

Raffles Institution (Year 6)
Paper 8814 (H1) & 9731 (H2):
International History, 1945-2000

Preliminary Exam 2014: Review of Questions

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--- RESTRICTED CIRCULATION ---

Source-based Study on The United Nations and Peacekeeping after 1989

How far do Sources A-E support the view that, the United States was a major hindrance to United Nations peacekeeping activities between 1989 and 2000?

Note:

- The suggested answer is a comprehensive one based on the informed evaluation of the tutor but in no way represents THE perfect answer.
- It showcases how the various methods of evaluation are consciously brought out in the answer.
- When written within 45 min, it is important that the answer is further condensed but without compromising the quality of the answer. The lengthy answer provides a choice of what to what could be included in the answers even if no everything were to be included in the limited time period.
- Look out for key opinion-evidence for evaluation

No	Answer	Comments
1	Sources A and C support the hypothesis at face value while sources B, D and E challenge hypothesis at face value.	Grouping introduction @ face value.
2	Source A supports the hypothesis at face value because it mentions the negative impact of American withdrawal of troops from Somalia. Source A is credible to the extent that according to my own knowledge, it is unfair for the US to blame Boutros-Ghali and the UN and to claim ignorance. I know that US relations with Boutros-Ghali were strained before 1993 over the Bosnia issues, reforms of the UN & the SG's character-style. The real reason was that the peacekeepers exceeded their role when they fought with the warlords and lost because they were lightly equipped & trained in an unfamiliar environment. In addition, US involvement was important for peacekeeping successes as as US was the sole superpower after 1991, had abundant resources & countries took the cue from it. It is also true that after Somalia, US would intervene in global crises when there were good reasons to and if there was a timetable for withdrawal (PDD 25). The credibility is further increased as it was written by an American correspondent (journalist) without any significant attempts at sensationalism and yet it was self critical. In addition, there was hindsight which allows for less emotionally charged and time for reflection. Despite some evidence of tone as seen in the use of loaded words like, "etched", "crippled" and "stringent", the source is still credible as they were used for emphasis rather than to distort. The credibility however could be questioned as we know that in the post-Cold War period, local non-cooperation played an important role as will be proven credible in other sources. I However, on the whole it is a credible source and a strong support source.	Students need not include everything



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3	<p>Source C also supports the hypothesis at face value as it mentions was critical of Clinton's role in Somalia. There is also challenge evidence when it praised Bush in the Gulf War.</p> <p>The source is credible to the extent that my own knowledge tells me that Bush did not hinder UN peacekeeping in the Gulf as the US and the UN members had strategic interests such as access to oil supplies and oil routes. Hence, there was no problem of insufficient resources etc. It was also a classic operation. The credibility is further increased as US hindrance in the Somalia operation has been evaluated as credible in Source A. US lack of interest in Somalia arose from the end of the Cold War, demise of the USSR, less urgent need to win allies and economic problems. There was a trend of this in Rwanda and Bosnia as well – belated, half hearted involvement. The credibility is further increased because it is a balanced academic source with no vested interests in which Kofi Annan was quoted (stake, status, UN chief). Purpose – to educate & inform, pre-summit message. There is also hindsight which allowed enough time for evaluation. However, we know that UN role in the Gulf war was more an exception rather than the norm as there were no similar trends after 1991. On the whole, it is a credible source and a strong support??</p>	
4	<p>Source B challenges the hypothesis at face value as it talks about collective responsibility of the P5 members in relation to their strategic interests. The source is credible to the extent that my own knowledge tells me that before 1991, UN was successful as there were strategic interests (end proxy wars, oil & oil routes) & local cooperation. After 1991, there was limited strategic interests (reasons), belated & half hearted involvement & lack of local cooperation as seen in Rwanda, Somalia & Bosnia. The credibility is further increased when crossed with Sources A and C1 on limited interests and Sources C2 and E on interests. In addition, it was from an academic journal with limited vested interests, to educate and inform & well researched, and written with hindsight for less emotionally charged reflection. But on the whole, it is credible and a strong challenge source</p>	
5	<p>Source D also challenges the hypothesis at face value as it mentions the role of local players – consent and cooperation, manipulation etc The source is credible to the extent that it concurs with my own knowledge as the P5 yes votes were a constant between 1989 and 2000 with the end of the Cold War. Before 1991, there was local cooperation while after 1991 there was limited local cooperation. When the local players saw the ineffectiveness of the UN in Rwanda (genocide - Hutus, Tutsis), Somalia (warlords) & Bosnia (ethnic cleansing by Serbs against Muslims), they were emboldened to be more aggressive making things more difficult for the UN. Local players were the key variables determining the outcome of peacekeepers. The credibility is further increased because hindsight allows enough</p>	



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	time for evaluation while the writer is a ex-US army officer and research scholar – written o educate, inform with limited vested interest to lie even though he did not critique the US. On the whole it is a very credible source and a strong challenge.	
6	Source E also challenges the hypothesis at face value as it refers to the US contributing to the success of the UN mission in the first Gulf War. The source is credible when cross referred to Source C2 in which Bush was praised in the Gulf War. In addition, it was written with hindsight and for an academic purpose. Overall, the source is credible to represent the trends of US non-hindrane role during the period 1989 and 1991. Hence, the credibility can be questioned as US role in the Gulf was not reflective of its subsequent role in the UN, hence there was no significant trends of US contributing to UN peacekeeping successes in the 1990s esp. in crisis in which US had limited strategic interest such as those mentioned previously, e.g. Bosnia, Rwanda, Somalia..	
7	<p>Most of the sources show the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> US was one of the major hindrance – collective role, importance of local players (Source B, D) US was a major hindrance especially after 1991 (Source C, E) US was a major hindrance when it did not have strategic interests (Source B, C) Hence the hypothesis could be modified to make it less general and more aligned to the sources by including the above. <p><u>OR</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The support sources are preferred because of the importance of US involvement in UN peacekeeping operations (Source A, C) as US was the sole superpower after 1991, had abundant resources & countries took the cue from it The challenge sources are preferred because esp. from 1991, local cooperation was the key determinant of UN peacekeeping successes (Sources B, D, E) contributed to UN successes before 1991.P5 (including US) yes votes were a constant while local players were a variable. When the 2 diverged, UN would face problems. 	<p><i>Make specific references to the sources</i></p>

