



RIVER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL
Year 6 Preliminary Examination 2
In preparation for the General Certificate of Education
Advanced Level
HIGHER 2

HISTORY

9731/01

Paper 1 International History, 1945-2000

15 September 2016

3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write in dark blue or black ink.

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

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

DO **NOT** WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer any **three** questions.

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

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND PEACEKEEPING AFTER THE COLD WAR

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question which follows.

When answering Question 1 candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually and as a group.

Source A

Between the tasks of seeking to prevent conflict and keeping the peace lies the responsibility to try to bring hostile parties to agreement by peaceful means. Chapter VI of the Charter sets forth a comprehensive list of such means for the resolution of conflict. These have been amplified in various declarations adopted by the General Assembly, including the Manila Declaration of 1982 on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes. The United Nations has had wide experience in the application of these peaceful means.

The present determination in the Security Council to resolve international disputes in the manner foreseen in the Charter has opened the way for a more active Council role. With greater unity has come leverage and persuasive power to lead hostile parties towards negotiations. I urge the Council to take full advantage of the provisions of the Charter under which it may recommend appropriate procedures or methods for dispute settlement and, if all the parties to a dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties for a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992.

Source B

After 1988 UN peacekeeping went through something of a transition. With glasnost and perestroika came an unprecedented co-operation among the five permanent members of the Security Council leading to an era of expansion and optimism. This was not only in terms of the number of missions undertaken, but also in the scope of activity. More peacekeeping operations have been established since 1989 than in the previous 45 years of the UN's history.

In peacekeeping operations during this era, such as the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador in 1991-95 and the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia in 1992-93, there was consent of some of the parties involved. But, the peace agreements were complex and multidimensional. These operations were deployed as part of negotiated political solutions. Peacekeepers were also given new tasks such as electoral assistance, human rights monitoring, resettlement of refugees, police training, protection of humanitarian relief

efforts, and disarmament and demobilisation of armed forces. An increasing regard for humanitarian intervention further widened the scope of peacekeeping mandates.

A historian's account of the evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping, 2005.

Source C

The failure of peacekeeping operations in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia...show how difficult it is to stop ethnic violence and to mediate in a very difficult and hopeless situation. The above tragedies shamed the world and lost respect for the UN and made the real task of making the organization work, a difficult one. This was a time when UN peacekeeping was brought to chaos. The various military commanders involved wondered how diplomats who clearly did not understand the basic rules of peacekeeping were qualified to produce a haystack of resolutions in the Security Council leading to death and danger on the ground—all the decisions taken in secret sessions—and no one held accountable. The soldiers came to believe that the politicians never intended them to fulfill the mandates and concluded that the peacekeeping exercise was a charade. The soldiers were blamed for failing to do things for which they were never mandated, staffed, financed, equipped or deployed to do.

*Vijay Mehta, Chairperson of Action for UN Renewal,
speaking at a conference on 27 March 2008.*

Source D

The world community is unwilling to provide the UN with resources to undertake enforcement tasks. Without the political support of the five permanent members of the Security Council and, in particular, the logistical, financial and political support of the United States, no operation has ever been completed successfully.

In this light, passing resolutions under UN Chapter VII without providing the organisations with adequate resources for the mandate drains the process of credibility. A force equipped for peace enforcement would not enjoy the same acceptance as a friendly and impartial force. A peace enforcement force must be equipped to operate in a hostile atmosphere. So, one of the basic principles of peacekeeping—the use of force in self-defence—has to be considered. Mandates should suit the situation. In July 1995, Serb forces overrun the UN-declared 'safe area' of Srebrenica and thousands of Muslim civilians were slaughtered in full view of the lightly armed UNPROFOR contingent whose mandate did not extend to the use of force to protect civilians.

From an academic in the Turkish Ministry of National Defence, published in 2000.

Source E

By 2 February 1995, UNOSOM II troop strength was reduced to 7,956, comprising Pakistani, Egyptian and Bangladeshi contingents and the remaining headquarters personnel. As the withdrawal accelerated, military support provided by UNOSOM troops to United Nations agencies, human rights organization and NGOs still engaged in humanitarian activities was greatly reduced. With the major reductions starting in mid-February, it was no longer possible for UNOSOM II troops to extend the necessary protection even within Mogadishu. The mission's withdrawal was completed by 28 March 1995. Although its ambitious plan to rebuild the internal structures of a functioning state did not prove possible in the face of the inability of the Somali factions to come to terms with each other, success was greatest in the humanitarian field. Millions of Somalis benefited from these activities and, at a minimum, an estimated quarter of a million lives were saved.

