

The World Order:
1945-2011

Brad Kelly



The World Order: 1945-2011

1st Edition

Brad Kelly

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The World Order: 1945–2011

The World Order: 1945–2011 has been developed especially for senior secondary students of Modern History in New South Wales. The book is based on the understanding that History is an interpretative study of the past by which you also come to better appreciate the making of the modern world.

Developing understandings of the past and present in senior History extends on the skills you learnt in earlier years. As senior students you will use historical skills, including research, evaluation, synthesis, analysis and communication, and historical concepts, such as evidence, continuity and change, cause and effect, significance, empathy, perspectives and contestability, to understand and interpret societies from the past.



THE WORLD ORDER, 1945–2011

The United States emerged from its long-standing isolation after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 marks the beginning of a new world order. In what has been characterised as the American Century, the US became concerned by greater involvement in international affairs. By 1945, with two world wars, 70 million dead and the Great Depression behind it, many hoped that the United States would prevent future conflict through its security doctrine and political institutions.

Hope for a universal commitment to a set of liberal values soon faded with the development of the Cold War. As the 'Great Divide' opened up an economic divide and then led up behind the communist Soviet bloc or American capitalism. There were also a number of non-aligned countries, including India and Pakistan.

When the Great Divide collapsed between 1989 and 1991, Russia and Eastern Europe were brought into the global capitalist order. By the end of the decade, however, a human calamity had emerged and hopes for liberal democracy seemed distant. Russia entered the 21st century with a new president, Vladimir Putin, who was determined to reassert Russian power in the region. The competition that Russia engaged with the West during the 1990s disappeared as Putin set Russia on a new foreign policy course.

The resurgence of the United States internationally was muted. In the Middle East, the American continued a long-running dispute with Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups. Following the attack on the United States on 11 September 2001, the American use of land and air power proved the world's first high-precision and operations, as the US sought to respond to the changing face of conflict. Ethical and religious tensions emerged as the new challenge to peace and that it responded to peace as America or Russia and Canada.

The new century saw China rise to the position of the world's second largest economy. After the attack of 11 September 2001, America had adopted an increasingly militaristic stance, thus ending its recent ambivalence. The US seemed to be turning its back on the idea of the United Nations by engaging in international conflicts without UN Security Council approval. The global financial crisis (GFC) of 2008 seemed to have led to the US and European economies and resulted a turning point for other developing economies, some of whom had been expected to be the 21st century's new superpowers.

Overseas power after the fall of the Soviet Union, America's economy was in decline, China had the second most powerful economy in the world, the Middle East was reasserting its role, Russia had emerged as a dominant and influential factor but became an international issue. The world had changed dramatically.

BOOK INTRODUCTION provides a context to the issues that are addressed.

KEY FIGURES

YASSER ARABAT 1973–2004

Yasser Arafat was the Chairman of the PLO (the Organisation for the Liberation of Palestine), a former terrorist group from the 1970s that moved towards a political culture during the 1980s and 2000s. He made progress with Yitzhak Rabin on the Oslo Accords and by 2005, Israel was withdrawing settlements from the occupied territories.

GEORGE W BUSH (1941–)

George W Bush was President of the United States between 2001 and 2009. During his first year in office, the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon led to the 'Global War on Terror'. The Bush administration acted in an increasingly militaristic and unilateral way and undermined the United Nations during the lead-up to the Iraq War in March 2003.

MIKHAIL GOBRACHEV (1923–)

Gorbachev was the first leader of the Soviet Union, between 1985 and 1991. A pivotal reformer, he introduced the policies of perestroika and glasnost and reformed the Brezhnev Doctrine. All of these were policies that opened the floodgates of reform in Eastern Europe and drove the Soviet Union. He was popular on the international stage and did much to reduce the number of nuclear weapons through his contacts with US President Ronald Reagan.

GEORGE W BUSH (1941–)

George W Bush was President of the United States from 1989 until 2001. He declined to send military aid to support the US-led military action against Iraq following its invasion of Kuwait. President Bush moved the US into the beginning of a new era of international ethics conflicts, including those in Somalia and Bosnia, which led to their nations to prevent the deaths of those the US military was trying to protect.

BILL CLINTON (1946–)

Bill Clinton was President of the United States from 1993 to 2001. He reversed the United States to its traditions by being the mid-emergence in the world. Clinton intervened in a number of international ethics conflicts, including those in Somalia and Bosnia, which led to their nations to prevent the deaths of those the US military was trying to protect.