Feedback on scripts:

- Failure to locate key evidence in source for evaluation
- Failure to evaluate sufficient number of key evidence in a source
- Failure to substantiate through cross reference to contextual knowledge – reasons, evidence
- Failure to dispute the source esp. the support sources
- Failure to explain why provenance enhanced source's credibility or otherwise



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**'An unnatural alliance that was bound to fall apart after the defeat of the common enemy'
To what extent does this statement explain the origins of the Cold War?**

(I)

Introduction

Preliminary to thesis statement:

[Include only the more important points]

Important points for the preliminary:

- Know the focus of the question: 'unnatural alliance' & 'bound to fall apart'. This is not a classic question on the reasons for the origins of the Cold War
- Set criteria to determine 'bound', e.g. intensity of impact, nature of importance, time period, perspectives etc
- Unpack the term, 'alliance', e.g. war time alliance from 1941 with German invasion of Moscow till the official end of the alliance in 1947 and after although between 1945 and 1946, the alliance was already unstable and as good as dead.
- Determine the start and end year, e.g. 1945 to 1949, 'origins' is seen as a process over time.

Thesis statement (Planning)

- Agree with the assumption: expected
(Possible main arguments - choose only 1 or 2 more important MA for position)
 - Nature of wartime alliance – marriage of convenience against a common enemy
 - Bound to fall apart – deep rooted nature of ideological divergence
- Challenge the assumption: not expected
(Possible counter ideas - choose only 1 or 2 more important CA for position)
 - Economic weaknesses of the USSR – not able or willing to confront...

Sample thesis statement:

The assumption is valid to the extent that the alliance was unnatural because it was a shotgun marriage of convenience, of pragmatism & realpolitik & unsustainable because of key differences. It was bound to fall apart because of underlying reasons such as clash of ideology and more immediate reasons such as changing conceptions of insecurity.

However, it is only partly valid as the alliance lasted until 1947 and the members esp. the USSR did not wish to confront each other as it did not have the means to following WWII devastation ...



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Body:

(II)

Agree with the assumption: unnatural alliance, bound to fall apart

The discussion will first evaluate that the alliance was unnatural & was bound to fall apart (Statement of direction)

Topic sentence needs to be relevant to the question... First, the alliance was bound to fall apart after the defeat of the common enemy because ... *(to avoid turning the essay into a classic origins of the Cold War question)*

- Nature of wartime alliance: 'unnatural alliance'
 - Grand alliance of convenience, of pragmatism, of realpolitik, shotgun marriage
 - Narrow interests that linked them together – German invasion in 1941 of Moscow?
 - Not sincere or genuine friendship
 - Based on national interests or common goal that did not last long
 - No more glue or common goal to hold the alliance together
 - Façade of alliance over time; in substance it was increasingly unstable
 - Yalta Conference and its role in sowing the seeds for future confrontation, e.g. German & Polish issues, Declaration of Liberated Europe etc.
- New issues of tensions as a result of the defeat of Germany:
 - The German issue
 - Partition of Germany into 4 zones
 - Shape of post-war German government
 - Common or separate administration of Germany
 - The issue of reparations
 - The issue of repatriation of resources
 - The Poland issue: shape of the post-war government – the Lublin vs. London Poles?
 - The presence & strength of Stalin's Red Army in E Europe (against the Nazis) & delayed demobilisation
- Nature of the emerging competition:
 - The win-lose situation
 - Predominance of (mis) perceptions
 - The action-reaction process: the reinforcing impact
 - Inherent need to expand to gain allies to get votes for resolutions in the UN General Assembly
- Ideological reasons:
 - Deeply rooted & long drawn (since 1917), underlying
 - USA: was more assertive (imposing) of its Wilsonian idealism, to shape the global order according to US ideals.
 - USSR: global expansionism, violent class struggle was inherent in Socialism (but secondary to more pragmatic security concerns after 1945?)
- State of the USSR in and after 1945:
 - Despite its economic weaknesses, economic agenda was increasingly (esp. by 1947 with the Truman Doctrine) secondary to border security
 - SU policies were created at the expense of the economy in the medium term, e.g. rejected Marshall aid and creation of the Molotov Plan and COMECON.
- State of the USA:
 - Complete superpower; position of strength, secure
 - Yet these were precisely the reasons why it could afford a Cold War to maintain and preserve its pre-war power & assert its power further



