



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

HISTORY

9697/31

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

May/June 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 UNITING FOR PEACE RESOLUTION (RESOLUTION 377, NOVEMBER 1950)

- 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

Finding that international tension exists on a dangerous scale;

Reaffirming the importance of the exercise by the Security Council of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and the duty of the permanent members to seek unanimity and to exercise restraint in the use of the veto;

Recognising that failure of the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities does not deprive the General Assembly of its right or relieve it of its responsibilities under the Charter in regard to the maintenance of international peace and security;

Resolves that if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

General Assembly Uniting for Peace Resolution (Resolution 377), 3 November 1950.

Source B

Resolution 377 has been attacked on legal and constitutional grounds – that, by its terms, the General Assembly would wrongly seize the functions and powers of the Security Council. No such seizure is intended. The sole aim of the Resolution is to enable the UN, through its most representative organ – the General Assembly – to consider breaches of the peace and to make suitable recommendations wherever the Security Council is prevented from taking action by reason of the veto. While the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, this responsibility is not exclusive and the General Assembly may, in default of a decision by the Security Council, make appropriate recommendations to member states to curb a breach of the peace or an act of aggression. The authority springs from the broad powers of the General Assembly under the Charter. The Resolution, far from contradicting the Charter, seeks rather to give it life and make it work.

*Statement to the General Assembly by US Representative
John Foster Dulles, 3 November 1950.*

Source C

Under Articles 10 and 11, the General Assembly has the right to consider all questions to the maintenance of peace and security. But when the Security Council is considering questions, then, in accordance with Article 12, the General Assembly does not have the right to make recommendations. In the same way, when the measures envisaged call for enforcement action, the General Assembly can do nothing, since the Charter does not give it the right to act. The Resolution would destroy the Charter and obstruct the Security Council, place it somewhere in the background, remove it from the front line of the struggle for peace. It would make it possible to carry on that struggle exclusively through the General Assembly where the USA has a majority, where it is always able to twist any question whichever way it wants, whether it is acting legally or illegally.

*Statement to the General Assembly by Soviet Union Representative
Andrei Vyshinsky, 3 November 1950.*

Source D

The objective of Resolution 377 was to improve the machinery of the UN for preserving peace. It was done by organising the possibilities of collective action through the General Assembly in case the Security Council fails to exercise its responsibilities. Opponents of the Resolution claimed that it violated the Charter by superseding the Security Council and the enforcement system of the Charter by new machinery with the General Assembly as its principal organ. This was, in the opinion of the opponents, contrary to the provisions of the Charter and to the spirit of the Charter as a whole. It was argued that the Resolution was abandoning one of the fundamental working principles of the UN which was built up on the maintenance of peace through the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council. The Resolution was, therefore, inconsistent with the Charter and meant an unlawful amendment of the Charter.

From an article in the American Journal of International Law, 1956.

Source E

For the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations Charter places 'primary responsibility' upon the Security Council. The 'primary responsibility', however, does not necessarily mean 'exclusive responsibility'. The relation between the Security Council and the General Assembly is not a competitive one; rather, each organ seeks to facilitate the work of the other in its decision-making. Resolution 377 was a product of the early Cold War division between East and West. The frequent inability of the Security Council to discharge the functions assigned to it by the Charter because of the veto used by the Soviet Union brought about a change in the relative power of the Council and the Assembly. The Assembly gained the confidence to take over the role of the Security Council when the latter proved unable to perform its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. It was a great achievement for the General Assembly in performing its duty to uphold the most fundamental objective of the Charter – peace.

From a doctoral thesis at the University of Lapland, 2007.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that the Uniting for Peace Resolution was inconsistent with the UN Charter?

Section B

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

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

- 2 How far was the development of the Cold War from 1945 to 1949 the result of the Soviet obsession with security?
- 3 To what extent was the USSR more responsible than the USA for ending the period of détente in the 1970s?

OR

- 4 'The Korean War highlighted fundamental dilemmas in US policy towards the spread of communism.' How far do you agree?
- 5 Why did the 'crisis of communism' have a more devastating impact on the USSR than on China?
- 6 Assess the impact of the nuclear arms race on the conduct of the Cold War from 1949 to 1963.
- 7 How significant was Japan's political stability to its economic recovery after World War II?
- 8 Using specific examples, explain why, in the period from 1960 to 1991, some Third World countries experienced rapid economic growth while most remained poor.

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Question 1 Source A © *General Assembly Uniting for Peace Resolution (Resolution 377)*; 3 November 1950.
 Question 1 Source D © Juraj Andrassy; *American Journal of International Law*; Vol.50, No.3; July 1956.
 Question 1 Source E © Kamrul Hossain; *The Complementary Role of the United Nations General Assembly in Peace Management*. Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika Cilt 4; No.13; 2007.

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