



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

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HISTORY

9697/32

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.

CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

- 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 UN Charter was originally signed by the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the China of Chiang Kai-shek. They pledged themselves to the establishment of an order of international relations in which principles, not expediency, were to rule. Since then, the government of Chiang Kai-shek, by force and violence, has been overthrown by the ruthless tyranny of Mao Zedong. This communist government of China seeks admission to the UN which, however, continues to accept the credentials of Chiang Kai-shek. The Soviet Union, of course, supports the admission of the communist government. The United States vigorously opposes Red China's admission. The advocates of the admission of Red China into the UN contend that its government has effective control over practically the whole of the Chinese territory and is the legal government of the country. This argument, if accepted, would ensure a return to the cynical concept of international relations in which principle was discarded in favour of expediency and convenience.

From an article in an Irish magazine, 1954.

Source B

Restoring to China her seat in the United Nations would contribute greatly to easing international tension. The injustice and the danger of ignoring the right of one of the Great Powers can no longer be tolerated. Some countries, for selfish motives, are unwilling to recognise the urgent need to correct this situation. China is one of the original members of the UN and, as one of the Great Powers, is entitled to a permanent seat on the Security Council. The People's Revolution, which triumphed in China after the UN Charter came into being, resulted in the overthrow of a corrupt regime. The authority of People's China extends to all China, with the exception of Taiwan, which has been turned into an American military base. Having become master of their country for the first time, the people of China are increasingly directing their creative energy towards building and consolidating their statehood. The new state is both democratic and stable.

From an article by a Chinese academic, 1956.

Source C

Red China is in open contempt of every single principle of the UN Charter. It has inflicted 'a scourge of war' (which the Charter pledges to prevent) by its invasion of Korea to fight the forces of the UN. It has violated 'the dignity and worth of the human person' by its continuing destruction of the people of Tibet. It flouts international law by refusing to end its illegal occupation of India's border lands. It is helping to overthrow the legal government of Laos and has violated its pledges in the Korean ceasefire agreement. Since 1951, the US has been able to win (last year by a vote of 42 to 34 with 22 abstentions) a moratorium on discussing the admission of Red China. The important thing is to keep the fight on principle. The smaller nations, who need the UN most of all, have no interest in helping the Soviets let Red China shoot its way into the very organisation it has used its guns against.

From an editorial in an American magazine, 1961.

Source D

It would be desirable from everybody's point of view if some way could be found of bringing the 600 million people of mainland China back into effective relations with the rest of the world. It is often argued that the early realisation of what the present Communist regime on the mainland claims as its legal and moral right – to represent China in the United Nations – would go far towards accomplishing this purpose. I must confess to a considerable scepticism concerning the predictions often made about the changes in attitude and behaviour the Chinese Communists would display if they were admitted to the United Nations. There has been nothing in China's actions or declarations over the years to indicate that UN membership is so highly valued by the Chinese that they would of their own accord significantly modify any of their other major goals in order to achieve this one. The record indicates rather that the contrary is true.

From an article in an American magazine, 1962.

Source E

The government of Great Britain is politically and legally opposed to the representation of the state of China by the government established on the island of Taiwan. In the opinion of Britain, 'the government of the People's Republic of China is the government of China. That being so, the PRC should be seated in the UN as the representatives of the State of China.' The American viewpoint appears to be less concerned with the legal merits of the problem. It continues to support the regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as the government entitled to represent the island of Taiwan and the Chinese mainland in the UN. The United States' public policy persists in justifying this support primarily on political grounds, such as with reference to the political ideal of democratic and humanitarian institutions allegedly championed by the regime of Taiwan.

From an article by an American academic, 1963.

Now answer the following question.

'In the 1950s and 1960s, the People's Republic of China was wrongly denied membership of the United Nations.' 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 'The development of the Cold War from 1945 to 1949 was caused more by the superpowers' need for security than by their desire for expansion.' How far do you agree?
- 3 'It was America's excessive fear of communism which caused the globalisation of the Cold War.' Discuss.

OR

- 4 How far was the USA responsible for the Cuban missile crisis?
- 5 Mikhail Gorbachev has been described as 'the most gifted leader Russia had seen for many years'. Why, then, did the USSR collapse within six years of his coming to power?
- 6 How accurate is the view that the Soviet Union achieved supremacy in the nuclear arms race during the 1970s?
- 7 Assess the reasons for Japan's economic recovery after World War II.
- 8 'Political instability was the main problem facing Africa in the period from 1960 to 1991.' How far do you agree?

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Question 1 Source A © Eugene Goulding; *Should Red China be admitted to the UN?*; The Irish Monthly Vol. 83, No.970; June 1954.
Question 1 Source B © G Tunkin; *Time to Restore China's Representation in the UN*; International Affairs Vol. 2, No.10; 1956.
Question 1 Source C © Life Magazine; 22 November 1961.
Question 1 Source D © A M Halpern; *The China Quarterly*; 1962.
Question 1 Source E © F B Shick; *The Question of China in the UN*; 1963; <http://heionline.org>.

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