



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

HISTORY

9697/32

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 VIETNAM WAR

- 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 world as it is in Asia is not a serene or peaceful place. The reality is that North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam. Its object is total conquest. Trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from north to south. It is a war of unparalleled brutality. The confused nature of this conflict cannot mask the fact that it is the new face of an old enemy. Over this war – and all Asia – is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers of North Vietnam in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the UN for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of China's aggressive purposes.

From a speech made at an American University by US President L B Johnson, 7 April 1965.

Source B

Context

20 September 1965 – USA apologises for air attack on North Vietnam in truce zone.

22 September 1965 – ten countries seek General Assembly discussion over the possible inclusion of Communist China in the UN.

Cartoon from a British newspaper, 23 September 1965, showing US President Johnson (left) and Secretary-General U Thant (right).

Source C

U Thant has again brought smiles to the grim communist faces in Peking and Hanoi. In the opinion of this sanctimonious fraud, it is obviously all Washington's fault that a war is still going on in Vietnam. U Thant claims that the USA has killed three peace offers from Hanoi. Even if we were to accept that there is truth in the notion that the USA did spurn a Ho Chi Minh bearing an olive branch, there are, after all, valid reasons why such a peace offering from Hanoi might be turned down in Washington – the communists' well-known reputation as international liars, the political frailty of the Saigon regime we support, the possibility that the offer was made to negate allied military gains while the Reds regrouped. U Thant's implied premise is that President Johnson is a warmonger. Casting aspersions on Johnson does nothing to persuade him that U Thant is a trustworthy and effective catalyst for peace.

Article in an American newspaper, 13 December 1966.

Source D

The Soviet Union stated that the two day bombing of the Hanoi area by the USA had caused 'further aggravation' and hinted that it might send volunteers to aid North Vietnam. Communist China, meanwhile, broadcast an editorial in the official Peking 'People's Daily' warning that China would not tolerate a defeat of North Vietnam. Both Peking and the clandestine Vietcong 'Liberation Radio' told the USA that the bombings had blocked any hope by Washington to extend the Christmas and New Year truces into a prolonged ceasefire. In New York, UN Secretary-General U Thant expressed fear in a statement that the bombings of the Hanoi area by US planes might 'lead to a wider war with dangerous consequences.' In Moscow, the Communist Party newspaper 'Pravda' said the Hanoi attacks amounted to genocide and showed that 'the Pentagon generals are losing their tempers' at their failure to win the war. The Peking 'People's Daily' called the bombings 'crazy escalation' and a 'towering crime.'

Article in an American newspaper, 16 December 1966.

Source E

The USA is basking in the happy, if unfamiliar, posture of widely recognised Vietnam peace advocate. There are some sceptics, but in most eyes the net result of U Thant's latest peace plan, its acceptance by Washington and its virtual rejection by Hanoi, is to put the USA 'on the side of the angels.' The USA accepted the three stage plan – a stand still truce, preliminary talks and a full-scale peace conference to map a political settlement. North Vietnam denounced both the plan and U Thant, insisting once again that the USA must make unilateral peace moves. U Thant fears that the war will soon get dangerously out of control. He says that Hanoi is confident that the USSR and China will not let her down. Therefore, from Hanoi's point of view, there is no need to accept a peace short of victory, or at least short of a humiliation for the USA.

Article in a Canadian newspaper, 31 March 1967.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that the USA was responsible for the UN's failure to arrange a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam War in the period from 1965 to 1967?

Section B

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

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

- 2 'The USA's desire for economic growth and security was the main reason why the Cold War developed between 1945 and 1949.' How far do you agree?
- 3 'The globalisation of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s is clear evidence that the USSR had expansionist ambitions.' How far do you agree?

OR

- 4 Compare and contrast the involvement of the USA and the USSR in the Korean War.
- 5 To what extent did Gorbachev's policies make the collapse of the USSR unavoidable?
- 6 'The fact that so few states had nuclear weapons by 1991 shows that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 was a success.' How far do you agree?
- 7 'The Japanese "economic miracle" was entirely due to favourable external circumstances.' How far do you agree?
- 8 'The outcomes of decolonisation were almost invariably disastrous.' How far do you agree?

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