Adapted from a UN publication, "Blue Helmets—A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping", 1996.

Now answer the following question.

“Peacekeeping after the Cold War can only be deemed a failure.” How far do sources A-E support this view about the United Nations?

Section B

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

- 2 “Ideology was only a pretext for national interests.” How far do you agree with this statement about the origins of the Cold War?
- 3 How significant was the August Coup of 1991 in causing the collapse of the Soviet Union?
- 4 “Compared with the USA’s role, the impact of the Bretton-Woods system was negligible in the rapid growth of the post-war international economy.” Discuss the validity of this statement.
- 5 “Religious Fundamentalism in the Middle East was created mostly for political goals.” How far do you agree with this statement?
- 6 Critically evaluate the importance of Kashmir in the continuation of the Indo-Pakistan conflict from 1949 onwards.

Copyright Acknowledgements

Source A © Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Report of the UN Secretary-General: an Agenda for Peace, 1992

Source B © Assist. Prof. Emel Oktay, Hacettepe University, 2005

Source C © Vijay Mehta, 2008

Source D © Dr Emel Osmañcavuşoğlu, in Journal of International Affairs, Dec 1999 – Feb 2000 Volume IV - Number 4

Source E © United Nations, 1996

Answer Key

1. "Peacekeeping after the Cold War can only be deemed a failure." *How far do sources A-E support this view about the United Nations?*

Support inferences	Challenge inferences
1) Complexity of local conditions or political anarchy (Sources C, D, E) 2) Lack of resources (Sources E) 3) Structural inadequacies e.g. insufficient mandate (Source C, D) 4) Lack of political will (Source C, E in context)	1) Greater political unity in the Security Council to enable decisive action (Sources A, B) 2) Partial successes in humanitarian efforts (sources B, E) 3) Existing mechanism for decisive p/k (Source A)
Evaluation	Evaluation
1) Complexity is reinforced by Source B which shows wider range of responsibilities. Further reinforced by the lack of resources/ inability to cope with these complexities (e.g. Source C, source D) 2) corroborated by examples (CK, Source A in context (end of cold war) source E in context (US role)) 3) supported by how mandate of the UN was subject to political will (CK, Source E with CK). Can be mitigated by claiming it was the exception, but also corroborated with CK from Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda.) Provenance: Source C: activist, might have political agenda (but can be corroborated) Source E: UN publication, purpose is to spread awareness of UN P/k forces (hence humanitarian success)	1) greater unity was mitigated by the lack of political will or unwillingness to give resources (CK, source D, E) 2) Mitigated by other failures in humanitarian aid (CK, Source C, D) 3) Existing mechanism can be supported by successes (CK/ Source B, E) but mitigated by conditional nature of successes. Mitigated by Provenance Source A: early in the period and aspirational. Does not conclusively show success in the later period. Source E: UN publication, purpose is to spread awareness of UN P/k forces
Synthesis	
Support: Overall, limited successes (i.e. humanitarian) that can be shown to be mitigated by its problems. Challenge Sources (A and B) were limited in scope or showed the apparent success of UN peacekeeping, but support sources are more reliable in identifying the loopholes to these successes. Humanitarian can be a small counterpoint.	

Answer Key

2. “Ideology was only a pretext for national interests.” How far do you agree with this statement about the origins of the Cold War?

