



TAMPINES MERIDIAN JUNIOR COLLEGE

JC2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION

CANDIDATE
NAME

CIVICS GROUP

H2 HISTORY

The Changing International Order (1945–2000)

9174/01

16 September 2025

3 hours

Additional materials: 12 Page Answer Booklet

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and Civics Group in the spaces at the top of the page.

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

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

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.

This document consists of **5** printed pages and **1** blank page.



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Section A

You **must** answer Question 1

Fall of Communism in Poland

Source A

Andropov: The Solidarity extremists are attacking the leadership of the Polish communist part by the throat. The Church in recent days has also expressed its clear position. It has essentially gone over to the side of Solidarity.

Gromyko: The leadership of Poland itself feels power slipping through its hands. Solidarity showed itself to be a patently counter-revolutionary organisation, a pretender to power that has declared itself openly concerning the seizure of power. What is our [Soviet leadership] attitude towards the Polish events? I completely agree with what the comrades have been expressing here. At the same time, we must try somehow to discourage Jaruzelski and other Polish leaders of the attitude with respect to the introduction of Soviet troops. There can be no introduction of troops into Poland. I think that on this score, we can instruct our ambassador to visit Jaruzelski and inform him of this. The consequences would be most serious: international condemnation, increased sanctions from the West, and an even heavier burden on our economy. We have told Comrade Jaruzelski he must himself take all necessary measures to restore order.

Extract taken from a declassified Soviet Politburo Meeting, Dec 10, 1981. Involved in this meeting were Soviet leader Brezhnev and senior Soviet officials.

Source B

Citizens of the Polish People's Republic. I turn to you today as a soldier and as the head of the Polish Government. I turn to you in matters of supreme importance. Our country has found itself at the edge of an abyss. The state structures no longer function. Our extinguished economy is given more shocks every day. The atmosphere of never-ending conflicts, strikes and protest actions have become standard.

Have we thus done everything to stop the spiral of the crisis? There have been errors, and we are drawing conclusions from them. Unfortunately, however, the national economy has been turned into an arena for political struggle. Words said in Radom and debates in Gdansk showed the real aims of Solidarity leadership. These aims are confirmed by everyday practice, the growing aggressiveness of extremists, clearly aiming to take apart the Polish state system.

We must prevent; we must block confrontation which was openly declared by the leaders of Solidarity. We cannot let these demonstrations be the spark causing a fire in the country. Today at midnight, the Council of State will introduce martial law throughout the country.

Excerpt of televised speech by Polish Communist leader, Jaruzelski on 13 Dec 1981 announcing the imposition of martial law in Poland.



Source C

If the Second Cold War was generated by a change in US policy, it was the change in Soviet political thinking that brought about the end of the Cold War. Gorbachev's new approach took the international community by surprise. He recognised that to reduce military spending, arms limitation talks with the US needed to be re-opened. An indication of Gorbachev's new approach to the West was the replacement of veteran hardliner Foreign Minister Gromyko with Eduard Shevardnadze. Together, they launched a charm offensive on the West with their new political thinking. Margaret Thatcher met Gorbachev in 1984 and declared, 'This is a man whom I can do business!' When George Bush replaced Reagan in 1989, Soviet actions had convinced the US government that Gorbachev could be trusted.

Excerpt from a book on the Cold War by an American author, 2001.

