



**NATIONAL JUNIOR COLLEGE
2018 SH2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION
HIGHER 2**

HISTORY

9752/01

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945 -2000)

21 August 2018

3 Hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your index number and name on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.
Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.
Please start each question on a new piece of paper, and label your answers clearly according to the question number.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten your scripts securely into **FOUR** separate sets:

- Section A Q1a)
- Section A Q1b)
- Q2 or Q3
- Q4 or Q5

Tie the **Cover Page** to Section A Q1a).

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

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

Section A

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

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

Source A

The fact that the states of Europe belong to different social systems is a reality. The recognition of this historical fact and respect for the sovereign right of each people to choose their social system at their own discretion are the most important prerequisite for a normal European process.

The social and political order in some particular countries did change in the past, and it can change in the future as well. But this is exclusively a matter for the peoples themselves and of their choice. Any interference in internal affairs, any attempts to limit the sovereignty of states — whether of friends and allies or anybody else — are inadmissible.

Differences between states are constructive — provided that the competition between different types of society is aimed at creating better conditions for people. Thanks to perestroika, the Soviet Union will be in a position to take full part in such a competition.

Perestroika, which seeks to radically renew Soviet society... is changing our country, advancing it to new horizons. That process will continue, extend and transform Soviet society in all dimensions. As a result of its implementation, you will soon be dealing with a socialist nation totally different from what it has been up to now.

Extract of a speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Council of Europe, the continent's leading human rights organisation, on 6 July 1989.

Source B

Interviewer: What is your response to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of a divided Europe?

Gorbachev: Those developments were the result of perestroika in the Soviet Union, where democratic changes had reached the point by March 1989 that for the first time in Russia's history, democratic, competitive elections took place.

Similar processes were also under way in Eastern and Central Europe. On the day I became Soviet leader, I told the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries: "You are independent, and we are independent. You are responsible for your policies, we are responsible for ours. We will not intervene in your affairs." And we did not intervene, not even when they later asked us to.

Under the influence of perestroika, their societies began to take action. Perestroika was a democratic transformation, which the Soviet Union needed. And my policy of non-intervention in Central and Eastern Europe was crucial. A process of change began there. People began to make choices.

Interviewer: When did the Cold War actually end?

Gorbachev: If President Ronald Reagan and I had not succeeded in signing disarmament agreements and normalizing our relations in 1985-88, the later developments would have been unimaginable. But what happened between Reagan and me would also have been unimaginable if earlier we had not begun perestroika in the Soviet Union. Without perestroika, the Cold War simply would not have ended.

Sometimes people ask me why I began perestroika. Were the causes basically domestic or foreign? The domestic reasons were undoubtedly the main ones, but the danger of nuclear war was so serious that it was a no less significant factor.

Interviewer: So Americans who say the Cold War ended only with the end of the Soviet Union are wrong?

Gorbachev: People in your country concluded that the United States won the Cold War, but that is a mistake. If the new Soviet leadership and its new foreign policy had not existed, nothing would have happened.

An interview with Gorbachev, published in an US newspaper on 28 October 2009.

Source C

How can we respond to those who ask how we could have permitted the changes in Eastern Europe to happen and why we agreed to withdraw our troops? Reading between the lines, what they are really asking is why we did not use our tanks to 'restore order'. It cannot seriously be suggested that we could have done that. Have we not learned anything from Afghanistan? Have we forgotten 1956 and 1968?

They should learn that socialism, friendly relations and good-neighbourliness and respect cannot be based on bayonets, tanks and blood. Relations with any country must be built on the basis of mutual interests, on mutual benefits, on the principle of freedom of choice.

A Pravda interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on 26 June 1990.

Source D

What no one understood, at the beginning of 1989, was that the Soviet Union, its empire, its ideology - and therefore the Cold War itself - was a sand pile ready to slide. All it took was a few more grains of sand. The people who dropped them were not in charge of superpowers or movements or religions: they were ordinary people with simple priorities who saw, seized and sometimes stumbled into opportunities. In doing so, they caused a collapse no one could stop. Their "leaders" had little choice but to follow.

One leader, however, ensured that this revolution became a triumph of hope. It did so chiefly because Mikhail Gorbachev chose not to act, but rather to be acted upon.

Extract of a book written by an American historian, published in 2006.

Source E



Cartoon published in an American newspaper on 29 November, 1987.

Source F

Look around the world - in the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies - a non-communist Government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary.

But nowhere in the world today - or even in the history of man - have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly, so certainly, over cold stone as in Berlin. Indeed, in all of East Germany.

When I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, I applauded the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying, 'Let Berlin be next.' And the West German people joined us in a call for a Europe whole and free.

Extract of a speech by President Bush, 23 November 1989.

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on Gorbachev's policy of perestroika. [10]
- b) To what extent do Sources A-F support the view that the end of the Cold War was due primarily to the cooperation between the US and the USSR? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

2. "Between 1945 – 2000, trade liberalisation was beneficial to the global economy." Discuss. [30]

OR

3. Assess the view that state intervention was the primarily responsible for the Miracle on the Han River between 1970 and 1990. [30]

AND EITHER

4. To what extent do you agree that, as compared to the Cold War period, the UN was a greater success in maintaining international peace and security in the post-Cold War period? [30]

OR

5. "The failure of the ICJ to safeguard international law stemmed largely from the lack of cooperation by member states." How far do you agree with this statement between 1945 - 2000? [30]