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- Emergence of hawkish politics (esp. USA):
 - Magnified the Soviet threat to get public support for expansion of influence in W Europe & to get increased military budget
 - Truman replaced Roosevelt as President – impact of being new & inexperienced? Needed to be more aggressive, influenced by the hawks etc
- W European actions:
 - Efforts to draw the USA into Europe to achieve W European agenda
 - Churchill's Iron Curtain speech & Attlee's withdrawal from Greece (trigger to Truman Doctrine)
- US aggressive actions between 1945 and 1946:
 - Explosion of atomic bomb, end of lend lease aid, Kennan's long telegram & article X, Truman Doctrine & tangible action-reaction impact
 - Impact of accession of Truman (new, inexperienced) & emergence of hawks in US politics (vs. the doves)
- SU aggressive actions between 1945 and 1946:
 - Sovietisation of Eastern Europe, seen to be more aggressive in response to traditional existing threats which had been less threatening because of weakened W Europe & Germany

(III)

Qualify the assumption: alliance was natural, not bound to fall apart

*The discussion will now look at the factors that pulled the alliance members together.
(Statement of direction)*

- Relatively good relations between the USA and USSR during the wartime period:
 - Fundamental underlying constant, pre-existing ideological rivalry
 - Grand alliance against Germany
 - 1943 wartime conferences and agreements
 - 1945 – Yalta Conference and agreements – still on talking terms despite increasing tensions
- Duration of the alliance:
 - The alliance did not end immediately with the German defeat but continued until 1947 when it officially ended with the Truman Doctrine
 - Despite the unstable alliance between 1945 and 1947
- State of the USSR in and after 1945:
 - Economically devastated, politically unstable
 - Desire to recover and grow
 - Militarily weaker than the USA (despite its strong Red Army)
 - Not willing or able to confront the USA
- State of the USA:
 - Complete superpower; position of strength, secure
 - Few reasons relative to the USSR to want a Cold war
- The magnitude and speed of the decline in relations

(IV)

Conclusion

- Reiterate thesis statement:
 - On the whole, the discussion believes that the outbreak of the Cold War after 1945 was largely expected despite arguments to the contrary which are relatively weaker.



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- Provide synthesis:
 - The various players during the different phases of Cold War I contribute to the natural progression to revived hostility after 1945 and certainly by 1947.

Oversights:

- Answering like a classic reasons for the origins of the Cold War question yet still not giving a sufficient answer
- Inappropriate writing style – to link topic sentence to the question



Assess the ways in which the Korean War affected East-West relations?

(I)

Introduction

Preliminary to thesis statement:

[Include only the more important points]

Important points for the preliminary:

- Set criteria to determine ways affected, e.g. intensity of impact, nature of importance, time period, perspectives, geographical extent etc
- Unpack the term, East-West, e.g. USA & USSR, their respective blocs
- Make limited references to East-West relations
- Includes the Korean War (1950-53) & the period after till the late 1950s?
- Unpack the term, affected, e.g. improved or worsened East-West relations vs. limited impact?
- Evaluate each of the ways according to whether the developments after 1953 a result of the Korean War or were they independent of the Korean War?

Thesis statement (Planning)

- Agree with the assumption: negative vs. positive ways
(Possible main arguments - choose only 1 or 2 more important MA for position)
 - Improvement of East-West relations, e.g. peaceful coexistence
 - Worsening of East-West relations, e.g. façade of peaceful coexistence, expansion of confrontation elsewhere, worsening of Sino-US relations etc
- Challenge the assumption: limited ways
(Possible counter ideas - choose only 1 or 2 more important CA for position)
 - Peaceful coexistence was the result of other reasons
 - Worsening relations between the East and West were independent of the Korean War

Sample thesis statement:

The most important way in which the Korean War affected East-West relations was the worsening of East-West, esp. US-SU relations esp. the global extension of confrontation? This was despite periods of relaxation of tensions which were superficial and short lived.

However, some developments after 1953 were not directly related to the Korean War such as the intensification of the arms race and even relaxation of tensions



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Body:

(II)

Agree with the assumption:

The discussion will first evaluate that the Korean War affected East-West relations in a significantly negative and in a more limited way, positively. (Statement of direction)

Significantly positive ways: improvement of E-W relations:

- Improved relations after 1953:
 - Peaceful coexistence, 1953-58
 - Provide evidence such as summits, mutual visits

**Significantly negative ways: worsening of E-W relations:
(May overlap with limited ways)**

- East-West relations worsened because of the Korean War: (provide reasons & evidence)
 - Direct superpower confrontation
 - US Containment & massive retaliation (or roll back communism), blatant US aggression & expansionism... hawkish politics & military, momentum of earlier successes etc
 - US made use of the UN to pursue its foreign policy objectives... the Uniting for Peace resolution
 - US idea of monolithic view of communism & the Korean War as a proxy war ...SU instigated N Korea & the PRC
 - USSR: aid to China despite less than promised, disguised pilots & aircrafts etc
- East-West tensions continued despite peace coexistence which ended in 1958 because of rivalry in 3rd world & nuclear arms race ...
- Nuclear arms race:
 - Continued with greater intensity
 - Provide reasons and examples
- Nature of peaceful coexistence:
 - Not meant really friendly relations but different means to same ends (containment) to lull each side into a sense of complacency & unprepared-ness, short lived, not genuine.
 - It was also a result of other factors such as the death of Stalin (1953) & changing nature of nuclear war, e.g. no winners, over kill etc.
- Expansion of US-SU competition in North East Asia:
 - Evidence: treaties of friendship & cooperation, air fields, naval bases, clearer alliances, creation of SEATO, domino theory
 - US & the Philippines (Subic Bay naval base, Clark airfield), Japan, Taiwan; USSR & Vietnam (Cam Ranh Bay, Danang airfields)
- Spread of superpower confrontation to other parts of the world (beyond Europe & NE Asia);
 - Middle East (1956 Suez crisis) & Latin America (Cuba) – not learned lessons from Korean War.
 - Continued to confront each other elsewhere, directly rather than through proxies, militarily ...
- Impact on East-West relations in W Europe (1950-1955):
 - Fear of surprise attack from USSR & E Europe



