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**HISTORY**

**9752/01**

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945 – 2000)

**10 September 2018**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

**3 hours**

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

Write your **name** and **CT class** clearly on every sheet of writing paper submitted.

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

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

**Section A**

**Answer Question 1.**

**Section B**

**Answer two questions.**

Please start every question on a *fresh* sheet of paper and label each question clearly.

If you did not manage to complete a question, please hand in a piece of blank paper with your name and CT on it.

At the end of the examination, fasten your responses with the string provided **together**.

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

## Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

### The End of the Cold War and Collapse of the USSR

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

#### Source A



*A cartoon in a British newspaper, 1988*

#### Source B

East-West relations, which were at the top of her list in discussions here with Reagan and Bush, have been profoundly affected by Gorbachev's policies, Thatcher declared. The previous "minimal relationship" with Moscow that narrowly centered on arms control has now been expanded to encompass trade, culture and many other major issues, she said.

"I expect Mr. Gorbachev to do everything he can to continue his reforms. We will support it," said Thatcher, who will play host to the Soviet leader in London Dec. 12-14, a few days after he meets with Reagan and Bush in New York.

Thatcher, along with Reagan, has been among the most conservative of major world leaders when it comes to domestic policy and military requirements. However, she has been outspokenly impressed with Gorbachev from her first meeting with him in London in December 1984, three months before he took power in the Kremlin, when she said in a then-controversial remark that "we can do business together."

*An American newspaper report, November 1988*

### Source C

The one-time movie actor accomplished something no one had been able to do. He won the Cold War - without firing a shot. When Reagan took office in 1980, the world had existed for decades under the threat of nuclear holocaust between communism and democracy. The two superpowers had steadily growing atomic arsenals of incredible destructive power. Early on in his presidency, Reagan moved to hone the nation's defenses to razor edge. That military buildup, together with spending billions on the so-called "Star Wars" defense program, forced the Soviets into a more heated effort to stay ahead of the United States in the arms race. Reagan's continuing military buildup sowed the seeds of the ultimate end of communism in the Soviet Union and also the Cold War. As it turned out, Russia lost, bankrupting itself in the process. The spending exposed the many cracks in the Soviet Union's monolithic tyranny and led ultimately to its total collapse. Was it worth it? Of course. It must be.

*Extract from a conservative newspaper in the USA, August 1992*

### Source D

The United States won what was, for all practical purposes, the "third world war.".....American strategic offensive against Soviet power was in no small part held together by an understanding of Soviet economic weakness and a determination to exploit that weakness.....

Perhaps the most sensitive element of the economic war was a long term diplomatic strategy to drive down world energy prices. Most importantly, it is now known that the close security relationship forged by the Reagan administration with Saudi Arabia gave the United States influence over Saudi production decisions. The consequent reduction in oil prices in the 1980s not only helped the American economy, but was part of the administration's strategy for undermining the Soviet economy, which was highly reliant on hard currency earnings from oil sales.

*Extract from a journal article by an American academic, 1997*

### Source E

Not even an attempted murder by a professional assassin in May 1981 could stop John Paul II and his campaign for freedom. In 1987, when President Reagan called on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall -- the pope spoke for the first time of a Europe united "from the Atlantic to the Urals," reflecting his conviction that communism was finished.

When many commentators fumbled for an explanation of why communism had fallen so suddenly and unexpectedly, the pope offered this reason in January 1990 at his annual meeting with the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See: "The irresistible thirst for freedom ... brought down walls and opened doors." It was a freedom made possible, he said, because "women, young people and men have overcome their fear." The extraordinary leader who helped them conquer their fear, who served as an eloquent witness to hope, and who helped topple the empire of lies was John Paul II.

*A conservative American think tank*

## Source F

“The Soviet factor,” nevertheless, proved to be a crucial factor in the success of the peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe and in the fall of the Berlin Wall. The Gorbachev leadership adhered to the illusory belief in “socialism with human face” as a possible third option for Eastern Europe, between old style communism and capitalism. And it was categorically against any direct interference, either by military or non-military means, lest it compromise Gorbachev’s global project of a new world order based on his “new thinking.” One day, when the Central and East Europeans overcome their post-communist hangover, and the political bickering between former reformed communists and former dissidents becomes history, memorials may be erected to remember the [wonderful year] of 1989. And perhaps, among the various figures on the bas-relief frieze, there might be a place for Gorbachev, the inadvertent liberator.

*Vladislav Zubok, a historian in a journal, 2017*

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast Source C and D as evidence on the foreign policy of the USA towards the Soviet Union. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A – F support the assertion that the end of the Cold War was a result of Gorbachev’s initiatives? [30]

## Section B

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

### EITHER

- 2 How significant was the role of Western Europe and Japan in contributing to the development of the global economy between 1950 and 1973? [30]

### OR

- 3 “Domestic developments were more crucial than external ones in explaining South Korea’s rise as an Asian Tiger.” Discuss with reference to the period between 1970 and 1990. [30]

### AND EITHER

- 4 “Great power politics posed the most significant challenge to the success of UN efforts to promote international peace and security.” Assess the validity of this statement. [30]

### OR

- 5 How valid is the assertion that the UN has overcome its operational constraints by 2000? [30]

## END of PAPER

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### Acknowledgements:

- Source A Garland, Nicholas. The Independent. 9 September, 1988.  
Source B Oberdorfer, Don. Thatcher Says Cold War Has Come To An End. The Washington Post. 18 November, 1988  
Source C Looney, Ralph. Reagan Arms Buildup Helped Win The Cold War Without Firing A Shot. Deseret News. 12 August, 1992  
Source D Busch, Andrew. Ronald Reagan and the Politics of Freedom. Rowman & Littlefield. 2001.  
Source E Edwards, Lee. John Paul II: Winning the Cold War. The Heritage Foundation. 4 April, 2005.  
Source F Zubok, Vladislav M. New Evidence on the End of the Cold War. Cold War International History Project Bulletin, Issue 12/13. 2017.

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