Source D

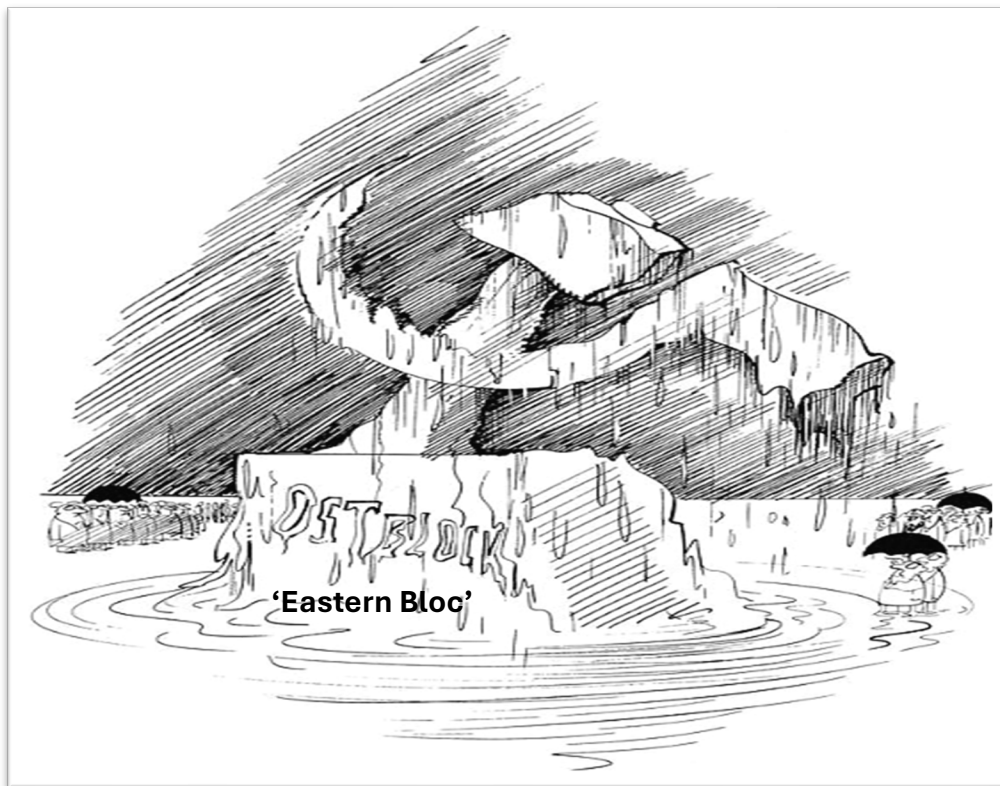


Illustration by a West German cartoonist, depicting Eastern Europeans onlookers surrounding a melting ice-block sculpture, published in the late 1980s.

Source E

The decisive turning point for Eastern Europe came with Gorbachev's renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. By declaring that each socialist country must find its own way, and by refusing to sanction military intervention, Gorbachev removed the safety net for Poland's Communist leaders. The Round Table talks of 1989, and the subsequent Solidarity-led government were made possible not simply by Polish opposition, but by Moscow's new stance. Without Gorbachev's permissive policy, the Polish communists could still have relied on Soviet military power to suppress dissent.

Excerpt from a book by a leading British Cold War historian, published in 1996.

Source F

Only the Poles had engaged in recent mass opposition to communist rule in Eastern Europe. The Solidarity movement of 1980-1981, although a trade union in form, involved cooperation between intellectuals and workers, and between the Roman Catholic Church and secular left-wing activists. Its leaders, including Lech Walesa, all gained substantial experience in politics before the communist regime imposed martial law in Dec 1981. It was they who were best prepared to take advantage of the New Thinking of Gorbachev. When Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would no longer defend communism in its satellite states by force, Poland's communists were the first to test the waters. Oppositionists from Solidarity agreed to take part in round table talks with communist leadership, which prepared the way for partially free elections in June 1989. Solidarity won a resounding victory that was then followed in Hungary, then East Germany, then Czechoslovakia.

Excerpt from an article by a historian, published in 2009.

Now answer the questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B on the Communists' view towards the Solidarity movement in Poland. [10m]
- (b) How far do Sources A – F support the view that the collapse of communism in Poland was primarily due to Solidarity's actions? [30m]



SECTION B

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

EITHER

- 2** Which was a greater challenge for the global economy from 1970 to 2000: The Latin Debt Crisis or rising protectionism? [30m]

OR

- 3** 'Japan's rise as an economic power owed more to chance factors than its own deliberate strategies.' How far do you agree with this view? [30m]

AND EITHER

- 4** How far did economic interests contribute to the development of the Congo crisis from 1960 – 1965? [30m]

OR

- 5** To what extent was Cold War politics the most important factor in the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict between 1948 – 1973? [30m]

End of paper