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- US rearmed Germany
- US admitted Germany into NATO
- USSR created the Warsaw Pact ...completed Cold War divisions in Europe (blocs)
- This paralleled with the period where tensions between the USA and USSR were relaxed
- Impact on Sino-US relations:
 - Worsened until 1971
 - Reasons: during the Korean War, USA confronted PRC because of MacArthur's threats against the PRC such during the roll back communism phase, e.g. stepping stone to invade China, threats to use nuclear weapons on the PRC, threats to invade Manchuria...
- Impact on Sino-Soviet relations:
 - From friendship to split – provide reasons & evidence ...
 - Link to impact on Sino-US relations – the emergence of the triangular relationship in the 1960s... USA befriended PRC so that PRC & USSR would not collude with each other against USA

(III)

Qualify the assumption:

The discussion will now evaluate that the Korean War did not really significantly affect East-West relations. (Statement of direction)

Significantly limited ways: means developments were independent of the Korean War:

- Peaceful coexistence after 1953:
 - Not meant really friendly relations but different means to same ends (containment) to lull each side into a sense of complacency & unprepared-ness, short lived, not genuine.
 - Result of other factors, e.g. Stalin's death, changing nature of nuclear war (no winners in a nuclear war, the fear of overkill)...
 - Rivalry continued alongside peaceful coexistence, e.g. arms race, competition for 3rd world allies?
- Nuclear arms race:
 - Continuation from the pre-Korean War period – the development of the A bomb (1944, 1949) & the desire to out rival each other, e.g. the H bomb, sputnik, ICBM, SLBM, INF etc
 - This was despite the creation of the UN IAEA to manage the situation
- The importance of local context that led to superpower involvement in ME & Cuba ...

(IV)

Conclusion

- Reiterate thesis statement:
 - On the whole, after the Korean War, tensions in East-West relations continued (qualitatively) although on the surface (quantitatively), there was a relaxation of tensions. Some of the developments in East-West relations were not directly a result of the Korean War.
- Provide synthesis:
 - The impact of the Korean War was multifaceted depending on the criteria used.



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Oversights:

- Narrow understanding of East-West. Should include USA, USSR & their respective blocs
- Failure to understand how to unpack, assess, e.g. improved vs. worsened vs. limited impact of the Korean War. Developments as a result of Korean War vs. unrelated to Korean War?

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With reference to the period 1947 to 2000, how important has religion been as a cause of conflict in Kashmir?

(I)

Introduction

Preliminary to thesis statement:

[Include only the more important points]

Important points for the preliminary:

- Set criteria to determine 'importance', e.g. intensity of impact, nature of importance, time period, perspectives
- Unpack the different dimensions of 'religion', e.g. underlying divergence between Islam and Hinduism vs. religious fundamentalism

Thesis statement (Planning)

- Agree with the assumption: importance of religion
(Possible main arguments - choose only 1 or 2 more important MA for position)
 - Religion as divergence between Islam and Hinduism
 - Religion in the form of religious fundamentalism
- Challenge the assumption: importance of other factors
(Possible counter ideas - choose only 1 or 2 more important CA for position)
 - Limitations of religion as a cause
 - Role of hawkish politics-ideology-security, nuclear arms race...
 - Role of economics
 - Role of external factors
 - The limitations of peace efforts

Sample thesis statement:

The assumption is valid to the extent that Kashmir had a predominantly Muslim population which became the underlying basis of Pakistani's claims since the late 1940s. In addition, the emergence of religious (esp. Islamic) fundamentalism radicalised the conflict esp. from the late 1970s onwards.

However, it is only partly valid as religious divergence was a fundamental underlying factor while religious fundamentalism was confined to the 1980s. In addition, there were other factors that caused the conflict such as the fundamental underlying-immediate factors of hawkish politics-ideology, new conceptions of insecurity. There was also the secondary, contributory roles of economics (for Pakistan) and external factors.



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Body:

(II)

Agree with the assumption:

The discussion will first evaluate the importance of religion as a cause of the Kashmir conflict. (Statement of direction)

- Religion as divergence between Islam and Hinduism:
 - When: especially in the late 1940s
 - Fundamental underlying constant that made the conflict possible
 - How: British partition of British India created communal riots when the Hindus and Muslims found themselves on the wrong side of the border, and attempted to migrate to the 'right' areas. Pakistan laid claims to Kashmir based on the predominantly Muslim population. Pakistan made Islam the state ideology to unite the new nation and to rally the people together.
- Religion in the form of religious fundamentalism:
 - When: from the late 1970s onwards and esp. in the 1980s
 - Fundamental immediate variable that determine the timing of the conflict, made it happen at that time
 - Context: USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979. the USA, Pakistan & Saudi Arabia created the Islamic fundamentalists (mujahedeens) to resist Soviet invasion-occupation for 10 years. With Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Pakistan recruited the mujahedeens against India in IJK, to pressure India to give up IJK. For Hindu fundamentalism – politics & reaction to Islamic fundamentalism?
 - Impact: the emergence of the religious fundamentalists radicalised and militarised the conflict. Their radical agenda and (terrorist) methods meant that the Hindu fundamentalists insisted on retaining IJK while the Islamic fundamentalists such as the Hizbul al mujahedeens persisted with the reclamation of IJK. Their existence made politics in India and Pakistan towards the Kashmir conflict more hawkish.
 - Counter: religious fundamentalists in name as they were in reality trying to achieve a political goal.
- Religious basis of British partition of British India:
 - Hasty decolonisation
 - Thoughtless partition from above with disregard to nationalities & religious groups
 - Communal tensions & mass migrations
 - Preconditions for other religious reasons to act

(III)

Qualify the assumption:

The discussion will now dispute the assumption by examining other factors. (Statement of direction)

- Limitations of religion as a cause:
 - Fundamental underlying role of divergence in religion – Islam vs. Hinduism
 - Fundamental immediate role of religious fundamentalism but political in nature, confined to the 1980s & merely worsened rather than caused the conflict
 - Declining role of Pakistani's religious claims by 1971, e.g. the 1971 war and separation of Moslem E Pakistan?