OSAMA BIN LADEN (1957–2011)

Osama bin Laden was the leader of al-Qaeda, a militant extremist Islamic group responsible for the attack on the United States in 2001. Targeted by the CIA during the 1980s to be used against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, Bin Laden's speech during the 9/11 attacks.

KEY FIGURES, KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS, AND KEY DOCUMENTS AND EVENTS feature brief biographies, profiles, definitions and summaries of key documents as a ready reference for learning and revision.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

American Century
The idea that America has a responsibility to participate and spread its values in the international community after World War II.

collective security
The principle that an aggressive state should be opposed by the entire international community.

alliance
A period of relations in politics between the superpowers between 1947 and 1991.

ethnic cleansing
The mass expulsion or killing of members of one ethnic or religious group by another in a geographical area.

Realism
A theory of international relations that claims that states act on self-interest and are guided by values and ideas.

interventionist
Willingness (in the case of a powerful nation) to become involved in international affairs.

isolationism
The political decision to withdraw from international involvement with other nations.

multipolar
An international system that has multiple centres of power.

neoliberalism
A political ideology characterised by free market economics and an interventionist foreign policy.

self-determination
The idea that nations can freely choose their own governments without outside interference.

sovereignty
The idea that all states should be free from outside interference to determine their own political future.

sphere of influence
The demand of a superpower to be surrounded by smaller neighbours that are sympathetic to its political system.

superpower
A great power that dominates the international system, has global reach that is underpinned by a strong economy and possesses extensive military capacity.

KEY DOCUMENTS AND EVENTS

'The American Century', Henry Luce
This document outlined the argument for the United States to become more involved in the world. It was published in *Life* magazine on 17 February 1941, before the attack on Pearl Harbor brought America into the war.

'The Clash of Civilisations', Samuel P Huntington's paper
This paper argued that the future conflict would be based on civilisation.

George H W Bush's 'New World Order' speech
George H W Bush announced the creation of a 'new world order' to deal with the threat of Iraq to international peace and security.

Barack Obama's speech during the 9/11 attacks
Barack Obama's speech during the 9/11 attacks was a strong statement of American foreign policy during the 1990s and the expansion of NATO into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation into the former Warsaw Pact states.

George W Bush's State of the Union address, 29 January 2002
President Bush's announcement of the war on terror. The first State of the Union address after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks.

China's 'Letter to America', November 2002
In this letter, Hu Jintao outlined his reasons for the recent campaign against the United States. He cited a range of American foreign policy actions around the world as aggression for his attack.

Vladimir Putin's 'March speech', 12 February 2007
Putin's 'March speech' was a strongly worded demonstration of Russian foreign policy during the 1990s and the expansion of NATO into the former Warsaw Pact states.

'Paper for a New American Century'
This neoconservative document was critical of the death of American foreign policy during the 1990s and called for a more focused foreign policy. Many of those who signed it later became significant figures in the George W Bush administration.

SBIC Draft Declaration, 2012
The SBIC Declaration was a joint statement by the SBIC countries (Great Britain, India and China), calling for reform of international relations.

SYLLABUS OUTCOMES are listed at the start of each chapter. These provide a focus for you as you read the chapter.

01

Surveying the world order, 1945–89

STUDENTS WILL INVESTIGATE

In this chapter, students will explore the background and origins of the changing world order, spanning from 1945 to 2011.

Subjects to be covered include:

- The emergence of the superpowers and the Cold War.
- The role of the United Nations during the Cold War.
- United States post World War II foreign policy.

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The end of history or a state of chaos?

SOURCE A FUKUYAMA AND THE END OF HISTORY

It is argued that a remarkable consensus concerning the legitimacy of liberal democracy as a system of government had emerged throughout the world over the past few years, as a consequence of the end of the Cold War. This consensus, which most recently culminated in the election of Bill Clinton, is argued to represent the end of history. This is the point at which the world has reached a final and stable form of government, one that is not subject to further change. This is the end of history, the end of the struggle between different forms of government, and the beginning of a permanent peace. This is the end of history, the end of the struggle between different forms of government, and the beginning of a permanent peace. This is the end of history, the end of the struggle between different forms of government, and the beginning of a permanent peace.

