



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

HISTORY

9697/31

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

October/November 2011

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 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

- 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

On 16 October 1962, President Kennedy learned that the Soviet Union was building nuclear missile installations in Cuba. He announced a 'naval quarantine' of Cuba, pushing the world closer to nuclear war than ever before. In the deepening crisis, UN Secretary-General U Thant was to play a significant role in de-escalating and then resolving the nuclear standoff between the superpowers. He sent appeals and messages, relayed proposals, offered reassurances, advanced the 'non-invasion for missiles' formula that formed the basis of the final agreement, shuttled to Cuba to mollify Castro, and helped secure a verification agreement. Kennedy said 'U Thant has put the world deeply in his debt.' Certainly for U Thant and his UN organisation, the Cuban missile crisis was 'their finest hour'.

It is unfortunate that the role of the Secretary-General has gone unsung in the history of the crisis. In fact, the UN and U Thant enjoyed enormous public prominence during the crisis. Headlines in American and Russian newspapers hailed U Thant for his part in de-escalating the crisis. It was only later, as history was being written, that the UN was edged out. The view that Kennedy's threat of force alone had compelled the Soviets to back down was vigorously advanced.

From a paper entitled 'Unsung Mediator: U Thant and the Cuban Missile Crisis', 2009.

Source B

Regarding your conciliatory efforts, we repeat to you our refusal of unilateral inspection on the part of any organisation, national or international, of Cuban territory. It is an inalienable right of a sovereign nation to resolve, within its territory, all the problems in agreement with the will of its government and its people. Each day the incursions of war planes over our territory grow more alarming. No sovereign state can allow its air space to be violated in this manner. The right of Cuba to resist such violations is irrevocable. We believe in the right to defend liberty, sovereignty, and the dignity of this nation and we will exercise it up to the last man, woman or child capable of holding a weapon.

Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, in a letter to UN Secretary-General U Thant, 16 November 1962.

Source C

Among the factors that must have influenced Khrushchev was the speed and evident resolution with which the United States government acted. The prompt and successful implementation of the naval quarantine around Cuba, the rapid securing of NATO support, the speed of the American conventional military build up and the alert measures taken by American strategic forces around the world, must all in varying degrees have impressed the Soviet leader. American preparation doubtless had persuaded Khrushchev that he had to act quickly in order to limit his losses.

From a book entitled 'Strategic Power and Soviet Foreign Policy', 1966.

Source D

U Thant can hardly be said to have left the office of United Nations Secretary-General in a blaze of glory. In many quarters the dominant emotion aroused by the prospect of his departure was relief, accompanied by something approaching elation at the thought of a new man in the job. For, in the words of a widely-circulating journal more than a year earlier, 'U Thant has become one of the most publicly lauded – and privately belittled – figures on the current world scene, the man who is most often blamed for the UN's steady decline in world prestige and power.' For example, the then head of the UN information services now says that the failure, in 1962, of the plan for UN supervision of the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba might have been averted 'if U Thant had pressed Castro more vigorously.'

From a paper entitled 'U Thant and his Critics' in 'The Year Book of World Affairs', 1972.

Source E

U Thant contributed greatly to defusing the crisis over Cuba. In his address to the Security Council on 24 October 1962, U Thant underlined that what was at stake was the very fate of mankind. He called for urgent negotiations between the parties directly involved, and sent appeals to President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev. For the USSR it would entail a voluntary suspension of all arms shipments to Cuba. For the USA it would entail a voluntary suspension of the quarantine, especially the searching of ships bound for Cuba. After the American and Soviet acceptances of this appeal, U Thant travelled to Cuba [30/31 October] for conversations with Cuban leaders. U Thant's visit was of importance since it gave the Cuban leaders an opportunity to let off steam. Subsequently, American and Soviet negotiators sent a joint letter to U Thant which stated 'on behalf of the Governments of the USA and the Soviet Union, we express our appreciation for your efforts in assisting our Governments to avert the serious threat to peace which arose in the Caribbean area.' U Thant, in his reply, kept pressing home the point of continued vigilance: 'I am also confident that all Governments concerned will refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation in any way.' U Thant's preventative diplomacy thus continued!

From a paper entitled 'U Thant's Preventative Diplomacy During the Cuban Missile Crisis', printed in a UN publication, 2008.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that UN Secretary-General U Thant played a vital role in bringing the Cuban missile crisis to a peaceful conclusion?

Section B

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

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

- 2 'The Berlin Blockade of 1948 marked the start of the Cold War.' How far do you agree?
- 3 How far is it true to say that, between 1950 and 1980, the Cold War consisted largely of a series of separate and unconnected regional conflicts?

OR

- 4 'A terrible mistake.' How fair is this assessment of the USA's involvement in the Vietnam War?
- 5 'Khrushchev was responsible for the deteriorating relations between China and the USSR after 1956.' How far do you agree?
- 6 To what extent can the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 be seen as a success?
- 7 'The international economy was dominated by the USA throughout the period from 1945 to 1991.' How far do you agree?
- 8 To what extent is it true to say that decolonisation rarely led to genuine independence?

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- Question 1 Source A © A. W. Dorn & R. Pauk; *Unsung Mediator; U Thant and the Cuban Missile Crisis*; Wiley Periodicals; 2009.
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 Question 1 Source C © A. L. Horelick & M. Rush; *Strategic Power & Soviet Foreign Policy*; http://www.ria.ie/cgi_bin/ria/papers/100690.pdf; 1966.
 Question 1 Source D © A. James; *U Thant and His Critics*; Stevens and Sons; 1972.
 Question 1 Source E © B. G. Ramcharan; *Preventative Diplomacy at the UN*; <http://unspecial.org/UNS680/+23.html>; 2008.

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