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- Anti-Indian Muslims in IJK wanted independence from India rather than union with Pakistan especially by the 1980s
- Land issue:
 - Fundamental underlying
 - British partition (1947) & UN partition (1949)
 - One land, two claims
 - Unequal partition – 2/3 to India (IJK), 1/3 to Pakistan (AJK)
- Ideological:
 - Fundamental underlying constant, pre-existing
 - Indian secularism vs. Pakistan Islam as basis to nationhood to mobilise support
 - Declining role ideology as a cause. Pakistani's religious claims over IJK became less important because it was unable to retain Muslim East Pakistan after 1971 (Bangladeshi War). Similarly, India's secular claims over IJK became less important when it started to increasingly discriminate against the Muslims.
 - Yet persistence as basis for respective claims over Kashmir
- Security:
 - Fundamental immediate
 - Reinforced over time
 - Pakistani's frequent illegal incursions or infiltrations across border (Line of Control) to support Muslims in IJK against India. Felt threatened by India – Indian administration of IJK. The case of the 1947 Poonch uprising, 1965 and 1999 wars. Pakistan: security = taking control of states with Muslim majority = reasons for Pakistani's existence?
 - India's overtly aggressive responses to Pakistani's incursions – insecurity and threats. Fears of losing IJK and impact on India – separatism, domino effects?
- Nationalism, e.g. Kashmiri:
 - Immediate – changing nature of nationalism from autonomy to separatism & independence?
 - Unhappy over Indian administration of IJK: the case of the broken promises & increased integration of IJK to India
- Role of hawkish politics:
 - Fundamental immediate factor
 - India: the Congress Party & influence of Hindu fundamentalists?
 - Pakistan: military dominance in politics- their confrontational methods & persistent illegal infiltration across the Line of Control into IJK to support the anti-Indian Muslims (e.g. 1966, 1999 Kargil); miscalculation of support from PRC, USA and the anti-Indian Muslims in IJK for Pakistan actions.
 - Kashmir: too many parties with different orientations, allowing India and Pakistan to make use of them as proxies. Nationalism, e.g. JKLF. Increasing nationalist unhappiness over the lack of solution including increasing control by India despite the Farooq-Rajiv power sharing arrangement in 1986.
- Nuclear arms race? India had tested its nuclear weapons in 1974, the 6th country to do so but after the non-proliferation treaty (NPT) came into force in 1970. In the late 1990s, Pakistan and India resumed nuclear tests which created distrust and suspicions of each other contributing to the Kargil conflict in 1999. The emboldening effect?



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- Role of economics:
 - Pakistan: claims that the head source of the rivers flowing into Pakistan originated in IJK. Was afraid that India might dam the river, depriving Pakistan of water for irrigation, affecting its agriculture negatively.
 - The settlement of the water issue in the 1960s – agreements?
 - Evaluate: were the suspicions over stated? Contributory role?
- Role of external factors:
 - Roles as triggering as well as contributory & secondary. The conflict began before the involvement of the superpowers and continued even after the Cold War was over.
 - British decolonisation, independence act & partition:
 - US-SU Cold War: provided Cold War backing to India & Pakistan (military-economic aid) emboldened the 2 sides to confront each other. Their failure to impose peace as well as their period of disengagement meant that the conflict was not given due attention. Disengagement – other more important Cold War areas to engage in?
 - PRC expansionist ambitions: early 1960s, Pakistan giving disputed Kashmir to PRC (India's enemy, border war in 1962) made India unhappy with Pakistan.
 - UN peacekeeping roles: partition of Kashmir & failure to get India hold a plebiscite, peacekeepers as buffers perpetuating the status quo etc. Yet, the peacekeepers role was not to resolve the root of the problem?
- The limitations of peace efforts:
 - The Tashkent (1966), Simla (1972) & Lahore (1999) peace efforts
 - Key provision: recognition of Line of Control, bilateral peaceful negotiations
 - Nature of peace: lip service, double standards, rhetorical etc.

(IV)

Conclusion

- Reiterate thesis statement:
 - On the whole, religion was importance as a fundamental underlying factor as well as an immediate factor in the case of religious fundamentalism in the 1980s. Religion as an underlying factor became less important over time. Other immediate factors determined the timing of the development of the Kashmir conflict
- Provide synthesis:
 - The conflict in Kashmir was caused by an interaction of different factors depending on the criteria used.

