



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



HISTORY

9697/32

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

October/November 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 UNITED NATIONS AND CYPRUS, 1964

- 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

The Republic of Cyprus was set up on 16 August 1960. The constitution provided many safeguards for the Turkish minority population. Within three years, abuse of these safeguards by the Turkish Cypriot leadership made the constitution unworkable, which necessitated proposals for constitutional amendments submitted by President Makarios. These were immediately rejected by the Turkish Government and subsequently by the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Turkey, in furtherance of its designs based on territorial aggrandisement, instigated the Turkish Cypriot leadership's resort to insurrection against the state. As a result of the inter-communal violence that ensued, the UN Security Council addressed the situation and, by Resolution 186 of 4 March 1964, a peacekeeping force was sent to Cyprus and a Mediator appointed. The Mediator's proposed amendments to the constitution were immediately rejected by Turkey.

From a report to the UN by the Greek Cypriot-controlled Government of the Republic of Cyprus, 2007.

Source B

In 1963, President Makarios proposed constitutional amendments intended to weaken the position of Turkish Cypriots, causing the loss of their rights to participate in government. Turkish objections to those amendments sparked violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Since then, Turkish Cypriots have found themselves excluded from the mechanisms of the state. A fundamental mistake was made in UN Security Council Resolution 186. According to International Law, in order to send UN troops to a country, consent of the relevant state is essential. With Cyprus, the approval of representatives of both parties should have been obtained, due to the structure of the 1960 Constitution based on power-sharing between the two communities. However, the UN Security Council undervalued the fact that Turkish Cypriots were driven away from all governmental bodies by force, and decision-making processes were usurped by Greek Cypriots. This was a gigantic blunder by the UN. The foremost reason for the presence of UN peacekeeping forces in Cyprus was the aggression of Greek Cypriots, the terrorism and killings to deprive Turkish Cypriots of their political rights, and place them in a minority status.

From an article by two Turkish Cypriot academics, 2007.

Source C

Cartoon depicting President Makarios, from a British newspaper, May 1964.

Source D

I am gravely concerned that the Turkish Government is contemplating intervention by military force to support an attempt by Turkish Cypriot leaders to partition Cyprus. Turkish intervention in Cyprus would lead to a military engagement between Turkish and Greek forces and could lead to direct involvement by the Soviet Union. The UN has provided forces on the island to keep the peace. Their task has been difficult but, during the past few weeks, they have been more successful in reducing the incidents of violence. Unilateral action by Turkey would defy the efforts of the UN and destroy any prospect that it could assist in obtaining a reasonable and peaceful settlement of this difficult problem. Such a Turkish move could lead to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. This would unleash the furies and there is no way by which military action on your part could be sufficiently effective to prevent wholesale destruction of many of those whom you are trying to protect. The presence of UN forces could not prevent such a catastrophe.

From a letter by US President Johnson to the Prime Minister of Turkey, June 1964.

Source E

Cyprus remains a powder keg surrounded by careless smokers. Chief among them is Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, whose attempt to overrun the Turkish Cypriot beachhead at Kokkina brought swift retaliation from Turkey in the form of jet fighters. What Makarios could not win by force, he now tried to gain by blockade. Bowing to the ceasefire order of the UN Security Council, Makarios fixed a grip of iron around the villages that house the Turkish Cypriot minority. The wells supplying 3,000 Turkish Cypriots surrounded in Ktima are drying up, and a UN tank truck was barred from entering the town with emergency water supplies. Makarios spent his week gently agreeing with every visitor from the UN, and then going his own way. Without much success, UN Commander Thimayya was frantically trying to get UN troops between the opposing sides at Kokkina to prevent another outbreak. He appealed to UN headquarters for more troops, arguing that his 6,000 men were not enough to keep the peace; but no one was volunteering. Declared Thimayya, 'I am completely pessimistic.'

From an article in an American magazine, August 1964.

Now answer the following question.

'President Makarios was the reason why the UN found it difficult to restore peace to Cyprus in 1964.'
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 'Between 1945 and 1949, Truman's main aim in Europe was to make the continent politically and economically dependent on the USA.' How far do you agree?
- 3 How far did détente in the 1970s achieve a genuine relaxation of tensions between the USA and the USSR?

OR

- 4 Should the outcome of the Korean War be seen as a victory or a defeat for the USA?
- 5 'Nationalist uprisings in Eastern Europe in the 1980s were an effect not a cause of the disintegration of the Soviet Union.' Discuss.
- 6 How far did the threat of nuclear war recede during the 1960s?
- 7 How far was Japan's economic miracle dependent on the guiding role played by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI)?
- 8 'That so many African states have found it difficult to achieve political and economic stability since independence is a consequence of colonialism.' How far do you agree?

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