



CANDIDATE
NAME

CG

INDEX NO

HISTORY

9174 / 01&02

Paper 1 The Changing International Order, 1945-2000
Paper 2 Developments in Southeast Asia, Independence -
2000

28 September 2023

2 hrs 15 mins

Additional Materials: Writing paper & cover sheets

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write in soft pen.

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

Write your name, class, and question number on the cover page and writing paper provided.

Section A: You must answer **Question 1**

Section B: You must answer **either** Question 2 **or** Question 3.

Start every question on a new page of writing paper.

At the end of the examination, fasten your answers for Section A and Section B separately, each with a cover page.

Section A

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

You must answer Question 1.

Source A

How is it that here we are proposing certain things - we are proposing massive cuts in offensive missiles, we are proposing to accept your position in Europe - and now you're going back on your own proposals, Mr. President? How can you do that? This is incomprehensible...

What concerns us is that your position will make the arms race go into a new medium; it will actually make the strategic situation even worse than it is today. If you indeed want to have a firm security for your people and for the world, then the United States position is completely unfounded. I said quite directly to the President, what we're hearing from you is something we're all rather tired of and cannot lead us anywhere.

I said to the President, we both recognize the triad of strategic offensive weapons. Let us reduce them by 50 percent, then we don't have to talk about numbers. Just reduce all three types by 50 percent. After a long debate, we were able to find mutual agreement on this.

An extract from Gorbachev's speech to the Soviet public in 1986 as he recounted about the conversation he had with President Reagan at the Reykjavik Summit.

Source B

Mr. Gorbachev and I, with our foreign ministers, came together again and took up the report of our two teams. It was most promising. We proposed a 10-year period in which we began with the reduction of all strategic nuclear arms, air-launched cruise missiles, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles. They would be reduced 50% in the first five years. During the next five years, we would continue by eliminating all remaining offensive missiles... At the 10-year point, we could proceed to deploy advanced defenses, permitting the Soviets to do likewise.

And here the debate began. General Secretary Gorbachev wanted to keep us from developing the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). I told him there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction; everything was negotiable except our freedom and our future.

If there's one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we're dealing now from a position of strength. And for that reason, we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs... We're ready to pick up where we left off.

An extract from President Reagan's speech to the US public in 1986 after the Reykjavik Summit.

Source C

Common sense also told us that to preserve the peace, we had to become strong again after years of weakness and confusion. So, we rebuilt our defences, and this New Year we toasted the new peacefulness around the globe. Not only have the superpowers actually begun to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons—and hope for even more progress is bright—but the regional conflicts that are racking the globe are also beginning to cease. The Soviets are leaving Afghanistan....

The lesson of all this is: as long as we remember our first principles and believe in ourselves, the future will always be ours. And something else we learned: Once you begin a great movement, there is no telling where it will end. We meant to change a nation, and instead, we changed a world.

An extract from President Reagan's 'Farewell Address to the Nation' speech, January 1989.

Source D

It is obvious, for instance, that the use or threat of force no longer can or must be an instrument of foreign policy. This applies above all to nuclear arms, but that is not the only thing that matters. All of us, and primarily the stronger of us, must exercise self-restraint and totally rule out any outward-oriented use of force.... Today I can report to you that the Soviet Union has taken a decision to reduce its armed forces. Within the next two years their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 men... By agreement with our Warsaw Treaty allies, we have decided to withdraw by 1991 six tank divisions from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and to disband them.... The next US administration, headed by President-elect George Bush, will find in us a partner who is ready – without long pauses or backtracking – to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness and good will, with a willingness to achieve concrete results working on the agenda which covers the main issues of Soviet-US relations and world politics.

An extract from Gorbachev's address to the United Nations General Assembly on 7 December 1988.

Source E

Perhaps the most dangerous myth regarding the legacy of the late President Reagan is that he was somehow responsible for the end of the Cold War. It was not Reagan's military build-up or aggressive threats against the Soviets that brought down the system. Dissident Czech playwright and later president, Vaclav Havel, when asked about Western influences on his movement, replied that he had been more inspired by musician John Lennon than Ronald Reagan.

While Reagan was certainly capable of inspirational leadership, idealism, and personal charm, the myth that he is responsible for the downfall of Communism and the end of the Cold War does a disservice to the millions of Eastern Europeans and others who struggled against great odds for their freedom. It was not American militarism, but massive nonviolent action – including strikes, boycotts, and mass demonstrations – that finally brought down these communist regimes.

From a website belonging to an American organisation that champions grassroots politics, 2004*

**Grassroots: Refers to using the people as the basis for a political or economic movement.*



Published in a US newspaper commemorating Reagan's passing in June 2004.

Now answer the following questions:

- a. Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the superpowers position towards the arms race. [10]
- b. How far do sources A to F support the assertion that it was Reagan who brought an end to the Cold War? [30]

You must answer either Question 2 or 3.

EITHER

4. Military intervention in Southeast Asian politics after independence did more harm than good." How far do you agree with this view? [30]

OR

3. How effective were the minority policies of independent Southeast Asian states at building a sense of national unity? [30]

- End of Paper -