Oversights:

- Failure to explore a range of ideas and provide evaluative clusters of factors



'The most important explanations for the growth of China's economy after 1978 are to be found outside China.' Discuss

(I)

Introduction

- Preliminary to thesis statement:
[Include only the more important points]
 - Unpack the term, 'found without China itself', e.g. external factors
 - Determine criteria for 'the most important reasons', e.g. intensity of impact, nature of importance-time period, perspectives etc
 - Dissect time period, e.g. 1978-mid-1980-1989-1992-2000 for evaluation purposes.
- Thesis statement (Planning):
- Agree with the assumption:
(Possible main arguments - choose only 1 or 2 more important MA for position)
 - Changing ways in which factors outside China contributed to China's economic growth
 - Links between external and success of internal reforms, e.g. SEZ
- Challenge the assumption:
(Possible counter ideas - choose only 1 or 2 more important CA for position)
 - Factors within China led to negative impact but overcame by internal-external factor
 - Underlying political factors
 - Immediate socio-economic factors

Sample thesis statement:

The assumption is valid to the extent that China's economic growth was the result of the factors without (beyond) China as it was very dependent on external players for investments and technology esp. in the 1980s and markets, trade and demand for its manufactured goods in the 1990s. It also enabled the success of internal reforms, e.g. SEZ. In addition, domestic reasons also created problems that hindered economic growth even if it were in the short term between 1985 and 1992.

However, reasons within China itself were the most important especially the fundamental immediate economic reasons linked to industrial reforms which created the immediate foundation for the timing of and sustenance of its economic power. In addition, there were other contributory economic factors such as agriculture, SEZ and education as well as the overarching political preconditions. The problems arising in the late 1980s were alleviated by internal factors.

Body

The discussion will first evaluate the importance of reasons found outside China. (Statement of direction)

(II)

Agree – importance of reasons found outside China

- Good relations with other countries, e.g. 1972 Sino-US rapprochement, 1978 Sino-US normalisation etc. External reasons could be found even before 1978. Deng continued with the open door policy.



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- State of China in 1978 made external factors important: aftermath of the 10-year Cultural Revolution; Deng became the new paramount leader in 1979 succeeding the caretaker leader, Hua Guofeng.
- Importance of external factors in the 1980s: needed western investment, capital, technology, expertise for industrialisation and for the 4 SEZ first created in 1980
- Importance of external factors in the 1990s: network with global traders for global demand, market and foreign exchange. Foreign traders downplayed importance of human rights issues for continued investment, trade and profits with China from 1992 onwards.
- The positive benefits outweighed the negative impact of open door.
- The link between external and internal factors, e.g. the case of the SEZ to make internal factors important.
- When western support was reduced after 1989, China's economic growth slowed down.
- Limitations of the given domestic factor, e.g.
 - Internal factors resulted in negative impact on China's economic growth that culminated in the Tiananmen crisis hindered economic growth until 1992
 - Political problems, e.g. returning overseas students and expectations such as demands for human rights and freedoms, political participation etc
 - Economic problems, e.g. overheating of economy & unrest. Over investment, over spending, budget deficit, reduced spending, increased prices, inflation, widening rich-poor gap etc

(III)

Qualify/Challenge – importance of reasons found within China

The discussion will now dispute the assumption.(Statement of direction)

- Limitations of the given external factor, e.g.
 - Contributory roles of external factors – despite increasing external challenges, China's economic growth continued because of strong domestic economic fundamentals.
 - External factors became less important between 1989 and 1992
 - Increased economic tensions with the USA over China's trade surplus resulted in US' new protectionism against Chinese products. USA saw China as an economic competitor to its manufactured exports.
- Fundamental, immediate economic factor:
 - Industrial reforms, e.g. IRS, reforms of the SOE, varied industrial types (small-medium sized enterprises (TVE), joint ventures, foreign owned industries) and infrastructural development. Positive features of reforms of SOE, e.g. no more iron rice bowl, differential wages, financial incentives, reduced government protection, allowance for bankruptcy and closing down etc. Continued existence of SOE was neutralised by reformed SOE and other types of profit-making industries. Industries had surplus and low cost labour which lowered costs of production and prices of products, increased production, demand, markets, exports, trade and foreign exchange, Constitutional guarantees increased confidence, Rich peasants set up TVE which were innovative, risk takers etc



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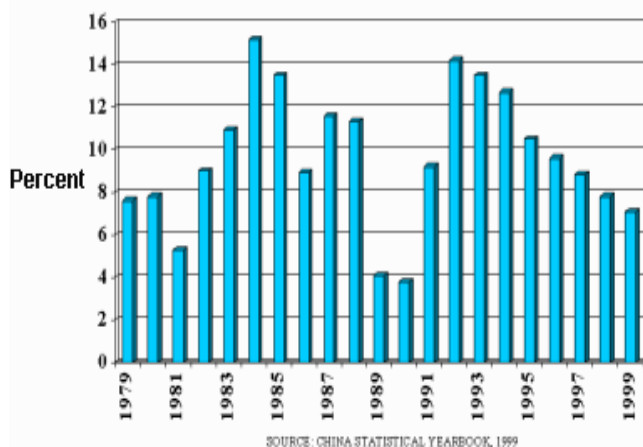
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- Contributory economic factors:
 - Reforms in agriculture, e.g. the introduction of HRS enabled China to increase its agricultural productivity and production through small private plots, incentives, long term leases, use of machines and fertilisers etc. Rich peasants set up TVE which were innovative, risk takers etc. The success in the agricultural sector created surplus food for the urban industrial population and also provided surplus labour for the urban industries. This became China's comparative advantage and abundant led to low cost labour, reducing costs of production and prices of goods, increased production, demand, markets, exports, trade and foreign exchange. Success in agriculture reduced conservative resistance as 80% of Chinese was rural. Agricultural success provided the foundation for and enabled the success of other sectors.
 - Creation of SEZ, e.g. provided the confined area to experiment with reforms. Tax concessions in the SEZ enabled China to attract foreign investments, capital, technology and expertise which combined with the abundant, low cost labour provided by China reduced costs of production and prices of goods, increased production, demand, markets, exports, trade and foreign exchange. Its importance was seen esp. in the early 1980s because of the Mao's era and when the SEZ were continued, increased and changed its nature (cities, regions inland). Overlaps with positive external responses.
 - Education reforms, e.g. sent students overseas to USA to be educated to be equipped with knowledge, skills and expertise for industrialisation
 - The positive benefits outweighed the negative impact of rapid growth.
- Overarching political preconditions:
 - New leaders, new mindset, e.g. Deng, personnel turnover
 - Reduced emphasis on Maoist ideology, e.g. continued with some aspects and discontinued with others
 - Reassertion of control, e.g. the 70-30 resolution, democratic centralism, the 4 cardinal principles
 - Overcoming the problems of the economic miracle, e.g. measures against democracy wall and the Tiananmen crisis
- Continuation of reforms into the 1990s:
 - New leaders but similar reform mindsets.
 - Agriculture – more effective taxation system with the emergence of richer peasants
 - SEZ – increased, changed in nature, expanded
 - Industries – reduction and removal or reform of SOE continued. Infrastructural reforms continued such as the banking system etc.