QUESTIONS

- 1 According to Source A, what systems of government has liberal democracy replaced?
- 2 What does Fukuyama mean when he argues that liberal democracy might represent the 'end of history'?
- 3 According to Source A, what is the source of conflict after the Cold War?
- 4 Why does Huntington believe that violence between civilisation groups is the potential to qualify nuclear?

SOURCE STUDIES of visual and text primary sources and secondary literature appear frequently throughout the text and are combined with questions and activities to aid your evaluation and interpretation of evidence from the past.

in 1952. By 1962, Walter Hallstein, the President of the EEC Commission, encouraged the founding members to seek closer political ties to complement economic cooperation.

JEAN MONNET

Jean Monnet was the first President of the High Authority after the 1951 Treaty of Paris. He believed in the idea of the United States of Europe and hoped that the ECSC would one day lead to a federal Europe. He was the first to use the term 'European' to describe the ECSC.

WALTER HALLSTEIN

Walter Hallstein was the first President of the European Commission after the Treaty of Rome in 1958. He was a strong advocate of European unity and hoped that the process of integration would eventually lead to a political union. He held the office of President until 1960 but left after failing to overcome the resistance of French President Charles de Gaulle to greater European integration.

Not everyone was convinced by the idea of a united Europe. Charles de Gaulle became president of France in 1959 and resisted any calls to give up French sovereignty to a supranational power. He instead proposed the *Fouchet Plan*, which was more of an intergovernmental model than the integrated European model. The plan failed and de Gaulle continued to undermine efforts at unity by using his veto power to block British membership of the EEC in 1963. France was enjoying a

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS are biographical profiles and assessments of key historical figures and frequently include questions and activities.

Xenophobia and far-right nationalism

The struggle between federalists such as Monnet, Hallstein and De Gaulle and those who resisted political unity, such as de Gaulle and, later, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, led to a sharper expression of opposition. The emergence of the European Union produced far-right nationalism and xenophobia.

British conservative politician Enoch Powell was a vocal critic of the UK's entry into the Common Market as far back as 1973. He accused the Europeans of taking away UK sovereignty and the British parliament of leading to decision-making power to Europe. His famous 'Rivers of blood' speech in April 1968 raked against immigration into Britain and led many to regard him as a racist.

In France, Jean-Marie Le Pen established the Front National (National Front), an anti-immigration party with far-right ties to neo-Nazi groups. Initially, Le Pen was elected to the European Parliament in 1984 but rejected integration into the European core. He was convicted six times of disrupting crimes against humanity and was expelled from his party by his daughter Marine Le Pen in April 2015.

The arguments of Powell and Le Pen revolved around issues of state sovereignty and race, and played well with voters who feared their livelihoods and national identity would be under threat from an increasingly federal Europe.

INFORMATION BOXES contain extended discussions of key events, concepts and historical developments. Many also include questions and activities.

Clinton's achievements in Russia

A number of genuine accomplishments started out, along with some clear problems and failures. The administration's achievements related to economic, diplomatic and dangerous problems in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Instead of three new nuclear powers with unstable and untried governments, the administration managed to return the weapons to Russia where they could be stored or dismantled. President Clinton and his advisors believed that helping Russia become a working democracy with a market economy was the best way that they could advance the security interests of the United States. Russia's integration into Western imperial institutions such as the economic and financial Group of 7 or the World Trade Organization would help make the changes irreversible. Governments changed and political power was transferred by elections in Russia, a rare accomplishment in Russian history.

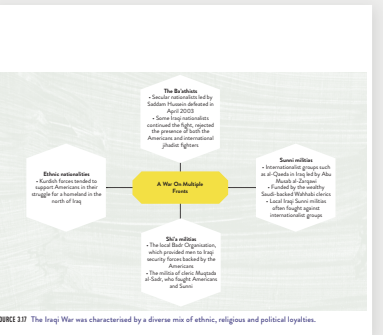
QUESTION

List the main accomplishments of Clinton's policy towards Russia.

HISTORIAN BOXES introduce key historians and schools of interpretation as a way of making historiography clearer.

- 1 Outline the different visions of the United States and the World War II.
- 2 Where did US President Truman hope to contain communism?
- 3 Which events led the US to fear that countries in South America were turning communist?
- 4 Explain how the development of nuclear weapons changed the balance of power.
- 5 Explain Reagan's attitude towards the Soviets before Gorbachev.
- 6 How did the three policies perestroika, glasnost and the end of communism?

