



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
General Certificate of Education
Advanced Subsidiary Level and Advanced Level

HISTORY

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

9697/31

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3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

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 a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **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: INTERNATIONAL HISTORY, 1945–1991

You **must** answer Question 1.

U THANT AS SECRETARY-GENERAL

- 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

After weeks of haggling between Russia and the US, the UN chose U Thant of Burma as Acting Secretary-General. U Thant takes a Western view of economics but calls himself a 'democratic socialist'. He believes staunchly in democratic institutions and has helped achieve them in Burma but has supported UN membership for Red China even while decrying Communism's 'violent' tactics. Many Burmese are willing to justify this inconsistency in the hope that Red China's acceptance on the world scene may restrain what U Thant regards as the primary source of conflict between nations.

As Acting Secretary-General, U Thant is expected to prove a patient and efficient chairman. US Ambassador Adlai Stevenson believes that he will be 'very sturdy' in protecting his office against Russian attempts to undermine it. His critics in Washington fear that in his pursuit of compromise, U Thant may very seriously inhibit the UN's role as the 'conscience of mankind'. They may reckon without U Thant's quiet but nonetheless firm belief that peace cannot be achieved through passive neutralism, which would mean a withdrawal from the battle for peace. Pointedly, he has declared: 'Whoever occupies the office of the Secretary-General must be impartial, but not necessarily neutral.'

From the US magazine 'Time', 1961.

Source B

As ambassador to the UN from Burma, U Thant oversaw a decade marked by the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Six Day War in the Middle East. In spite of his passive nature, U Thant also believed in the Secretary-General's duty to intervene in such events. His failed efforts to mediate in South Vietnam earned him contempt from Washington while his actions during the Cuban Missile Crisis also infuriated Moscow. History remembers U Thant as weak and essentially invisible.

From a British newspaper, 'The Independent', 1996.

Source C

In October 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis occurred. U Thant quietly facilitated East-West dialogue, though his role was never properly recognized by historians who wrote hundreds of books on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

In 1963, political succession struggles in Yemen led to the deployment of a UN observer group of 200 personnel and an air unit. The area of operation was too large to be covered by limited UN aircraft by day and only a few areas could be kept under observation at night. U Thant frankly admitted that the Yemen mission was a failure.

From 'Asia Times', 2003.

Source D

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was deployed to the Middle East in the aftermath of the Suez Crisis in 1956. Originally intended to be a short-term 'emergency' force, it was clear that UNEF's presence was a deterrent to further hostilities, and for most politicians and diplomats, this uneasy peace was preferable to an open war in the Middle East. After ten and a half years, UNEF had become a well-recognized fixture in the Egyptian desert. In 1967 the Egyptian leader, Nasser, simply decided to tell the UN to clear out. The message to withdraw UNEF was first conveyed to the commander of UNEF on 16 May 1967. The UNEF commander noted the contents and passed the message on to the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, U Thant believed that the UN could not maintain itself on the Egyptian border without the permission of the host country and recommended a gradual withdrawal.

In the meantime, Egypt's preparations were advancing steadily. Seeing that war was highly likely, Israel, on 5 June 1967, annihilated the Arab air forces on the ground and then proceeded to destroy the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

From a British academic writing in 2005.

Source E

U Thant did not take the same initiatives as his predecessor, but consistently sought to use the prestige of his office to help settle disputes. Moreover, both the General Assembly and the Security Council assigned him to mediate extremely delicate situations. In his annual reports, he put forth proposals on basic issues, such as disarmament and economic and social cooperation, and many of his suggestions were adopted. An early example of a successful initiative taken by U Thant was in connection with the long-standing dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands over the status of West Irian. In December 1961 fighting broke out between Dutch and Indonesian troops. Appealing to both governments to seek a peaceful solution, the Secretary-General helped them arrive at a settlement. That settlement brought new responsibilities to the office of the Secretary-General. For the first time in UN history, a non-self-governing territory was, for a limited period, administered directly by the world organisation. Throughout his tenure, U Thant was deeply concerned with the question of Vietnam which was never formally debated in the General Assembly. In 1966, he put forward a three-stage proposal to create the conditions necessary for discussion, but it was ignored by the US.

From a United Nations publication, 2007.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that U Thant was a failure as UN Secretary-General?

SECTION B

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

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

- 2 Assess the view that neither the USA nor the USSR wanted a Cold War to develop in Europe in the years 1945–1949.
- 3 How far was the US policy of containment the cause of the globalisation of the Cold War in the years 1950–1980?

OR

- 4 How far do you agree that the Cuban Missile Crisis was the result of the US overreaction to Castro's coming to power in 1959?
- 5 Assess the view that the success of China and the failure of the USSR to survive the crisis of the 1980s were due to the quality of political leadership.
- 6 How far did nuclear weapons make the Cold War less dangerous in the years 1949 to 1980?
- 7 To what extent was Japan's 'economic miracle' the result of the economic policies of successive Japanese governments?
- 8 'Economic mismanagement, rather than war and famine, was Africa's most serious problem in the period 1970 to 1991.' Assess this view.

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Question 1 Source B © <http://FINDARTICLES.com/p/Articles>.
Question 1 Source C © www.atimes.com; 2003.
Question 1 Source D © www.sixdaywar.co.uk.
Question 1 Source E © www.un.org; 2007.

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