



**NATIONAL JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**  
**PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2016**

**HISTORY**  
**Higher 2**

**9731/01**

**Paper 1**  
**International History, 1945-2000**

**24 August 2016**  
**3 Hours**

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name and registration number in the space provided on the answer paper.  
Write in dark blue or black ink.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.  
Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.  
Please start each answer on a fresh sheet of paper, and label your answers clearly according to the question number.

**Section A**  
Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**  
Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.  
Please place the cover sheet in front of your examination script.  
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.  
You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

## Section A

You must answer Question 1.

### THE UN AND COLD WAR PEACEKEEPING

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

#### Source A

*Interviewer:* You were making things up as you went along.

*Sir Brian Urquhart:* Well, few of us even knew where the Congo was. That's how prepared we were. But we had to make it up as we went along, and for about two months, it was an extraordinary success. We did manage to get things quieted down. We got the Belgians out. We managed to get the government going again. We started training all the people who had to be trained in the public sector. We started training the army. But then, unfortunately, three months later the Congo broke out on Cold War lines. While the United States backed President Joseph Kasavubu who was a rather dim figure, the Soviet Union backed Lumumba, the prime minister, who was a firebrand and an extremely volatile figure. So you had a civil war, on which was superimposed the Cold War in the outside world, and that was a nightmare. We kept going for another four years but it was very, very difficult.

*Excerpt from an interview with Sir Brian Urquhart, advisor to Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in the Congo, 1996.*

#### Source B

Largely due to the efforts of the Soviet Union, which was fearful of the possibility of a serious Egyptian defeat, the United Nations Security Council imposed a cease-fire effective 22 October. This cease-fire was soon violated, however, by both sides and a second and final cease-fire was established on 24 October. At that time of the ceasefire, Egyptian forces still occupied positions on the eastern side of the Canal...

Both the United States and the Soviet Union were deeply committed to ending the conflict as soon as possible. Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union was in Egypt to argue personally for an end to hostilities as early as 16 October. Both superpowers feared the broadening of the conflict, an eventuality that might even involve them directly... As neither nation was industrially prepared to support a war effort of the proportion occurring in the Middle East, they had to end the war as much out of their own economic and defense interests as from any interest to stabilize the Middle East situation.

*Adapted from a report by GlobalSecurity.org, an American think-tank, 1989.*

#### Source C

There can be little doubt that the worst days for the organization are behind it. During the Cold War, the Security Council could never function as intended, because the Soviet Union used its veto power as a permanent member of the Security Council to thwart actions opposed by its client states or by General Assembly blocs that Soviet diplomacy sought to estrange from America and the West. Deadlock in the Security Council was not the only result of the Cold War. A 'nonaligned' bloc

of Asian, African and Latin American countries sought to exploit the rivalry between the Western alliance and the Soviet bloc. As long as their defections to the Soviet camp were a credible threat, Third World countries could attempt to extort concessions from the USA and its allies.

*An excerpt by Michael Lind, a foreign policy analyst in Washington, D.C., who writes frequently on American diplomacy, 1994.*

#### **Source D**

While there are several examples that clearly show how UN decisions were influenced by the East-West division, which is also generally seen as the main reason for the UN's failure to achieve its ultimate goal during the Cold War, this can be misleading. Indeed, many conflicts were caused by deep divisions between other states that had little direct connection with the superpower division, such as the divisions between India and Pakistan, Israel and its neighbouring states, and Iran and Iraq. In some ways, these divisions were intensified because of the UN, for example by the advancement of the idea of state sovereignty. The USSR and the US were sometimes even found to be backing the same side in Middle Eastern conflicts, as in the Iran-Iraq war. Moreover, the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War was largely successful with a calming effect on the region, as well as keeping Israel and Egypt apart.

*Adapted from Nicola-Ann Hardwick, "The UN during the Cold War: 'A Tool of Superpower Influence Stymied by Superpower Conflict'?", in an international relations website.*

#### **Source E**

Fatally, the breach between Kasavubu and Lumumba was cast in ideological terms that could be drawn out beyond the Congo into the broader Cold War contest. Lumumba became the revolutionary, pro-Soviet prophet of Afro-Asian liberation. Kasavubu on the other hand, became the pragmatic and helpful friend of the West. ONUC was caught in the middle of a squabble which was rapidly mutating into an international crisis. The Security Council was fundamentally divided on developments in Leopoldville, which were now cast in explicitly Cold War terms. As a result, the Security Council found it impossible to quickly agree on a direction for ONUC. The principle of UN intervention in domestic affairs was now meaningless. With Kasavubu and Lumumba continuing to insist that each was the legitimate leader of the Congo state, any action of the UN would inevitably be perceived as partial.

*An excerpt from Norrie Macqueen, United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa since 1960, 2002.*

#### **Now answer the following question.**

How far do Sources A to E support the view that the Cold War impeded UN peacekeeping efforts?

## **Section B**

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

2. "The Cold War is essentially a conflict of ideology." To what extent is this statement valid with reference to the period 1945-1949?
3. "It was nationalism, not communism, that contributed more to the collapse of the USSR." Discuss.
4. Assess the view that liberalisation was more important than reform in explaining China's economic rise from 1978 to 2000.
5. "The rise of global violence and militancy was the greatest impact of religious fundamentalism on regional security." Assess the validity of this statement from 1970 to 2000.
6. How far do you agree that the nuclearisation of the conflict was the most significant repercussion of the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir up to 2000?

**~ GOOD LUCK – YOU CAN DO IT! ~**