



HISTORY

9174/01

Paper 1 The Changing International Order (1945-2000)

02 September 2025

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, civics group and question number on the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the pages in the Answer Booklet.
Write your answer to each question in the booklet.
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Start each answer **on a fresh page** in the Answer Booklet.
You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

At the end of the examination, all work must be handed in.
If you have used any additional booklets, please insert them inside the 12-page Answer Booklet.
The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

Fall of Communism in Poland

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

Why did European Communist states cease to be Communists at the time they did? The place to start is with the most important reason why they had not collapsed earlier: successive Soviet leaderships' willingness to use as much force as was necessary to preserve Communist systems in the countries that mattered most to them – the Soviet Union had, up until the mid-1980s, given every indication that the preservation of what they called socialism in Eastern Europe was non-negotiable.

The second major reason was that the populations of those countries, like governments in the West, believed in the Soviet Union's determination to uphold Communist rule. This is why Solidarity had been reduced to an underground organization that was a shadow of its former self by the mid-1980s. If the Polish population could have been sure that there was no chance of a Soviet intervention it would have been harder for the pro-Communist forces in Poland to succeed in subduing Solidarity.

From a British book on communism, published in 2009.

Source B

Polish leader Jaruzelski is very worried that no one from the political leadership of the USSR has arrived to consult with us about large-scale economic and military aid. The situation in Poland has changed. The adversary is supported from outside and is making the situation more tense. The Catholic Church, which had taken a neutral stance earlier, is now creating tensions. It might join forces with Solidarity and draw young people to its ranks, forcing a confrontation. We appealed to the Soviet leadership – but there is no answer. We cannot embark on any adventurist actions if the Soviets do not support us. Jaruzelski said that if there will be no political, economic and military support from the USSR, the Warsaw Pact might lose our country. Psychologically, his state of mind is very nervous.

From the notebook of a Polish military general, 11 December 1981.

Source C

Gorbachev inherited an Eastern Europe whose seeming calm concealed serious problems beneath the surface. While the challenge posed by Solidarity in Poland had been successfully contained with the imposition of martial law in December 1981, yet, throughout Eastern Europe, severe economic problems, rising social discontent, and political stagnation among the aging party leaderships created an unstable situation.

When Gorbachev assumed power in 1985, Eastern Europe had endured nearly a decade of economic decline and stagnation. These took a heavy toll on standards of living. In Romania and Poland, shortages of energy and basic foodstuffs raised the prospects of economically induced political instability; elsewhere, problems were less disastrous but still pressing.

Excerpt of a CIA memorandum from May 1988.

Source D

Today, to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say: Let them look at Poland! To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say: Let them look at Poland! And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say: Look at Poland! For here in Poland, the dream is alive.

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. America stands with you.

And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. That movement is [Solidarity]. And we applaud those who have made this progress possible: the Polish people. We recognize, too, that the Polish Government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Speech by President George Bush at the Solidarity Workers Monument in Gdansk, Poland, 11 July 1989.

Source E

Widespread anger and unrest hit Poland in the early 1980s. There were protests over food shortages and the price of consumer products. Solidarity wanted to end Soviet control of the country. Led by Lech Walesa, it encouraged continued protest against the government. Solidarity quickly gained 10 million members. Under Soviet guidance, this revolt was suppressed by the army. By early 1982 Solidarity was banned and its leaders arrested.

The USA worked covertly with the Catholic Church to undermine communist control of Poland. Finances were provided by the West. The CIA also provided Solidarity with communication technology to keep the movement alive. The Polish economy continued to decline. In 1988 protests again spread throughout the country. This led to talks between the Solidarity leadership and the Polish government. By early 1989, an agreement was made to hold new elections with a reduced influence for the communists guaranteed. Solidarity was legalised and was able to form a coalition without the Communist Party, establishing an anti-communist government.

Extracted from BBC website, 2015.

Source F



Political cartoon published in an American newspaper, 11 May 1988.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast sources A and B on the relationship between Eastern European governments and the Soviet Union in the early 1980s. [10]
- (b) How far do sources A to F support the view that the collapse of communism in Poland stemmed from domestic developments? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2** To what extent were the Crisis Decades a result of economic mismanagement? [30]

OR

- 3** “The US was responsible for the economic miracle of Japan in the 1950s – 1960s.” How far do you agree? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** How far did the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict change from 1948 to 1979? [30]

OR

- 5** To what extent did economic interests shape the course of the Congo Crisis from 1960 to 1965? [30]

END OF PAPER

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