

H2 History 9752/01

Paper 1 Shaping the International Order (1945-2000)

17 September 2019 3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

### **READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your class, index number and name on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working. Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid/tape.

### **Section A**

Answer Question 1.

# **Section B**

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

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

This document consists of 6 printed pages.

[Turn over

#### Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

#### THE END OF THE COLD WAR

1 Read the sources and answer the questions that follow.

#### Source A

Imperialism is waging an undeclared war in Afghanistan. Following a policy of political and economic isolation of Afghanistan, the US is giving significant aid and training rebel bands on Pakistani and Iranian territory who are then sent to fight the legal government of Afghanistan.

Given the present situation in Afghanistan, defeating the counterrevolution and establishing popular democratic rule in the entire country by the efforts of the Soviet 40<sup>th</sup> Army and the Afghan Armed Forces alone would take a very long time.

More than 60 tribes live and roam on the borders with Pakistan and Iran. Counterrevolutionary organisations are conducting active ideological recruitment of the tribes, but the Afghanistan government is not undertaking the necessary efforts to work with the tribes and draw them to their side.

Report by Soviet Military Leaders to the Soviet Minister of Defence, 10 May 1981.

#### Source B

GORBACHEV: We have been fighting in Afghanistan for already six years. If the approach is not changed, we will continue to fight for another 20-30 years. Our military should be told that they are learning badly from this war. Are we going to fight endlessly, as a testimony that our troops are not able to deal with the situation? We need to finish this process as soon as possible.

GROMYKO: Too long ago we spoke on the fact that it is necessary to close off the border of Afghanistan with Pakistan and Iran. Experience has shown that we were unable to do this in view of the difficult terrain of the area and mountain passes. Today it is necessary to say that we must work towards ending the war.

GORBACHEV: It is necessary to end the war in the course of one year - at maximum two years.

Excerpt from a meeting of the Politburo, the highest policy-making authority within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 13 November 1986.

### Source C

General Secretary Gorbachev is off to a strong start. He has consolidated power, put in place an ambitious programme for economic revitalisation and improved the image of the Soviet leadership at home and abroad. But Gorbachev's greatest challenge lies ahead. He has staked his leadership on radically improving the functioning of the Soviet system while keeping up with the United States abroad.

However, without restricting the defence burden, Gorbachev will find it increasingly difficult to generate the significant increase in resources he needs for civilian industrial investment. Unless there is a sharp upturn in economic performance or major reductions in defence spending by the end of the decade, demands for civilian industrial investments will come increasingly into conflict with demands for investment in defence. The prospect of such a choice has already led Gorbachev to pursue a bold strategy for managing the US relationship that probably is controversial within the Soviet elite and could lead him to confront fundamental obstacles inhibiting economic progress.

Report by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, February 1987.

#### Source D

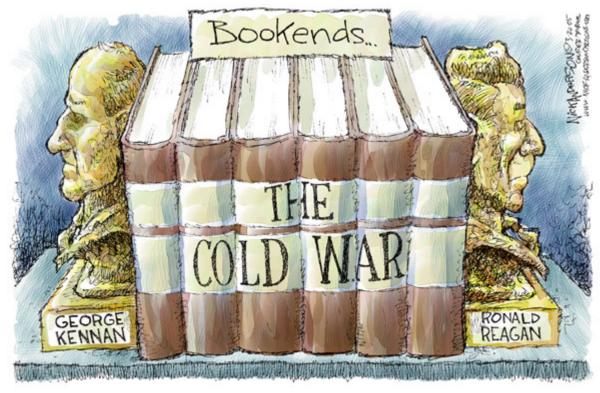
The history of past centuries has been one of ubiquitous wars leading to mutual destruction. They occurred in the clash of interests, be it from ideological or religious incompatibility. However, parallel with this process is one that is now gaining force: The emergence of a mutually connected world.

Further world progress is now possible only in the movement toward a new world order. The formula of development 'at another's expense' is outdated. The de-ideologisation of interstate relations has become a demand of the new stage. We are not giving up our convictions, philosophy or traditions. Neither are we calling on anyone else to give up theirs. However, it must not be carried over into mutual relations between states. Otherwise we simply will not be able to solve a single world problem.

Today I can inform you of the following: The Soviet Union has made a decision on reducing its armed forces. In the next two years, their numerical strengths will be reduced by 500,000 and the volume of conventional arms will also be cut considerably. These reductions will be made on a unilateral basis.

Speech by Gorbachev at the United Nations General Assembly, 7 December 1988.

#### Source E



A cartoon by an American cartoonist, published in March 2005.

## Source F

A subset of the Reagan strategy was US support of pro-freedom forces in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, and Cambodia. A key decision was to supply ground-to-air missiles to the mujahedeen in Afghanistan, who used them to shoot down the Soviet helicopters that had kept them on the defensive for years. The year 1983 was a critical one for President Reagan and the course of the Cold War. In March, the President announced that development of a comprehensive anti-ballistic missile system would be his top defence priority. Soviet leader Yuri Andropov took the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) very seriously, calling it a 'strike weapon' and a preparation for a US nuclear attack. Moscow's intense opposition to SDI showed that Soviet scientists regarded the initiative not as a pipe dream but as a technological feat they could not match. A decade later, the general who headed the department of strategic analysis in the Soviet Ministry of Defence revealed what he had told the Politburo in 1983: 'Not only could we not defeat SDI, SDI defeated all our possible countermeasures.'

An extract from a journal article written by an American academic, published in 2010.

Now answer the following questions:

(a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

[10]

**(b)** How far do Sources A-F support the view that the end of the Cold War was due to Gorbachev's initiative?

[30]

### **Section B**

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

# **EITHER**

2 To what extent did economic liberalisation create problems for the global economy in the period 1971 to 2000?

[30]

# OR

3 'Political developments were integral to the economic transformation of the Asian Tigers from 1970 to 1990.' How far do you agree?

[30]

### AND EITHER

4 How significant was the International Court of Justice in the resolution of international disputes from 1945 to 2000?

[30]

# OR

5 To what extent has the United Nations remained relevant in its role to safeguard international peace and security in the period 1945 to 2000?

[30]