China's economy has grown at an impressive rate since the "reform and opening" policy began in 1978

CHINA'S GDP GROWTH RATE



(IV)

Conclusion

- Reiterate position:
 - The most fundamental immediate domestic reason was reforms in industrial sector while other economic changes were contributory and more indirect and political factors were the enabling preconditions. However, domestic reasons also created problems and slowed down China's growth in the short term while external factors contributed to China's economic growth mainly by providing China with the demand and market for her goods. The increasing tensions China had with USA also affected her growth to some extent.
- Provide synthesis:
 - Interaction of different factors of varying importance
 - Depends on the criteria used

(IV)

Feedback on the scripts:

- Failure to look at the link between internal and/or external factors and the emergence of problems (1985-1989) and the management of problems (1992)
- Failure to create clear links between factors and 'rise'
- Failure to create links between factors, e.g. external and SEZ, agriculture & industry
- Failure to make good use of the period of problems to provide counter ideas.



Why did the international economy experience serious problems in the 1970s and early 1980s?

**(I)
Introduction**

Preliminary to thesis statement:

[Include only the more important points]

- Unpack the term, international economy, e.g. 1st, 2nd & 3rd world, within each world or each country within the world
- Identify the 'serious problems', e.g. increased production costs & prices, reduced demand, market & foreign exchange, trade tensions, tensions in economic relations between countries, recession & stagflation etc.
- Make references to what the factors before 1970s with impact on problems in the 1970s
- Look at the impact of developments or crises that led to serious problems
- Show link between Golden Age and crisis decades where appropriate
- Question requires students to identify, explain, look at strengths & weaknesses of each reason; weigh them. Students need not discuss if international economy experienced serious problems or not as this is a given.
- No need to debate if there were serious crisis or when they were experienced as these were the givens in the question.

Thesis statement (Planning)

- Fundamental immediate – timing of the problems, made them happen
- Fundamental underlying – made the problems possible, pre-existed constants
- Secondary, contributory – worsened the problems

Sample thesis statement:

The most important reason for the problems was the fundamental immediate reasons such as new protectionism, the impact of the 3rd world Afro-Asian bloc as well as the oil-debt crises. These reasons determine the timing of the problems and that made them happen at that time.

Other reasons such as the fundamental underlying factors or constants such as the over reliance on USA and on Middle East oil amongst others were less significant as they existed before the 1970s and made the problems possible.



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Body
(II)
Reasons

Possible (groups of) reasons: comment on strengths & weaknesses of each based on criteria, weigh the reasons; could categorise if they were due to developed or developing countries.

Fundamental underlying causes:

- Meaning & nature of underlying factors: made the serious problems possible, pre-existed constants, more subtle, subdued & implicit, seen only in the 1970s
- Emergence of economic problems of the USA:
 - Trade & budget deficits, causes – over spending in Cold War militarily & economically. Negative economic impact of recovery of W Europe & Japan?
 - Negative US responses to revive its economy at the expense of the global economy: new protectionism, alternative energy & oil sources, industrial restructuring to reduce reliance on oil
 - Yet US did continue to stabilise the global economy (of cause for 1st world interests) after 1971. US responses to oil-debt crises, US & G-7 etc
- Over dependence argument during the growth period & impact in the 1970s:
 - On the USA as the key anchor for recovery & growth
 - On rapid industrialisation, on machines, on oil, on Middle Eastern oil (reasons)
- Limitations of the growth during the golden age of capitalism, e.g.
 - Limits to freer trade as driver to growth, e.g. only confined to reduced tariff barriers, in manufactured goods, between developed countries, trade blocs (EEC, EFTA)
- Economic (anti-US) competition from W Europe, Japan (& Asian Tigers):
 - Counter effects on USA of the rapid recovery of W Europe & Japan
 - Economic competitors: gained comparative advantage. Lower production costs & lower prices, increased global demand for their goods vs. similar US products? US trade deficits?