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES are included throughout the text to consolidate content knowledge and hone examination skills.



DIAGRAMS AND LOCATION MAPS are used throughout, to visually summarise complex ideas and locate places and events.

Chapter summary

- Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Putin oversaw the transition to a post-Soviet society in Russia, each of them facing unique difficulties.
- Gorbachev wanted to reform a system he deeply believed in, and, although he is ultimately responsible for its collapse, he did everything to prevent it.
- Yeltsin's presidency was marked by a chaotic transition to liberal democracy and free markets.
- Putin challenged the growing Westernisation within Russia and sought to reassert the role of Russia on the international stage.
- The transition to liberal democracies in the Eastern European bloc was largely peaceful.

Further resources

- *Commanding Heights, Episode 2 'The agony of reform'*
- *Democracy, Kevin, Putin's Regime*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2014.
- *Gorbachev, Mikhail, On My Country and the World*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2000.
- *Putinskovykh, Anna, Putin's Russia*, The Harvill Press, London, 2006.
- *Yeltsin, Boris, The View from the Kremlin*, HarperCollins, London, 1994.

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CHAPTER REVIEW ACTIVITIES conclude each chapter. They include a brief precis of the topic, suggestions for further reading and a range of learning activities that consolidate knowledge and understanding of the chapter's content. These tasks incorporate a range of historical understandings and skills.

CHAPTER REVIEW

- 1 Outline the problems that perestroika and glasnost were supposed to address after 1985.
- 2 Explain Mikhail Gorbachev's attitude to change within the Soviet Union, as opposed to reform movements in Eastern Europe.
- 3 With reference to one Eastern European country, outline the transition from communism to liberal democracy.
- 4 Outline the key issues in the power struggle between Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin during 1990 and 1991.
- 5 To what extent was Gorbachev responsible for the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union? Give detailed reasons for your answer.
- 6 Why was the transition to liberal democracy and free markets in Russia after the collapse of communism so chaotic?
- 7 How did political and social reforms affect economic development and privatisation in Russia?
- 8 Evaluate the view that Boris Yeltsin failed in his attempt to build strong democratic structures in Russia.
- 9 Outline the nature of Russian political and social life under Vladimir Putin.
- 10 Evaluate recent Russian foreign policy in an attempt to reassert Russia's role as a superpower?
- 11 To what extent do you agree with the idea that Putin was a success as an autocrat and a failure as a democrat? Give detail in your judgement.

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To Aaron and the ladies at Bill and James in Balgownie, who kept the coffee coming each morning.

To my beautiful children, Emily and Darcy – I love you both.



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THE WORLD ORDER, 1945–2011

The First Gulf War of January 1991 was the first major post-Cold War conflict. The US-led coalition removed Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

The United States' emergence from its longstanding isolation after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 marks the beginning of a new world order. In what has been characterised as the 'American Century', the US became committed to greater involvement in international affairs. By 1945, with two world wars, 70 million dead and the Great Depression behind it, many hoped that the United Nations would prevent future conflict through its security, economic and political institutions.

Hopes for a universal commitment to a set of liberal values soon faded with the development of the Cold War. An East–West divide opened up as countries in Europe, Asia and Africa lined up behind the communist Soviet bloc or American capitalism. There were also a number of non-aligned countries, including India and Pakistan.

When the Soviet Union collapsed between 1989 and 1991, Russia and Eastern Europe were brought into the global capitalist order. By the end of the decade, however, a Russian oligarchy had emerged and hopes for liberal democracy seemed distant. Russia entered the 21st century with a new president, Vladimir Putin, who was determined to reassert Russian power in the region. The cooperation that Russia enjoyed with the West during the 1990s slipped away as Putin set Russia on a new foreign policy course.

The influence of the United States internationally was mixed. In the Middle East, the Americans commenced a long-running dispute with Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups, following the attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001. The American use of hard and soft power around the world drew both supporters and opponents, as the US sought to respond to the changing face of conflict. Ethnic and religious tensions emerged as the new challenge to peace, and the US responded in places as diverse as Bosnia and Somalia.

