



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 2011**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials:      Answer Paper

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**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.

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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.

### WEAKNESSES OF 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

It may be, perhaps, a little bold to remind you that this is not the first experiment of the kind that has been undertaken in this world, and that, alas, the first experiment was not a success. It is very much more difficult than one may think to be a real and a good representative to an Assembly like this. Each of us must first of all make an effort to sink our preferences, to put aside our particular sympathies and our particular antipathies. Naturally, we must all watch over the interests of our respective countries, but we shall not succeed unless we are convinced that those interests must take their place in the wider setting of the general interest. We must be conscious, over and above the interests of our own country, of the interests of the world and of mankind. We must not be, here, 51 different delegations from 51 different countries whose only purpose is to add up 51 national interests. We must, on the contrary, have the feeling that we are 51 delegations to the same Assembly which collectively represents the interests of the world.

*Address by the President of the UN General Assembly to its Second Plenary Meeting,  
January 1946.*

#### Source B

At the UN, the conventional wisdom is – ‘there is nothing wrong with the UN; all that is required to make it work is the political will of its members.’ Unfortunately, that conventional wisdom is wrong. Political will could not make the weak League of Nations work and political will is not enough to enable the weak UN to do the job it was established to do – the job of keeping the peace.

A Security Council that can be rendered impotent by the vote of one nation cannot begin to guarantee security. A General Assembly that can pass resolutions with the votes of nations representing less than 10% of the world’s population, and some 3% of the gross world product, will not have, and cannot get, the respect it must have if its decisions are to be taken seriously.

A UN with a regular budget smaller than that of New York City cannot do the things it was established to do. And the UN has no taxing power, no way to get money from any government without that government’s consent.

*From an article in ‘New Jersey [USA] Law Journal’, December 1985.*

### **Source C**

After the carnage of World War II, many nations were determined not to go through that again. We began to plan the United Nations Organisation. In October 1945, the Charter was ratified by fifty nations at San Francisco. Enthusiasm ran high. The UN Charter was completed on 26 June 1945 – six weeks before Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In 1986 the US Congress reduced its financial support of the UN by over half, largely because it did not like certain expenditures. In the past, the Soviet Union has also failed to pay its UN dues for the same reason. In 1987 the US still owed \$414 million, including \$61 million for peacekeeping forces that the US opposed. In his last budget request, President Reagan asked for full UN current funding and about a 10% payment on US past dues. In his first budget, Bush made the same request. US Congress was still unwilling to honour our obligations. The cost of only one Stealth bomber would cover our disgracefully broken contractual agreements with the UN, and with humanity's future.

*From 'Planethood', a book by two American academics, 1991.*

### **Source D**

The mythology about the UN is absolutely breathtaking. People, especially in the USA, believe it costs a great deal of money. Completely untrue: it doesn't. The United States makes a net gain. People believe it's a world government, although the UN has always been a pathetically weak organisation which improvises in emergencies to try to prevent the worst from happening. The UN certainly needs a great deal of administrative reform, it needs much better leadership, it needs much better management, it needs to have a better civil service. But these things can be done, provided governments are prepared really to support their organisation.

*Sir Brian Urquhart (Senior Adviser to the UN Secretary General from 1945 to 1986), speaking in 1996.*

### **Source E**

The UN organisation is far from providing a satisfactory system of international law and peace. There is a General Assembly which consists of nearly 200 countries, operating on the absurd system of one vote each for China and India which have around a billion people each, and one vote also for Andorra and San Marino, which have under 100 000 inhabitants. The 15-country Security Council, which contains the Great Powers – except those that were defeated in World War Two – does at least give more weight to the larger countries, but even that is hardly an effective international forum. It has always consisted of a number of governments jockeying for position and which often have interests at stake within an area of dispute.

*From an article in the British 'Financial Times', December 2002.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The effectiveness of the UN has been hindered more by the self-interest of member states than by its own structural weaknesses.' 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 Truman Doctrine was a symptom not a cause of the Cold War.’ How far do you agree?
  
- 3** ‘The globalisation of the Cold War between 1950 and 1975 was caused by the USA’s misguided and irrational fear of Soviet intentions.’ How far do you agree?

### OR

- 4** How far were Arab-Israeli relations affected by the Cold War between 1956 and 1979?
  
- 5** ‘Deng Xiaoping’s move towards market socialism was both the cause of the crisis of Chinese communism and the reason why it survived.’ How far do you agree?
  
- 6** How and why did the USA’s nuclear deterrence strategies develop between 1954 and 1967?
  
- 7** How important was the USA to the development of the international economy in the period from 1945 to 1980?
  
- 8** ‘In the period from 1970 to 1991, international aid did more to hinder than assist Third World countries in the development of their economies.’ How far do you agree?

*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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| Question 1 Source D | © <a href="http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/UN/urquhart/urquhart/urquhart7.html">http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/UN/urquhart/urquhart/urquhart7.html</a> ; 6 November 2009.                             |
| Question 1 Source E | © Samuel Brittan; <i>The flaw in the UN</i> ; Financial Times; 2002; <a href="http://www.samuelbrittan.co.uk/text134_p/html">www.samuelbrittan.co.uk/text134_p/html</a> .                                |

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