Fundamental immediate causes (rank):

- (New) Protectionism of from the 1970s:
 - New protectionism (e.g.) caused trade tensions, increased production costs and prices, reduced demand, market, exports & foreign exchange. Distorted the concept of comparative advantage, specialisation & efficient (vs. wasteful) production. It made GATT attempts to free trade more difficult as new protectionism was more subjective & qualitative. Examples – MFA, VER/VRA, quotas, standards, super-section 301 trade law etc.
 - Hence, it was more difficult to alleviate. It affected all the countries esp, 3rd world states without any manufactured good to enjoy freer trade in (reduction of tariff barriers).
- Role of the attitudes of the 3rd world states esp. the Afro-Asian bloc.
 - The high income 3rd world states (Asian Tigers) acquired comparative advantage, produced manufactured goods of higher quality and lower production costs, increased global demand, exports & markets while the 1st world states were losing theirs in this trade competition. This led to trade tensions with the 1st world & protectionism against them.
 - The low income 3rd world states (Afro-Asian bloc) adopted a confrontational & non-cooperative attitude towards the West, created UNCTAD (1964) an alternative to GATT, and seeking to



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replace the Bretton Woods system with the NIEO (1974). The role of this factor becomes less important as their goals failed to take off. Reasons: disunity amongst 3rd world, radical goals, 1st world resistance etc. They also became more cooperative and worked within the capitalist order from the mid-1980s onwards, e.g. participated in Uruguay rounds of GATT trade talks.

- Global monetary crisis of the early 1970s, e.g. consequences of the Nixon devaluation, replacement of fixed with floating exchange rates, end of US gold-dollar standard etc.
 - This created problems such as uncertainty and unpredictability in trade. Nixon unilaterally acted without consulting the rest.
 - However, the impact was short term as the countries cooperated to manage the band allowed for currency fluctuation. The G-7 was created in 1975 to share the roles with the USA in overseeing the state of the global economy.
- Oil price shocks of 1974 & 1979; petrodollars & Eurodollars:
 - The immediate impact of the oil price shocks affected all the industrialised countries resulting in recession & stagflation. Costs of production & general prices increased, demand, supplies & production declined, unemployment increased & wages went down.
 - 3rd world responses worsened the problems when they over borrowed from commercial banks rather than the IMF, were unable to repay as interests rates were high & increasing, were still managing the first layer of non-oil related debt etc.
 - The 1st world states were able to alleviate the crisis when they searched for alternative sources of energy & oil, restructured the economy to make it less oil reliant but also practised protectionism to get more foreign exchange.
- 3rd world debt crisis of 1982:
 - The debt crisis created serious problems as the defaults by Brazil, Argentina & Mexico, when they were unable to repay the debts owed to banks, would lead to the run-on-the-bank & collapse of global financial institutions.
 - However, it wasn't an important cause as the defaults did not materialise. The USA, IMF and commercial banks worked together to get the 3rd world debtor states return the loans asking them to follow the IMF economic programme (reduce government spending, increase exports to get \$ to return the banks). The one-size-fits-all programme led to socio-economic & political (IMF riots) problems in the debtor states especially when their earnings were not invested for long term sustain economic growth.
- Role of western responses to crises: focused primarily on 1st world interests & secondarily on 3rd world interests, sometimes at the expense of the 3rd world states. This can be seen in 1st world responses during the oil & debt crises.

Secondary/contributory causes:

- Decline of the Cold War (détente) contributed to trade tensions:
 - There was no longer a common Soviet threat to hold them together.
 - It led to the emergence of sentiments against dominance amongst Western European states.
- Role of domestic politics??
- Trade & business cycles meant that:
 - Trade boom would be followed by a trade depression, e.g. 1970s-1980s
 - But this is an underlying constant and does not really explain the timing of the serious problems in the global economy.



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- Technological advancements resulted in:
 - Structural unemployment when less labour was needed in certain sectors of the economy.
 - But the unemployed will be deployed to other sectors
- The negative impact of the MNC:
 - Weak governments, repatriation of profits to home country, limited technological sharing etc.
 - But not a common problem
- Globalisation-inter-dependence meant:
 - That crisis in one area would be felt by many countries.
- Falling productivity of Western economies as workers become soft.
- Introduction of monetarist economic management in USA & UK in early 1980s:
 - Forced interest rates even higher to reduce easy borrowing to set up industries, in order to reduce inflation caused by Keynesian economics and the oil crisis of 1974.
 - This also made repayment of debt more difficult.
- The case of the 2nd world & its responsibility:
 - Economic stagnation since the 1960s because of the limits of the command economy; invisible crisis but maintained through grain imports and oil exports & political control.
- Problems faced by Bretton Woods institutions, e.g. IMF, WB, GATT:
 - Because of the changing global economic situation – problems of the 1970s and 1980s such as new protectionism, debt crises, confrontational Afro-Asian attitudes.
- Debate: crisis of the western system?
- Examine if reasons were due to outcome of Golden Age or independent reasons.
- No need to debate too much if there were serious crisis or when they were experienced.

(III)

Conclusion

- Reiterate position:
 - The most fundamental immediate reasons such as new protectionism were best explains the serious problems as they caused the problems to become serious in the 1970s and 1980s, long term, difficult to alleviate & affected most countries. Other factors were more underlying that made the serious problems possible while yet others such as the inter-dependent world were secondary, contingent on the other factors
- Provide synthesis:
 - Interaction of different factors of varying importance
 - Depends on the criteria used

(IV)

Feedback on the scripts:

- Failure to provide evaluative clusters of reasons
- Failure to identify the problems and link the reasons to them
- Differentiate problems and reasons
- Failure to link factors to impact according to criteria



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- Failure to compare the (impact of) factors according to criteria
- Failure to cover a range of factors



PRELIM 2014 SAMPLE ESSAYS

- Essays are not perfect ones. They do not include all the possible arguments while others contain irrelevant segments.
- Look at how other students can write a effective answer within the 45-min time constraint.
- Look at how the knowledge are put together with the writing and organisational skills that have been acquired.
- Do not regurgitate the answer in any other exams as the focus may be different.

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