The new century saw China rise to the position of the world's second largest economy. After the attacks of 11 September 2001, America had adopted an increasingly militaristic stance, thus eroding its moral authority. The US seemed to be turning its back on the ideal of the United Nations by engaging in international conflicts without UN Security Council approval. The global financial crisis (GFC) of 2008 revealed serious faults in the US and European economies, and marked a turning point for other developing economic powers that were less exposed to the US economy, such as the BRIC countries.

Twenty years after the fall of the Soviet Union, America's economy was in decline, China had the second most powerful economy in the world, the Middle East was experiencing internal warfare, Russia had reasserted its dominance and militant Islam had become an international threat. The world had changed dramatically.

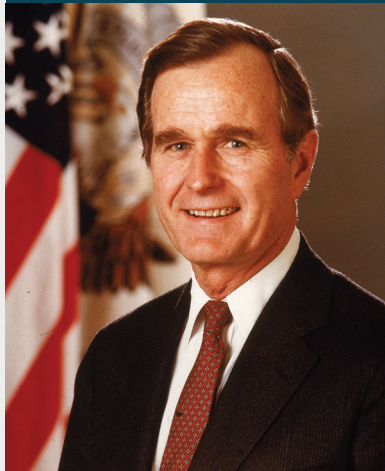
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KEY FIGURES

YASSER ARAFAT (1929–2004)

Yasser Arafat was the Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), a former terrorist group from the 1970s that worked towards a political solution during the 1990s and 2000s. He made progress with Yitzhak Rabin on the Oslo Accords and by 2005, Israel was withdrawing settlements from the occupied territories.

GEORGE HW BUSH (1924–)



George HW Bush was President of the United States from 1989 until 1993. He declared a 'new world order' at the end of the Cold War as he announced a US-led military action against Iraq following its invasion of Kuwait. President Bush steered the US into the beginning of a new unipolar era and committed the US to continued involvement in international affairs.

GEORGE W BUSH (1946–)



George W Bush was President of the United States between 2001 and 2009. During his first year in office, the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon led to the 'global war on terror'. The Bush administration acted in an increasingly militaristic and unilateral way and undermined the United Nations during the lead-up to the Iraq War in March 2003.

BILL CLINTON (1946–)



Bill Clinton was President of the United States from 1993 to 2001. He oversaw the United States in its transition to being the sole superpower in the world. Clinton intervened in a number of international ethnic conflicts, including those in Somalia and Bosnia, which failed in their mission to prevent the deaths of those the US military was trying to protect.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV (1931–)



Gorbachev was the final leader of the Soviet Union, between 1985 and 1991. A youthful reformer, he introduced the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* and renounced the Brezhnev Doctrine. All of these were policies that opened the floodgates of reform in Eastern Europe and then the Soviet Union. He was popular on the international stage and did much to reduce the number of nuclear weapons through his summits with US President Ronald Reagan.

OSAMA BIN LADEN (1957–2011)



Osama bin Laden was the leader of al-Qaeda, a militant extremist Islamic group responsible for the attacks on the United States in 2001. Trained by the CIA during the 1980s in its war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan,

Clockwise from top left: Imagefolk/Karl Schumacher; Getty Images/Georges De Keerle; Getty Images/Stringer; Alamy Stock Photo/Everett Collection Historical; Getty Images/Hulton Archive/Staff

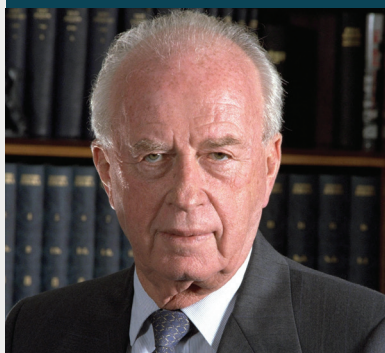
bin Laden demanded the withdrawal of US troops from Saudi Arabian soil after the First Gulf War.

VLADIMIR PUTIN (1952–)



Vladimir Putin was the second and fourth President of the Russian Federation during 2000–08 and 2012–. Putin is a former KGB agent who lamented the collapse of the Soviet Union and sought to reassert Russian power in his region. He resisted the drift towards European and Western values in Russian politics, the economy and foreign policy.

YITZHAK RABIN (1922–1995)



Yitzhak Rabin was Prime Minister of Israel between 1992 and his assassination in 1995. He was

determined to find peace for Israel and he famously shook hands with Yasser Arafat on the lawn of the White House. He traded land for peace and gave up Israeli settlements. He was assassinated by an ultra-orthodox Jew in November 1995.

