

**HISTORY**

9697/33

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

October/November 2014

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 an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

DO **NOT** WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

**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 DECOLONISATION**

- 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 newly-independent nations that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s became an important factor in changing the balance of power within the UN. In 1946, there were 35 member states in the UN. As the newly-independent nations of the Third World joined, membership had swelled to 127 by 1970. These countries became vocal advocates of continuing decolonisation, with the result that the UN General Assembly was often ahead of the Security Council on issues of decolonisation. The USA grew increasingly concerned that Soviet-supported communist parties might achieve power in the new states. This might shift the international balance of power in favour of the Soviet Union. Thus, the USA used aid packages, technical assistance and sometimes even military intervention to encourage newly-independent nations in the Third World to adopt governments that aligned with the West. The Soviet Union deployed similar tactics in an effort to encourage new nations to join the communist bloc.

*From an article on the US Department of State website, 2012.*

**Source B**

Our century is the century of the struggle for freedom and nations are liberating themselves from foreign domination. Is the solution to major international problems really conceivable today without the participation of these newly-independent states? If anyone has this idea, let him try to disregard the votes of the representatives of the Asian, African and Latin American states in the UN. The appearance of the new Asian and African states in the UN is causing apprehension in certain Western countries. Indeed, people are beginning to discuss ways of limiting the further influx of newly-emerging states into the UN. The Soviet Union is glad to see a great number of new states joining the UN. We oppose any curtailment of the rights of peoples who have won their national independence. We share with these states the desire to create conditions for the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of countries regardless of their political and social structure.

*Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, addressing the UN General Assembly, September 1960.*

**Source C**

We warmly welcome the representatives of the newly-independent states admitted to the United Nations. We stand at a decisive moment in the history of mankind. Instead of drawing closer together, the two main powers, in whose hands the future of mankind may lie, have moved alarmingly far from one another. In Europe, Asia, Africa and America bitter conflicts are being constantly aggravated by ideological influences and struggles which have their roots in the Cold War. The considerable increase in the number of member states brings us to the question of a possible revision of the Charter. My country believes that there should be an increase in the number of members of the Security Council, so that it may be more representative of the total membership of the UN. We also favour abolishing the veto in the Security Council so that it may be more effective and the rights of member states more fairly represented.

*The Venezuelan\* representative, addressing the UN General Assembly, October 1960.*

*\*(Venezuela had been a member of the UN since 1945.)*

**Source D**

The UN's function to secure peace came quickly to a standstill because of the ideological confrontation between two blocs. The 'peace-loving' major powers soon became the catalyst for the most dangerous breakdown in peace in their fight to achieve influence in the Third World. Decolonisation had a grave impact on the UN. The states which had recently achieved independence all joined the UN. Fifty new members were added between 1955 and 1962. As a consequence, the UN developed from a committee, which earlier had consisted primarily of the Allies from the Second World War, into a genuine world organisation. The industrial nations, headed by the USA – as the payer of the largest subscriptions by far – lamented the 'tyranny of the majority' of the Third World in the General Assembly. Since the developing countries contributed less than three percent of the UN budget, the Americans were less and less prepared to accept their recommendations and resolutions on important questions.

*From a book by two German academics, 1995.*

**Source E**

Decolonisation and the devastating consequences of the Cold War ensured that Africa would become the UN's major area of involvement after 1960. In Africa, the UN would face some of its greatest Cold War-era challenges and endure several stunning failures. During its first decade, the UN was largely western-dominated. Thus, despite the Cold War divide, the western powers could still depend upon healthy majorities in the General Assembly to promote their interests at the UN. By 1965, the General Assembly was undergoing a transformation. In the preceding decade membership had nearly doubled, to 118, with a majority of 63 states from non-European backgrounds. The West was losing control of the General Assembly and many of the other UN institutions. In 1970, as a sign of things to come, the United States cast its first veto in the Security Council, the first of more than 70 over the next two decades.

*From an article in 'The Journal of Third World Studies', 2005.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The established members of the United Nations welcomed the expansion of the UN that resulted from decolonisation.' 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 in the period from 1945 to 1949 was due to Stalin's expansionist policies.' Assess the validity of this judgement.
- 3 To what extent was the globalisation of the Cold War in the period from 1950 to 1985 caused by the USA's determination to follow a policy of containment?

OR

- 4 'A war which had to be fought.' How far do you agree with this assessment of American involvement in the Vietnam War?
- 5 How justified is the view that economic problems were the main reason for the collapse of the Soviet Union by 1991?
- 6 To what extent were changes in the USA's nuclear defence strategies in the period from 1950 to 1980 a direct result of the USSR's increasing nuclear capability?
- 7 Which did more to stimulate Japan's economic recovery after World War II: the USA or Japanese governments?
- 8 To what extent did international aid benefit the developing world in the period from 1950 to 1991?

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| Source B | © Minutes of UN General Assembly; September 1960.   |
| Source C | © Minutes of UN General Assembly; October 1960.   |
| Source D | © Gunther Unser & Michaela Wimmer; <i>Die Vereinten Nationen. Zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit</i> , Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn; <a href="http://www.dadalos.org/uno_int/grundkurs_2/un-entwicklung_2.htm">http://www.dadalos.org/uno_int/grundkurs_2/un-entwicklung_2.htm</a> ; 1995. |
| Source E | © Christopher O'Sullivan; <i>The United Nations, Decolonisation and Self-Determination in Cold War Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1994</i> ; Journal of Third World Studies; 2005.  |

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