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# HISTORY

**9731/01**

Paper 1 International History, 1945-2000

**Thursday, 21 August 2014**

**3 hours**

No Additional Materials are required.

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## READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and civics tutorial group in the spaces provided on the cover page and on every sheet of answer paper.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.

Write clearly the question numbers on the first page of every question attempted and the cover page.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid and tape.

### Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

### Section B

Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

You are reminded of the need for good English and clear handwriting in your answer, and to leave two lines between each paragraph on the answer paper.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.

**Section A**

You must answer Question 1

**THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL IN THE CHANGING WORLD**

1 Read the sources and then answer the question which follows.

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 Charter describes the Secretary-General as "chief administrative officer" of the Organisation, who shall act in that capacity and perform "such other functions as are entrusted" to him or her by the Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and other United Nations organs. The Charter also empowers the Secretary-General to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". These guidelines both define the powers of the office and grant it considerable scope for action. The Secretary-General would fail if he did not take careful account of the concerns of Member States, but he must also uphold the values and moral authority of the United Nations, and speak and act for peace, even at the risk, from time to time, of challenging or disagreeing with those same Member States. One of the most vital roles played by the Secretary-General is the use of his "good offices" -- steps taken publicly and in private, drawing upon his independence, impartiality and integrity, to prevent international disputes from arising, escalating or spreading. Each Secretary-General also defines his role within the context of his particular time in office.

*Extracts from the United Nations website.*

**Source B**

Seventeen U.S. airmen -- the crew of a B-29 and four fighter pilots -- had come down in China in the later stages of the Korean War. The Chinese courts had condemned the airmen as spies. Washington had refused to have any contact with the recently installed government of the People's Republic of China. The U.S. government was in an uproar, and made increasingly wild demands for action, including a nuclear strike on the Chinese mainland. The Soviet veto prevented any action by the Security Council. The UN General Assembly, in a resolution mostly devoted to a denunciation of the government in Peking (as Beijing was then called), requested that the secretary-general do what he could about the problem.

Hammar skjöld, to general amazement, announced that he would go to Peking. The Chinese themselves might well have objected to Hammar skjöld's visit, given that the General Assembly resolution had strongly condemned their actions. But Hammar skjöld forestalled this objection with a diplomatic invention of his own, what became known as "the Peking formula." He explained that when world peace was threatened, the secretary-general had the right and the duty to do what he could to help find a peaceful solution. He thus separated himself from the denunciations of the General Assembly resolution. Over the next six months, Hammar skjöld engaged in intensive negotiations with a fellow intellectual, China's premier and foreign minister, Zhou Enlai. The four fighter pilots were released first. At the end of July 1955, the B-29 crew members were on their way out of China.

*From an article by Brian Urquhart, former Under-Secretary-General and main advisor to Dag Hammar skjöld, in an American magazine, 2006.*

### Source C

To a large extent, the Gulf crisis in 1990 is seen more as a conflict and confrontation between the US and Iraq rather than between the UN and Iraq, while the role of the Secretary-General remains ambiguous and unimportant. Instead of meeting the Iraqi Foreign Minister soon after the invasion, Perez de Cuellar met him on August 30 in Jordan. This was the day President Bush unveiled his "Action Plan" for war and the mobilisation of the largest military power overseas since the Vietnam War, involving over 400,000 men. One suggestion was that he was afraid of stepping out of bounds risking to become another Dag Hammarskjöld or Trygve Lie.

On 14 August, Saddam Hussein asked the Secretary-General to use his "good offices." This was not a given chance because the air offensive by the US and her allies began two days later on 16 August, and started sending warships to the Gulf as early as August 3. Perez de Cuellar was criticised because he "did not make more effort to explore the implications of President Saddam's tentative offers to negotiate and withdraw from Kuwait." This was a clear sign that the situation was very serious and needed urgent action. In the end, it was US Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz who were busy running around the world trying to find a solution to the crisis. They were later joined by the Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov who took an active part which included visiting Baghdad as early as August 12.

*From an academic article by former Zambia permanent representative to the UN, "The role of the UN Secretary-General in Conflict Resolution in the Gulf," June 1999.*

### Source D

US Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright insisted that there would be no going back on US's threat to veto Boutros-Ghali's reappointment when his first term ends. His principal platform is that he has begun a reform of the UN and that he needs to stay to carry it through. His case appeared weakened yesterday, when it emerged that he backed down from plans to lay-off 37 staff members at the UN. Albright suggested that it was his fault, "We recognize that these kinds of tough decisions are hard to make, a genuine reform Secretary-General needs to make these kinds of tough decisions." Clearly rejecting Boutros-Ghali's claim that he has already set the UN on the path to reform, she said, "It is essential for the UN to have a Secretary-General whose main priority, top priority, every-day focus of his job is to reform the UN." The US Secretary of State said, "His re-election would make it virtually impossible to obtain the hundreds of millions of dollars we need to pay back the UN."

*From an article in a British newspaper, September 1996.*

### Source E

By the time Kofi Annan became the secretary-general in 1996, he had already spent almost his entire career at the UN, where his equanimity and cordiality had made him a popular and authoritative figure. By 1993, he had reached the prestigious post of head of peacekeeping under Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali. Despite his lack of aggressive stance in the UN about Rwanda, he soon managed to impress US diplomats with his decisiveness in approving the bombing of the Serbian army in 1995. As a result, he became the favourite candidate, especially in Washington, to replace Boutros-Ghali. Capitalizing on his insider's knowledge of the organisation, Annan showed a remarkable confidence in taking the UN in new directions. He boldly called for the organisation to prevent future Rwandas and Bosnias, he courted the US Congress and convinced them to restart the payment of US dues. What most impressed observers such as the US special envoy and others about Annan was his moral seriousness. Describing a meeting he held with Saddam in early 1998 to head off a possible war, Annan declared, "There may be times when the secretary-general has to stand alone and use the moral authority of the office, and one should not shy away from that."

*From the review of an article "The Best Intentions: Kofi Annan and the UN in the Era of America Power," May 2007.*

**Now answer the following question.**

*How far do Sources A-E support the view that the Secretary-General of the United Nations was able to act independently from 1945 to 2000?*

**Section B**

You must answer **THREE** questions in this section.

- 2 How important were ideological concerns as a cause of the Cold War in Europe?
- 3 'Reagan played a pivotal role in accelerating the end of the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this view?
- 4 'The growth of the global economy from 1945 to 1973 was driven primarily by international trade.' How far do you agree?
- 5 To what extent does decentralisation explain the rise of China as a major economic power in the period 1978 to 2000?
- 6 Assess the regional and global consequences of the failure to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1948-2000.

**End of Paper**