

RAFFLES INSTITUTION
PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2018
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
Higher 2

HISTORY (REVISED)

9752/01

Paper 1: Shaping the International Order (1945-2000)

September 2018

3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your **full name**, class and register number 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.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions: either Question 2 or Question 3, **and** either Question 4 or Question 5.

Begin every question on a separate sheet of paper.
At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together with the given cover sheet.
The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **5** printed pages, including this page.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

As chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I consider it my duty to warn of the growing danger of an exacerbation of interethnic relations and the associated consequences for society. Everyone must obey the laws of the country in which he lives. And the state will uphold these laws with all the means at its disposal. No one must tolerate nationalist manifestations in any form.

What is seen as key to resolving the problems that have accumulated? All the necessary preconditions must be ensured for economic and social progress, the free development of language and culture. The social interests of all republics are firmly interwoven within the framework of the union, and a unified national economic complex based on a countrywide division of labour and production sharing has been established. The richer and brighter the blossoming of each nation is, the stronger our Soviet unity is.

A television address by Gorbachev, 3 July 1989.

Source B

Few observers in the West predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s. Here it is useful to bear in mind De Tocqueville's observation in the nineteenth century that revolutions occur not when dictatorial regimes are at their most repressive but, rather, when they are seeking to reform themselves. This was certainly the case with the Soviet Union under Gorbachev. The Soviet Union was not at the point of collapse when Gorbachev assumed power in 1985; it began to disintegrate as a result of his policies. One of Gorbachev's greatest weaknesses was his failure to understand the revolutionary potential of the nationalist issue. In 1988 and 1989 Armenians demanded separation from Azerbaijan, Georgia demanded independence from central control and the three Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia called for independence. Gorbachev was willing to grant greater autonomy to the republics, but his conservative opponents were concerned that his reforming policies would lead to the break-up of the Soviet Union and that was the main reason for the coup against him in August 1991.

An account by an American historian, John Mason, 1997.

Source C

There has been a prolonged crisis of the model of socialism which developed in Stalin's time. Their political system still suffers from a lack of legitimacy to this day, and the stability-oriented socio-economic system is incapable of giving an adequate response to the challenge of the scientific and technological revolution.

The economic factor is at the top of their priorities, for not a single country can overcome the growing gap. The constant comparison of the Socialist and Western worlds, of their ways of life, production, intellectual cultures, entered our daily lives, and there is no way around it. As a consequence, in a number of socialist countries, the process of rejection of the existing political institutions and the ideological values by the societies is already underway, and it is moving from a passive, kitchen-level toward a civil and political one.

Yet, authoritarian methods and direct pressure have clearly outlived themselves. Even in the case of a sharp deterioration of the situation in one of the countries, it is very unlikely that we would be able to employ the methods of 1956 and 1968, both as a matter of principle, but also because of unacceptable consequences.

*A memorandum by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)'s leadership to Gorbachev, titled "The Strategy of Relations with Soviet Countries,"
February 1989.*

Source D



*A cartoon on relations between leaders in the USSR, by an American cartoonist,
September 1991.*

Source E

Emergency Committee Spokesperson: Having embarked on the path of profound reforms and having gone a considerable way in this direction, the Soviet Union has now reached a point at which it finds itself faced with a deep crisis, the further development of which could both place in question the course of reforms itself and lead to serious cataclysms. In many regions of the USSR, as a result of interethnic clashes, blood is being spilled, and the collapse of the USSR would have the most serious consequences, not only internally, but also internationally. In such conditions we have no alternative but to take decisive steps to stop the country from sliding into disaster.

Journalist: Is your committee prepared to order the use of force against civilians? And under what conditions would force be used against civilians?

Spokesperson: We want to protect human rights as much as possible. And I would like to hope very much that we will not be provoked into using some kind of force against civilians.

*Transcript of a press conference given by
the State Committee for the State of Emergency in Moscow, August 1991.*

Source F

This country was going nowhere and we couldn't possibly live the way we did. We had to change everything radically, but to embark on reform of this calibre and in a society like ours was an extremely difficult and even risky undertaking. The process of renovating this country and bringing about drastic change in the international community has proven to be much more complicated than anyone could imagine. This has caused a lot of strain, and took place in the context of increasing resistance by the reactionary forces, both the party and state structures, and the economic elite. The change ran up against our intolerance, a low level of political culture and fear of change. The old system fell apart even before the new system began to work. Crisis of society as a result aggravated even further.

A televised speech by Gorbachev, 25 December 1991.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on Gorbachev's policy towards the Soviet republics. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A to F support the assertion that Gorbachev was most responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2 To what extent were the advanced capitalist countries the most important reason for the development of the global economy in the period 1945 to 1973? [30]

OR

- 3 Which played a more significant role in the economic transformation of South Korea between 1970 and 1990: internal or external factors? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 Which term more adequately describes the role of the United Nations Secretary-General between 1945 and 2000: secretary or general? [30]

OR

- 5 "The failure of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security between 1945 and 2000 was due to the United States." To what extent do you agree with this view? [30]