

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

HISTORY

9697/03

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

October/November 2004

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.
Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer **four** questions.

You must answer **Question 1** (Section A) and **three** questions from Section B.

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

You must answer Question 1.

THE USE OF THE VETO BY PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

USE OF THE VETO IN OPEN SESSIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL & MEMBERSHIP OF THE UN 1945–91							
	CHINA*	FRANCE	UK	USA	USSR	TOTAL	MEMBERS JOINING
1945	–	–	–	–	–	–	50
1946–55	1	2	–	–	79	82	24
1956–65	–	2	3	–	26	31	41
1966–75	2	2	10	12	7	33	24
1976–85	–	9	11	34	6	60	14
1986–91	–	3	8	23	–	34	9
TOTAL	3	18	32	69	118	240	162

Key: * = Until 1971, China was represented by the Republic of China (Taiwan)

Table based on UN statistics.

Source B

Many UN diplomats are unhappy about the veto. Those who support the existing situation often insist that the most powerful countries must be given special privileges at the UN to keep them involved. But reformers point out that – contrary to common opinion – the permanent members have not necessarily been the most powerful countries of the day. For half the lifetime of the UN, the government of a small island nation in Asia – Taiwan – occupied one permanent seat.

The use of the veto alone is not a measure of its importance. According to knowledgeable delegates, permanent members frequently threaten to use the veto in closed-door consultations as a means to get their way. This practice is called a 'closet veto'.

Vetoes (whether threatened or actually used) are a block to action. A single veto-wielding power can stop international response dead in its tracks and totally frustrate the will of the overwhelming majority of the international community.

Vetoes have not just been cast to block important resolutions. Over the years, 59 vetoes have been cast to block the admission of member-states as well as numerous vetoes cast to block nominations for Secretary-General. The veto strangles the UN and prevents a broad consensus from guiding its work across a wide range of issues.

James A Paul, Head of an American-led organization which monitors the work of the UN and supports its aims, writing in 1995.

Source C

Another major impetus for the evolution of the Security Council in the 1960s and 1970s was the rush of decolonisation and the admission to UN membership of a large number of newly-independent states. Thus, in 1965, the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council was increased from 11 to 15. The non-permanent group grew to two-thirds of the membership, making it much more difficult for the permanent members to exercise their right to cast a negative vote against a clear or overwhelming majority.

Disregarding the norms of the Charter and rules of procedure, the Council members focused on the basic necessity to avert the use of the veto. This could only be achieved through informal consultations before the formal and public meeting. While the public has been deprived of open diplomatic debate, the Council has improved its record of positive decisions and learned to get round the negative effects of the veto.

Juergen Dedring, a German who worked in the UN Secretariat from 1975 to 1996, writing in 2000.

Source D

The United States cast its veto 29 times to shield Israel from critical resolutions. This constituted nearly half of the 69 US vetoes cast since the founding of the UN.

The US cast its first veto in 1970 as a gesture of support for Britain, which was under Security Council pressure to end white minority government in southern Rhodesia. It was an historic moment since up to that time the USA had been able to score heavy propaganda points because of the Soviet Union's excessive use of its veto. Two years later, the United States used its veto a second time. That veto signalled the start of a cynical policy to shield Israel from international criticism, censure and sanctions.

The all-time abuser of the veto was the administration of Ronald Reagan. The Reagan team cynically used the veto 18 times to protect Israel. A record six of these vetoes were cast in 1982 alone. The Bush administration used the veto four times to protect Israel. The 1990 veto was the most recent, the result of a secret understanding with the other Security Council members with veto power. By then it had become obvious that the Council could not be effective in a post-Cold War world if Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States recklessly used their vetoes.

Donald Neff, an American journalist, writing in the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, 1993.

Source E

The veto system is widely perceived as having held the UN back from fulfilling its functions during the Cold War years. Yet the veto has its merits: it helped to get and keep the major powers within a UN framework when they otherwise would not have joined in the first place or else deserted it; it has contributed to a sense of responsibility and a habit of careful consultation among the permanent five; and it reduces the risk of acute discrepancies between power politics and the UN Charter.

Two British academics in a study of the United Nations, writing in 1993.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that, during the Cold War, the permanent members' veto powers were a serious obstacle to Security Council action?

Section B

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

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

- 2 How far do you agree that, in the years 1945–49, the USSR's policy towards Europe was more one of 'national security' than that of the USA?
- 3 'More a series of separate regional conflicts than a single global war.' How far do you agree with this view of the Cold War in the period 1950–80?

OR

- 4 Analyse the view that US military intervention in Vietnam was 'more a necessity than a tragic error'.
- 5 Which of the various policies followed by the Chinese government in the 1980s was most responsible for the crisis of Chinese communism in 1989?
- 6 'That so few states had nuclear weapons by 1991 is evidence of the success of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968.' Discuss.
- 7 How important to the growth of the international economy in the period 1945–91 were the policies of the World Bank and the IMF?
- 8 Account for the changing fortunes of OPEC from its formation in 1960 until 1991.

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Source B. © James A Paul. *Security Council Form*. United Nations.
Source C. © Juergen Dedring. *The United Nations at the Millennium*. Continuum.
Source D. © Donald Neff. *The U.S. Cast the First of 29 Security Council Vetoes to Shield Israel*. W.R.M.E.A. American Education Trust.
Source E. © Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury. *United Nations, Divided World*. Oxford University Press.

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