



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

**October/November 2012**

**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.

### SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR REFORM OF THE UN SECRETARIAT, 1960–1961

- 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 the autumn of 1960, the word ‘Troika’ was on everyone’s lips. Dissatisfied with the actions of Hammarskjöld, who was then Secretary-General, in the Congolese peacekeeping operation, Khrushchev demanded that the division of the world into socialist, capitalist and non-aligned states be organisationally codified in the structure of the UN’s executive body, its Secretariat, up to and including the appointment of three Secretaries-General instead of the one stipulated by the Charter. Thus, the term ‘Troika’. This expressed not only an insistence on the principle of equal representation and participation in the UN, where, generally speaking, the Western powers were running things at the time, but also a broader strategic position, an assessment of the future.

*From an article by a Russian political commentator, 1989.*

#### Source B

The appearance of the new Asian and African states in the UN is worrying Western countries. We are now convinced that the time has come to take steps to create conditions to improve the UN. The matter relates primarily to the Secretary-General, currently Mr Hammarskjöld, and his staff. We must particularly bear in mind the necessity for certain changes and improvements with a view to the immediate future. We consider it reasonable and just for the executive of the UN to consist not of a single person – the Secretary-General – but of three persons invested with the highest trust of the UN, persons representing the states belonging to the three basic groups – the military block of the Western Powers, the socialist states and the neutralist states. This composition of the UN executive would create conditions for a more correct implementation of the decisions taken. The Soviet Government hopes that these proposals will meet with support and understanding, since they are prompted by a sincere desire to secure a better life and tranquillity on our planet.

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

**Source C**

*HM HUSSEIN, KING OF JORDAN:* Almost from birth, the Soviet Union has sought to destroy the UN, to hamper its deliberations, to block its decisions and, by rowdy tactics and bad-tempered walk-outs, to damage the reputation of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The most recent illustration of this attitude has been its attempt to weaken the powers of the Secretary-General. These are only slightly concealed efforts to destroy the UN itself. The Arab people will never bow to communism, no matter what excuse it uses to force itself upon us.

*MR NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA:* During these past fifteen years, the UN has often been criticised for its structure and for some of its activities. These criticisms have had some justification behind them. The structure of the UN when it started was weighted in favour of Europe and the Americas. With the growth of the UN and with more countries coming into it, that structure today is still more unbalanced. Even so, we wish to proceed slowly and with agreement and not to press for any change which would involve an immediate amendment of the Charter and the raising of heated controversies.

*From the Official Record of the 882<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Meeting of the UN General Assembly, October 1960.*

**Source D**

The role of Secretary-General can better be filled by one man rather than three. To install a triumvirate, or any panel, or any rotating authority in the UN administrative offices would replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis, confidence with confusion. The Secretary-General is the servant of the General Assembly. Diminish his authority and you diminish the authority of the only body where all nations, regardless of power, are equal and sovereign. In view of the enormous change in membership in this body since its founding, the American delegation will join in any effort for the prompt review and revision of the composition of UN bodies. But to give this organisation three drivers, to permit each Great Power to decide its own case, would be to accept the Cold War in the headquarters of peace.

*US President Kennedy addressing the General Assembly following the death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, September 1961.*

**Source E**

The UN Charter describes the Secretary-General as 'the chief administrative officer of the organisation'. It limits his political initiative to 'bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security'. However, the Security Council has been rendered powerless by the Cold War and the General Assembly has been made unwieldy by the increase in membership from the original 51 to the present 127. The present importance of the office of the Secretary-General, unforeseen and unintended by the Charter, is a function of this decline of the Security Council and the General Assembly as the main political organs of the United Nations. Hammarskjold (Secretary-General 1953–61) had to take decisions that should have been taken by the Security Council or the General Assembly, and he was subjected to attacks and accusations by the Soviet Union. Khrushchev invited him to resign, and even tried to replace him with a troika of Secretaries-General, each with veto power.

*From an academic thesis at the University of Wyoming, USA, 1972.*

Now answer the following question.

*'A genuine attempt to improve the structure and effectiveness of the United Nations.'* How far do Sources A–E support this interpretation of Soviet demands for reform of the UN Secretariat in 1960–61?

## Section B

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

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

- 2 'The USA did little to prevent the breakdown in relations with the USSR from 1945 to 1949.' How far do you agree?
- 3 'From 1950 to 1980, the Cold War consisted of a series of separate regional conflicts in which the superpowers became reluctantly involved.' How far do you agree?

**OR**

- 4 'Confused and inconsistent.' How fair is this assessment of American policy towards Korea from 1950 to 1953?
- 5 To what extent was the Sino-Soviet split the result of ideological differences?
- 6 Analyse the significance of the SALT Treaties.
- 7 To what extent did the USA's role in the world economy change between 1945 and 1991?
- 8 'External rather than internal factors better explain the emergence of the Asian Tiger economies.' How far do you agree?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

- Question 1 Source A      © <http://dlib.eastview.com/browse/doc/13549169>.  
 Question 1 Source C      © Minutes of UN General Assembly; <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1960khrushchev-un1.html>.  
 Question 1 Source E      © L Ching-Li-Meng; *U Thant's Political Influence as UN Secretary General*; University of Wyoming; 1972;  
    <http://gradworks.umi.com/EP/16/EP16079.html>.

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