever it was mentioned. The fact is NATO simply did not know how to deal with it and so they simply hushed it up. Often I have mentioned our proposal to US officials of later generations and very few of them have ever heard of it."

*Extracted from Andrei Gromyko's memoirs, 1989.*

### Source F

The formation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in 1955 also gave the East Europeans at least a nominally greater voice in Soviet-bloc military decisions. But although the most obvious mechanisms of Soviet domination were removed, Soviet control of the region's armed forces remained firm. Furthermore, the Warsaw Pact provided the Soviet Union with a valuable means of containing the 'renationalization' of the East European armed forces which began to accelerate after 1956; the symbolic concession to East European national feelings embodied in the Pact's formation helped to preclude the eruption of nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiments in most of the East European countries and also served to legitimize the continued deployment of Soviet troops in Hungary and Romania once the signing of the Austrian State Treaty had eliminated the ostensible justification for their presence.

*Extracted from an academic journal, 1984.*

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B on the aims of the Warsaw Pact. [10 marks]
- b) How far do Sources A to F support the view that Cold War military alliances were formed for defensive reasons? [30 marks]

## Section B

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

### EITHER

2. To what extent was the growth of the global economy uninterrupted between 1945 and 2000?

[30 marks]

### OR

3. To what extent did private businesses play a more important role than the government in the transformation of the economies of the Asian Tigers?

[30 marks]

### AND EITHER

4. "Active rather than passive." To what extent is this an accurate assessment of the Secretary General from 1945 to 2000?

[30 marks]

### OR

5. How important was Great Power politics in determining the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice?

[30 marks]

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### Copyright Acknowledgements

Question 1 Source A	© Extracted from a report of the meeting of Warsaw Pact members, 1961. International Organization, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1961), p. 333.
Question 1 Source B	© S Extracted from The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, May 14, 1955; The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 49, No. 4, Supplement: Official Documents (Oct., 1955)
Question 1 Source C	© Cartoon by Ilingworth, 4 August 1949, <a href="https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_illingworth_on_soviet_foreign_policy_and_the_establishment_of_nato_4_april_1949-en-a2c7ad45-f73d-465b-a14f-1de494733af6.html">https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_illingworth_on_soviet_foreign_policy_and_the_establishment_of_nato_4_april_1949-en-a2c7ad45-f73d-465b-a14f-1de494733af6.html</a> , accessed 17 August 2018
Question 1 Source D	© Extracted from Draft of President Truman's speech at the signing ceremony, with his handwritten corrections. April 1, 1949. <a href="https://www.trumanlibrary.org/nato/doc6.htm">https://www.trumanlibrary.org/nato/doc6.htm</a> , accessed 17 August, 2018.
Question 1 Source E	© Extracted from a quote in <a href="https://www.globalresearch.ca/nato-1949-the-origin-of-an-offensive-expansionist-imperialist-military-alliance/5413844">https://www.globalresearch.ca/nato-1949-the-origin-of-an-offensive-expansionist-imperialist-military-alliance/5413844</a> , 18 August 2018.
Question 1 Source F	© 'Civil-Military Relations in the Warsaw Pact: The East European Component'; Mark N. Kramer Source: International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 61, No. 1 (Winter, 1984-1985), pp. 45-66