



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

HISTORY

9697/33

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

May/June 2013

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 a soft pencil for any rough working.

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

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.

THE USSR'S BOYCOTT OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, 1950

- 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

In January 1950 the Soviet representative, Jacob Malik, stormed out of a meeting of the Security Council in displeasure over the United Nations' refusal to unseat the Nationalist Chinese delegation. Hoping to prevent any future Security Council action, Malik announced that the Soviet Union would no longer attend its meetings. The remaining members of the Security Council decided to carry on despite the Soviet boycott. In June 1950, it became apparent that the Soviet action had backfired when the issue of North Korea's invasion of South Korea was brought before the Security Council. The Security Council voted to invoke military action by the United Nations for the first time in the organisation's history. The Soviets could have blocked the action in the Security Council, since the United States, Soviet Union, China, Britain and France each had absolute veto power, but no Russian delegate was present.

From an article in an Asian newspaper, 2011.

Source B

We left the Security Council to demonstrate solidarity with the new China, to make decisions of the Security Council illegitimate because of our absence, and to give the USA a free hand to commit more foolishness using a majority in the Security Council so that public opinion can see the true face of the American government. I believe that we have achieved these goals. Following our withdrawal from the Security Council, the USA became entangled in a military intervention in Korea and is now squandering its military prestige and moral authority. Few honest people can now doubt that the USA is acting as an aggressor and tyrant in Korea and that it is not as militarily powerful as it claims to be. It is clear that the USA is presently distracted from Europe in the Far East. This gives us an advantage in the global balance of power. We have returned to the Security Council to continue exposing the aggressive policy of the American government and to prevent it from using the Security Council as a smokescreen for its aggression.

Letter by Stalin to the Czechoslovak President, 27 August 1950.

Source C

In 1950 the Soviet Union boycotted the Security Council in protest against the Council's refusal to seat the communist representatives of China. In June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea, the absence of the Soviet Union enabled the Security Council to pass a resolution recommending member states to send forces to help South Korea. The Soviet Union challenged the legality of the resolution on the grounds that it had been passed in its absence. The Soviet boycott was itself probably a violation of the Soviet Union's obligations under Article 28(1), which provides: 'The Security Council shall be so organised as to be able to function continuously.'

From an article in a textbook on International Law, 1970.

Source D

Following the North Korean invasion in June 1950, the United States petitioned for Security Council intervention in the conflict. Approval was given for the deployment of a UN force, widely considered a diplomatic victory for the Western powers. Yet, Stalin not only predicted but actually desired American intervention in the Korean War. Stalin hoped for the United States to become entangled in military conflict in Korea and his decision to abstain effectively guaranteed that the Security Council would authorise intervention. Europe was the main priority in the Soviet Union's international strategy, and the Korean War was seen as an opportunity for the Soviet Union to strengthen socialism in Europe while diverting American interests and resources from that continent. From Stalin's perspective, China's intervention was inevitable and this would not only tie down the United States in conflicts in Asia, but also weaken the USA's overall stature and influence. Stalin believed in the inevitability of a third world war. The Soviet Union, unable to compete economically with American measures in Europe, desperately needed time to strengthen the socialist camp to prepare for a third world war. The Korean War offered Stalin a solution.

From an article by a Chinese academic, 2005.

Source E

Stalin's emphasis to North Korea on the need for a quick victory over South Korea indicates that he preferred no American military intervention. Not only did the USA respond militarily and prevent a quick North Korean victory, it took advantage of the Soviet boycott of the UN Security Council to push resolutions of support through that body. Why the Soviet Union did not return to the Security Council to prevent this remains uncertain. Stalin may have feared such action would increase the danger of a direct military confrontation with the USA. The decision not to return to the Security Council in late June was Stalin's decision alone, against the advice of his top aides. By late August, the USA had not only intervened in Korea, it also had begun a general military build-up and commenced a campaign to persuade its NATO allies to do the same. Preventive war against the Soviet Union was being discussed within the American government.

From an article by an American academic, 2005.

Now answer the following question.

'The Soviet Union's decision to boycott meetings of the UN Security Council in 1950 was a major error.' How far do Sources A–E support this view?

Section B

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

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

- 2 To what extent was the development of the Cold War between 1945 and 1949 the result of American determination to gain economic mastery over Europe?
- 3 'The Cold War was globalised between 1950 and 1980 despite the fact that neither the USA nor the USSR had expansionist ambitions.' How far do you agree?

OR

- 4 To what extent was the Soviet Union responsible for the American defeat in the Vietnam War?
- 5 'China's determination to play a leading role in the world communist movement after 1949 was the main reason for the Sino-Soviet split.' How far do you agree?
- 6 How effective were the SALT treaties in limiting the threat of nuclear war?
- 7 Assess the impact of Japan's economic miracle on the international economy.
- 8 How significant was the Brandt Report in the development of North-South relations?

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