RONALD REAGAN (1911–2004)



Tough-talking anti-communist Ronald Reagan was sworn in as US President in January 1981 and held office until 1989. Reagan proposed an ambitious US trillion-dollar nuclear defence shield in space, nicknamed ‘Star Wars’, and referred to the Soviet Union as the ‘evil empire’. After 1985, his attitude softened once he had built a warm friendship with new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

DENG XIAOPING (1904–1997)



Deng Xiaoping was leader of China from 1978 to 1989. His reforms during the 1980s laid the foundation for China’s internal economic reforms and opening up to the world in the 1990s. By 2010, China was the second biggest economy in the world.

BORIS YELTSIN (1931–2007)



Boris Yeltsin was President of the Russian Federation between 1991 and 2000. He oversaw the transition from the Soviet Union to the Russian democracy. His economic reforms caused great chaos in Russia and by the end of the decade had resulted in an oligarchy. Yeltsin also led Russia into a war against Chechnya, after rejecting its calls for independence from Russia.

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KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

American Century

Coined by Henry Luce, the idea that America had a responsibility to participate and spread its values in the international community after World War II.

collective security

The principle that an aggressor state should be opposed by the entire international community.

détente

A period of relaxation in tensions between the superpowers between 1962 and 1979.

ethnic cleansing

The mass expulsion or killing of members of one ethnic or religious group by another in a geographical area.

federalism

A system of government in which a union of states submit some or all of their sovereignty to a central government.

geopolitical

The direct political influence of the geographic proximity among nations.

hegemony

The dominance of a single power in a region or across the world.

idealist

A theory of international relations that claims that state actors are guided by values and ideas.

interventionist

Willingness (in the case of a powerful nation) to become involved in international affairs.

isolationism

The political decision to withdraw from unnecessary involvement with other nations.

multipolar

An international system that has multiple centres of power.

neoconservative

A political ideology characterised by free market economics and an interventionist foreign policy.

perestroika

The policy to restructure the Soviet economy after 1985.

realist

A theory of international relations that asserts that state actors are guided by geopolitical factors and conflicts, rather than ideas.

self-determination

The idea that nations can freely elect their own governments without outside interference.

sovereignty

The idea that all states should be free from outside interference to determine their own political future.

sphere of influence

The demand of a major power to be surrounded by smaller neighbours that are sympathetic to its political system.

superpower

A great power that dominates the international system, has global reach that is underpinned by a strong economy and possesses superior military capacity.

unilateral

Conducting foreign affairs with minimal consultation with other nations.

unipolar

An international system that is dominated by one nation.

KEY DOCUMENTS AND EVENTS

'The American Century', Henry Luce

This document outlined the argument for the United States to become more involved in the world. It was published in *Life* magazine on 17 February 1941, before the attack on Pearl Harbor brought America into the war.

The Clash of Civilizations?

Samuel P Huntington's post-Cold War analysis of the future of conflict in the world. He argued that future conflict would be based on civilisations.

George HW Bush's 'New World Order' speech

George HW Bush announced the creation of a 'new world order' to deal with the threat of Iraq to international peace and security.

Boris Yeltsin's speech during the August 1991 coup

Yeltsin's speech positioned him as a champion of constitutional reform and demanded that communist hardliners return Gorbachev to power. It was delivered at a time of great uncertainty about the future of Russia and the Soviet Union.

George W Bush's State of the Union address, 29 January 2002

President Bush's announcement of the 'war on terror'. The first State of the Union address after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks.

Osama bin Laden's 'Letter to America', November 2002

In this letter, bin Laden outlined his reasons for the terrorist campaign against the United States. He cited a range of American foreign policy actions around the world as inspiration for his attacks.

Vladimir Putin's 'Munich speech', 12 February 2007

Putin's 'Munich speech' was a strongly worded denunciation of United States foreign policy during the 'war on terror' and the expansion of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) into the former Eastern European bloc.

Project for a New American Century

This neoconservative document was critical of the drift of American foreign policy during the 1990s and called for a more focused foreign policy. Many of those who signed it later became significant figures in the George W Bush administration.

BRIC Delhi Declaration, 2012

The Delhi Declaration was a joint statement by the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), calling for reform of international institutions and criticising the US's militaristic and unilateral actions during the 'war on terror'.