Question Topic	Origins of the Cold War
Key concepts:	Causation: ideology or national interests had a bigger role Nature of conflict:
Definitions	<p>“pretext” (criteria-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apparent; national interest were the underlying real intentions • Used as a front to hide the underlying intentions
Possible Arguments	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National interests used ideology to justify expansion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Truman’s use of ideological struggle to justify economic dominance through Marshall Plan - Soviet policy of Sovietisation as a form of expansionism 2. National interests were more consistent than ideology, of which some actions went against. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soviet opportunism and willingness to back down - US indirect response to Berlin Blockade 3. Ideological concerns were real and changed the pace of Cold War <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Significant timing of Long Telegram to interpret the events of 1946-7 - Red Scare and suspicion of Soviet post-war intentions - Soviet insecurity was led by ideological perception of threat 4. Ideology contributed to mutual misunderstanding

3. How significant was the August Coup of 1991 in causing the collapse of the Soviet Union?

Question Topic	End of the Cold War
Key concepts:	Causation: Evaluating causes for the collapse of the USSR Significance: the role of the August Coup in the collapse of USSR
Definitions	<p>“significant” (possible criteria-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most immediate cause • Hastened or confirmed the process, or sudden impact
Possible Arguments	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. August coup actualised the decline of the USSR by unleashing the political and economic dissatisfaction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Moved the grievance against the government from private to public space; unleashed the mass revolts

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Destroyed the authority of the politburo and Gorbachev, giving space for Yeltsin's rise <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Gorbachev's policies destabilised the control of the state and its legitimacy, triggering the August Coup <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roots of the August Coup were in Gorbachev's political liberalisation and perceived loss of prestige vs. USA as well as the satellite states breaking away. 3. Was only a manifestation of the system's failure revealed by Gorbachev's reforms. Did not hasten the failure. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Symptomatic of the failure, rather than a catalyst - Gorbachev's reforms revealed structural weaknesses which had already discredited the Soviet structure. 4. Was a reaction to political challenge posed by reformers, rather than a new development. Split between conservatives and radicals was already apparent.
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4. "Compared with the USA's role, the impact of the Bretton Woods system was negligible." Discuss the validity of this statement.

Question Topic	International Economy (Growth of global economy)
Key concepts:	Causation: evaluate factors of the growth of global economy
Definitions	<p>"compare to... negligible" (criteria-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insignificant, no impact • Completely reliant on
Possible Arguments	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bretton-Woods system paled in comparison to US aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IMF vs Marshall Plan - Value of aid given far outweighs IMF - Degree of integration - Sustained aid for countries that would later be most important in the international economy 2. Bretton-Woods system only created a framework 3. Bretton-Woods system was reliant on American dominance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - US resources used to back up, and sustain the Bretton Woods system - US companies and capital responsible for most investment, tech transfer and trade.

5. Religious Fundamentalism in the Middle East was created mostly for political goals.”
How far do you agree with this statement?

Question Topic	Religious fundamentalism
Key concepts:	Causation
Definitions	<p>“Mostly for political goals” (possible criteria-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most important cause • Pretext or seeming cause • Political goals as an expression of other concerns (religious, economic)
Possible Arguments	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Used by political groups to gain political dominance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political agenda of religious fundamentalists - Use of modern means to achieve their apparent conservative goals 2. Genuinely reflected the unpopularity of incumbent political groups/ leaders/ affiliations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In particular, secular, pro-West, authoritarian regimes 3. A reaction to economic problems and inequalities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a singular impact as many other crises ensured its weakening 4. An expression of religious revival and insecurity about morality and Western/ modernity encroachment

6. “Critically evaluate the importance of Kashmir in the continuation of the Indo-Pakistan conflict from 1949 onwards.

Question Topic	Conflict (Indo-Pak Conflict)
Key concepts:	<p>Causation (effect): role of superpowers in causing conflict, protraction and peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict</p> <p>Change: whether this role had changed over time</p>
Definitions	<p>“importance in the continuation of the I-P conflict” (criteria-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative importance • Consistence in sustaining conflict • Worsened (or not) <p>Do not accept arguments predating 1949 i.e. from independence to end of First Indo-Pak War</p>
Possible Arguments	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Was a major and consistent flashpoint for conflict between Pakistan and India <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Territorial concern - Legitimacy - Became a key area of conflict and instability for insurgents - Became a symbol for the ongoing conflict that could not be

	<p>resolved without first resolving Kashmir</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Represented the irreconcilable choices between India and Pakistan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious difference - Conflict of legitimacy 3. Was only a pretext for local designs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pakistani aggression and Indian national interest - Way to gain political legitimacy domestically i.e. Military governments in Pakistan and rise of Hindu conservatives in India 4. Was unrelated to or exploited as a symbol of conflict against <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terrorism became an unsolvable issue
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