

HISTORY

9697/31

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

October/November 2014

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

DO **NOT** WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **three** questions.

You must **not** answer both Question 3 and Question 4.

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: The Development of the United Nations, 1945–1991

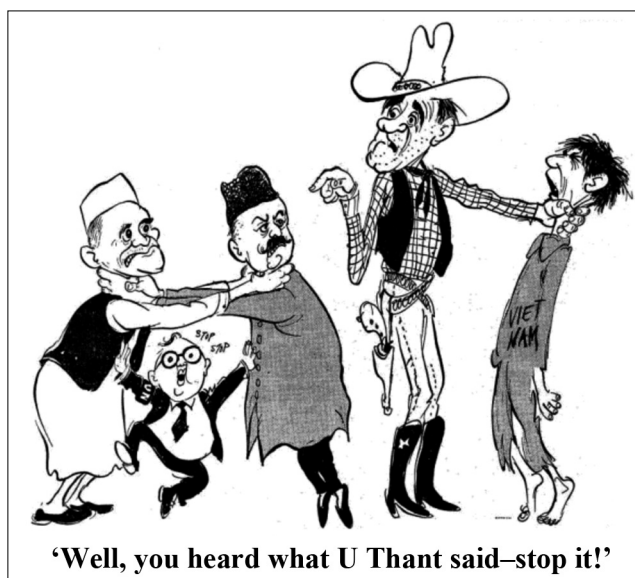
You **must** answer Question 1.

U THANT AS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS (1961–1971)

- 1 Read the Sources and then answer the question.

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



People depicted (from left to right): Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri (Prime Minister of India); U Thant (UN Secretary-General); Mohammed Ayub Khan (President of Pakistan); Lyndon B Johnson (President of the USA); Figure representing Vietnam.

Context: 6 September 1965 – India invades Pakistan. Pakistan mounts air raids on New Delhi;
8 September 1965 – US marines clash with guerrillas in South Vietnam.

Cartoon from a British newspaper, 9 September 1965.

Source B

Recently, U Thant explained why, after five years as UN Secretary-General, he doesn't want to continue in the post after his term is up on 3 November. His statement was a frank and bitter complaint that the 117-member organisation had fallen far short of the UN Charter's opening promise to maintain 'peace and security' in the world. Such bluntness was part of his make-up and did not endear him to everyone. Although most UN members, including the USA, have opposed letting Red China in, U Thant has said that if the Chinese were admitted, the UN would be in a better position to solve some of its problems, such as the war in Vietnam. When he became Secretary-General in 1961, many wondered whether this inconspicuous man from Burma could really fill the shoes of the widely respected Hammarskjöld. Now many rank him with Hammarskjöld in ability and achievement. In his statement, U Thant called the world situation 'extremely serious'. He said the pressure of events is 'leading remorselessly towards a major war', while UN members have failed in the kind of 'cooperative effort' necessary for decisive progress towards peace.

From an American newspaper, 1 September 1966.

Source C

When U Thant's first term of office was coming to an end in 1966, he said that he was neither a nor would accept re-election. Under strong pressure, he relented, and was unanimously recommended for a further five years in office. Many critics blame the Secretary-General for the decline in the UN over recent years. No new peace-keeping operations have been undertaken since 1965, and the work of UN truce supervisors in the Middle East has been drastically reduced since 1967. The December 1971 war between India and Pakistan has restricted the role of UN military observers, while failure to find a settlement in the Middle East and Cyprus continues to cause concern. Further evidence of the UN's decline can be seen in its failure to demand an end to the fighting during the Nigerian civil war. It is argued that the deterioration of the UN is inescapably linked with U Thant's personality. He is seen as temperamentally unsuited for the role of Secretary-General. The US Under-Secretary of State, Elliot Richardson, said that 'the full potential of the Secretary-General's role has been neglected'.

From a British article entitled 'U Thant and His Critics', 1972.

Source D

Few tears were in evidence when U Thant ended ten years of service as UN Secretary-General. 'U Thant's only genuine supporters here were the Russians, and they only wanted him because he gave them no trouble', a veteran ambassador to the UN said. U Thant's successor now faces the enormous task of restoring the UN's financial solvency and the even greater burden of attempting to revive its usefulness as a peacekeeper. U Thant's response to threats against peace was always the same – send a representative, publish a report, attempt to organise humanitarian relief, then issue a statement deploring the outbreak of hostilities. His final comment on Vietnam was another 'deploring' statement – this time over the renewed US bombing of North Vietnam. 'That makes just about ten years of deploring Vietnam', a non-aligned ambassador said; 'Does he really think anybody is still listening?' U Thant's inability to make contact and seek compromise cost the UN dearly in the past decade.

From an American newspaper, 1972.

Source E

U Thant served as UN Secretary-General from 1961 to 1971 and won lasting respect for many of his achievements. U Thant was credited with completing Hammarskjöld's work in the Congo, and for helping to defuse the Cuban missile crisis shortly afterwards. In the ten years he was in office, the UN faced many other world crises, including the Vietnam War and the 1965 conflict between India and Pakistan. Colleagues who travelled with him to crisis zones recalled that on many occasions he made bold and single-minded attempts to restore peace. In a speech in New York in 2003, the then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, hailed U Thant's significant contributions in development programmes, poverty alleviation, education, environmental protection and health.

From a Burmese newspaper, 2010.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A – E support the view that U Thant was ineffective in the role of UN Secretary-General?

Section B

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

You must **not** answer both Question 3 and Question 4.

- 2 Was the Marshall Plan a response to Soviet expansionism or an attempt to secure American economic control over Europe?
- 3 To what extent was the globalisation of the Cold War caused by the superpowers taking advantage of the collapse of colonial empires?

OR

- 4 'The USSR was responsible for the outbreak of the Korean War, but the USA was responsible for its outcome.' How far do you agree?
- 5 Compare and contrast the impact of the crisis of communism during the 1980s on the USSR and China.
- 6 Did nuclear weapons make the Cold War more dangerous or less dangerous in the period from 1949 to 1980?
- 7 How far was the USA responsible for the growth of the international economy throughout the period from 1945 to 1991?
- 8 To what extent were the problems facing newly-independent states of the Third World caused by the inexperience and ambitions of their rulers?

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Source A	© William Papas; <i>Well, you heard what U Thant said - stop it!</i> ; The Guardian; 9 September 1965; Ref: 07625; The British Cartoon Archive; http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/record/07625 .
Source B	© Fort Scott Tribune; 1 September 1966.
Source C	© Alan James; <i>U Thant and His Critics</i> , from <i>The Year Book of World Affairs</i> ; 1972; The London Institute of World Affairs: Stevens & Sons Ltd; 1972.
Source D	© The LA Times; 1972.
Source E	© The Irrawaddy; 2010.

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