



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/03**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

**May/June 2008**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**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.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.



**SECTION A: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945–1991**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**THE ROLES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL**

- 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 this General Assembly the small powers will be able, year in, year out, to make their voices heard in a free and democratic atmosphere.

We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the weight their voices will carry and the influence they will exert, will depend less on the UN Charter and on the functions of the Assembly, than on the wisdom and judgement by which it was inspired. Founded on reason its pronouncements will not fail to command the attention and respect of the Security Council.

Under Article 2 of the UN Charter the Organisation is based on the principle of equality of its members. This is not inconsistent with the fact that the chief responsibility for maintaining peace rests with the five Great Powers who are permanent members of the Security Council.

*From a speech by the President of the UN General Assembly, March 1946.*

**Source B**

The Security Council occupies a very important position in the UN. Under the terms of the Charter, it has the principal responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Has the Security Council fulfilled the mission given to it?

At the San Francisco Conference, we criticised the veto rules allowed in the Security Council. But the Conference was prepared to apply the system loyally. Experience has justified our objections. We are ready to continue the experiment. We recognise that the nations are not yet sufficiently conscious of their interdependence and that all are not ready to accept the decision of the majority. If the members of the Security Council do not make prudent use of the veto power then it will be reduced to impotence, incapable of fulfilling its mission.

*From a speech by the head of the Belgian Delegation to the UN General Assembly,  
24 October 1946.*

**Source C**

The General Assembly resolves that if the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with the view to making appropriate recommendations to members for collective measures. These will include cases of a breach of peace or act of aggression. The General Assembly will support the use of armed force when necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency session within 24 hours of a request to meet by a majority of UN members or by the Security Council on the vote of any seven members.

**Source D**

Shortly after the start of the Korean War, following the USSR's veto in the Security Council, the USA proposed the 'Uniting for Peace Resolution', which was passed in 1950. The idea behind the resolution was that if the Security Council could not act because a member state, at that time the USSR, vetoed action that was important to maintaining peace, then the General Assembly should take over the task.

The 'Uniting for Peace Resolution' procedure has been used 10 times since 1950. After Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal, in 1956, Britain and France attacked and occupied part of the canal. Cease-fire resolutions in the Security Council were vetoed by Britain and France. The USA went to the General Assembly and called for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces. In the face of strong resolutions from the General Assembly it took less than a week for Britain and France to withdraw.

'Uniting for Peace' was again used by the USA to pressure the USSR to cease its intervention in Hungary, in 1956, after the USSR had used its veto against action in the Security Council. The General Assembly ordered the USSR to stop its intervention in Hungary and withdraw.

*From an article by a lawyer, 2003.*

**Source E**

For 30 years America's veto policy in the UN has been central to its foreign policy. More than 70 times the US has shamelessly used its veto at the UN. Most of America's vetoes have been to support its ally Israel. It has vetoed a resolution calling for the Israeli withdrawal from the Syrian Golan Heights (January 1982). It also vetoed a resolution condemning the killing of 11 Muslims by Israeli soldiers near the Al Aqsa mosque (April 1982). Finally it vetoed a resolution condemning the Israeli slaughter of Lebanese refugees at the UN camp at Qana (April 1986).

So here's an idea that just might make the US administration angry. It's a forgotten UN General Assembly resolution called Uniting for Peace, a relic of the Cold War. It was pushed through the General Assembly by the USA to prevent a Soviet veto at the time of the Korean War, and actually used in the Suez Crisis. It makes clear that the UN General Assembly can step in to restore peace if the Security Council is not unanimous. It has done so 10 times since 1950, most frequently on the initiative of the USA.

*From an article by a British journalist, 2003.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A-E support the view that the UN General Assembly was given a more powerful role than the UN Security Council in the maintenance of international peace?*

## SECTION B

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

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

- 2 Consider the view that the USSR was more responsible than the USA for the outbreak and development of the Cold War in the period from 1945 to 1949.
- 3 How far was the USA's policy of containment responsible for the globalisation of the Cold War in the period from 1950 to 1985?

OR

- 4 'Too little, too late'. Consider this view of US intervention in Vietnam.
- 5 'Internal factors were more important than external factors in explaining the collapse of the USSR in 1991.' How far do you agree?
- 6 How successful were the two superpowers in controlling the development and spread of nuclear weapons in the period from 1949 to 1991?
- 7 How far did the USA's role in the world economy change in the period from 1945 to 1991?
- 8 To what extent were the problems facing the Third World, in the period from 1960 to 1991, caused by the activities of multi-national corporations?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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