



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

---

**HISTORY**

**9697/33**

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 THE KASHMIR PROBLEM**

- 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 Kashmir conflict began with the 1947 partition of the Indian subcontinent into the independent states of India and Pakistan. Kashmir refused to accede to either nation, hoping instead to remain independent. Pakistani forces promptly invaded Kashmir. Kashmir acceded to Indian rule in exchange for military aid in repelling the Pakistanis and quelling domestic rebellion. Nevertheless, Pakistani forces retained control over the western third of Kashmir. The UN has issued a number of resolutions aimed at ending the armed conflict, removing Indian and Pakistani troops from Kashmir, and resolving the Kashmir question by plebiscite. To date there has been no successful resolution of the issue. The UN is not to blame for the political stagnation over the Kashmir issue. It is an unfortunate historical fact that in Kashmir both sides have some historical justification for their position and there is no compromise solution which, even if it could somehow be imposed, would be acceptable to both parties.

*From an article by an Australian academic, 1994.*

**Source B**

The UN is now facing another crucial test. The test is Kashmir, where India is defying the Security Council's orders and repudiating its own pledge to hold a plebiscite in that divided and hate-ridden land. What Kashmir does involve is whether the UN and its prestige are to grow or to dwindle. It is an issue which has already led once to undeclared war between India and Pakistan, and if left unsettled could well lead to another bloody conflict. During the impasse, India has created a puppet 'Constituent Assembly' which claims to represent the whole state. The Security Council has reaffirmed its previous four resolutions calling for a plebiscite which India has time and again pledged to hold. But the Indian delegate not only denounced the resolution but argued that accession was now an accomplished fact which invalidated all past promises of a plebiscite. Kashmir is only the latest of many defiances of the UN.

*From an article in an American magazine, February 1957.*

**Source C**

Kashmir was among the first crises that the UN had to confront. Sixty years have passed since the Kashmir conflict was first debated in the UN and yet the conflict continues to elude a solution. Between 1948 and 1971, the UN Security Council passed 23 resolutions on Kashmir. The resolutions are recommendatory in nature and can be enforced only if the parties to the dispute (India and Pakistan) consent to their application. The disputed status of Kashmir, as declared by the UN, strengthened the Kashmiri people's distinct political identity. Though the UN has failed in bringing about a solution to the Kashmir puzzle, its past involvement has undoubtedly provided legitimacy and strength to the separatist argument in Kashmir. Ironically, on the one hand, Kashmiri separatism has drawn strength from the UN resolutions. However, on the other hand, the framing of the Kashmir Conflict as an India-Pakistan Conflict in the UN has prevented international recognition of the Kashmiri nationalist movement.

*From an article by a Kashmiri academic, 2008.*

**Source D**

Kashmir is an integral part of India. It acceded to India by an Instrument of Accession in 1947 which is recognised under international law. Pakistan has behaved like a terrorist state. It sent tribal raiders into Kashmir in 1947 and occupied part of the state. It again trained, armed and infiltrated fundamentalist-terrorists in 1965, 1971 and in 1989–90. Pakistanis claim that India has failed to fulfil the UN resolution. The facts are quite to the contrary. Pakistan never complied with the UN resolution requiring it to withdraw from Kashmir which was a pre-requisite to any plebiscite in Kashmir. The failure to hold a plebiscite was entirely the result of Pakistan's default to carry out the obligations imposed upon her by the UN resolutions. India and Pakistan are required to refrain from use of force and to sort out bilateral issues by negotiations and not by internationalisation of the issue, and as such the UN has no jurisdiction on Kashmir.

*From an article by an Indian academic on the Kashmir Information Network website, 2001.*

**Source E**

Mohammad Ghalib said Kashmir has become a most dangerous issue for global peace because of the United Nations' failure to address the problem and provide justice to the people of Kashmir. Addressing a function held in connection with Right to Self Determination Day of Kashmiri People, he said 'the responsibility for making Kashmir the world's most dangerous place and the massacre of over half a million people lies on the shoulders of the United Nations, which has failed to resolve the issue in the last 64 years.' He said the Kashmir issue remained unresolved and inaction on the part of the UN had encouraged India to play havoc with the lives and properties of Kashmiri people. He said that India itself had taken the issue to the UN and pledged that Kashmiris would be given the chance to decide their future, but with the passage of time India did not fulfil its commitments.

*Report of a speech by the President of a UK-based Kashmiri organisation, 2010.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that the United Nations is responsible for the fact that no permanent solution has been found for the Kashmir problem?*

## Section B

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

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

- 2 'The Cold War broke out in Europe between 1945 and 1949 for economic rather than political reasons.' How far do you agree?
- 3 How far was American policy responsible for the globalisation of the Cold War?

**OR**

- 4 Compare and contrast the policies of the USA and the USSR towards Korea in the period from 1950 to 1953.
- 5 Consider the view that the collapse of the USSR was caused by Gorbachev's attempts to modernise it.
- 6 To what extent did the nuclear arms race make the world a more dangerous place in the period from 1949 to 1963?
- 7 Analyse the factors which led to the decline in American dominance of the international economy by the 1980s.
- 8 'The success of the Asian Tiger economies was largely the result of favourable domestic circumstances.' How far do you agree?

---

*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

- Source A © Summary by Tanya Glaser, Conflict Research Consortium, of Felicity Volk; *Kashmir: The Problem of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributing to Political Stasis*, in eds. K Clements and Robin Ward; *Building International Community*; Allen & Unwin; 1994.
- Source B © Life Magazine, 11 February 1957.
- Source C © Wajahat Ahmad; *Kashmir and the United Nations*; www.countercurrents.org; 2008.
- Source D © Keshav Dev Sharma; *Kashmir Facts to Dismantle Pakistani Disinformation*; Kashmir Information Network; 2001.
- Source E © South Asian News Agency; 18 August 2010.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.