

HISTORY

9697/33

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

May/June 2014

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 an HB pencil for any rough working.

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

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

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 CONGO CRISIS, 1960–61

- 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 Belgian Congo became independent in June 1960 under Prime Minister Lumumba and President Kasavubu. Revolts occurred and Katanga province declared its independence with the support of Belgian troops. Lumumba appealed for UN assistance against Belgian aggression. The Security Council adopted a resolution to provide military aid for the Congolese government, but there were widely varying interpretations of what it was supposed to achieve. An attempt to negotiate the peaceful stationing of UN troops in Katanga failed. Lumumba was not satisfied. The secession of Katanga had not been stopped because, according to UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld and the Security Council, this was an internal and constitutional matter. In September, Kasavubu dismissed Prime Minister Lumumba, who refused to leave office. In practice, the country had two heads of government. The UN tried to treat the two factions even-handedly. This was not easy. The USA criticised the UN for not supporting Kasavubu. The USSR took the side of Lumumba and criticised Hammarskjöld for 'colonialist behaviour'.

From a book by a Swedish historian, 2004.

Source B

The Security Council resolution authorises you to provide the Government of the Congo with military assistance. It is clear that, in its intervention in the Congo, the UN is not to act as a neutral organisation but rather is to place all its resources at the disposal of my Government. Contrary to your personal interpretation, the UN force may be used against the rebel Government of Katanga. The manner in which you have acted is preventing the restoration of order in the Congo. You are making yourself a party to the conflict between the rebel Government of Katanga and the legal Government of the Congo. You are intervening in this conflict and using the UN force to influence its outcome, which is formally prohibited by the resolution. My Government considers that you refused to give it the military assistance it needs and for which it approached the UN. The Government and people of the Congo have lost confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

From a letter by Patrice Lumumba to UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, August 1960.

Source C

For seven or eight months, through efforts far beyond the imagination of its founders, the UN has tried to counter tendencies to introduce Big-Power conflict into Africa and put the young African countries under the shadow of the Cold War. It has done so with great risks and against heavy odds. In the beginning the effort was successful, and on more than one occasion the drift into a war with foreign-power intervention of the Korean type was avoided thanks to the UN. We effectively countered efforts from all sides to make the Congo a happy hunting ground for national interests. To be a roadblock to such efforts is to make yourself the target of attacks from all those who find their plans thwarted. We have been accused of lacking objectivity in our handling of this crisis. Historians will find evidence to counter such accusations.

UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld addressing the UN Security Council, February 1961.

Source D

Hammarskjöld played a decisive role in the overthrow of Lumumba's Congolese government. The official view is that the UN is neutral and impartial, and that its intervention in the Congo had no other purpose than to keep the Cold War out of Africa. If only this had been true. In July 1960 the Security Council sent UN troops to the Congo, where Belgian forces had invaded the province of Katanga and encouraged its independence. The UN mission was to provide the Congolese government with military aid. The UN asked Belgium to withdraw, but without a deadline. UN troops were deployed in the Congo, but not in Katanga. This gave Belgium time to build up a puppet regime in Katanga. In September President Kasavubu carried out a coup and deposed Lumumba. The UN maintains that it didn't take sides. In fact, Hammarskjöld gave the green light for the UN to support the coup. While the UN helped to destroy Congolese democracy, Hammarskjöld built his image of 'neutrality'. The UN followed the objectives of Washington, who feared Lumumba's political power.

From a letter by Ludo De Witte (Belgian historian), published in the 'New York Review of Books', 2001.

Source E

De Witte [Source D] maintains that Hammarskjöld was a leading member of a neo-colonialist plot to overthrow Lumumba. I believe that Hammarskjöld's actions and public statements relating to the extraordinarily complex and dangerous situation in the Congo, his well-documented principles for the conduct of the Secretary-General's office, and his record in decolonisation matters make nonsense of such an allegation. De Witte seems to believe that civil war would have been the most effective and desirable means of settling political conflicts in the newly independent Congo. He argues that the UN force should have taken part in such a war – on Lumumba's side, of course – although its Security Council mandate specifically excluded it from trying to influence the outcome of any internal conflict. I believe that a civil war would have been catastrophic and that the UN was right to seek peaceful solutions whenever possible.

From a letter by Sir Brian Urquhart (Hammarskjöld's deputy during the Congo Crisis), published in the 'New York Review of Books', 2001.

Now answer the following question.

'UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld acted in an impartial manner throughout the Congo crisis of 1960–61.' How far do Sources A–E support this view?

Section B

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

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

- 2 Analyse US President Truman's motives for introducing the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.
- 3 To what extent was the globalisation of the Cold War from 1950 to 1980 caused by the Soviet Union's determination to increase its international influence?

OR

- 4 Why was Khrushchev prepared to risk nuclear war by placing Soviet missiles in Cuba?
- 5 To what extent was the collapse of the Soviet Union by 1991 the result of pressure imposed upon it by the USA?
- 6 Assess the view that the USA maintained supremacy in the nuclear arms race throughout the 1970s.
- 7 How far were the problems experienced by the international economy in the 1970s and early 1980s due to its over-dependence on the US economy?
- 8 Assess the effectiveness of OPEC in the period from 1960 to 1991.

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Question 1 Source A © Peter Wallensteen; *Dag Hammarskjöld*; The Swedish Institute; 2004.
Question 1 Source B © Patrice Lumumba; *Letter from Patrice Lumumba to Dag Hammarskjöld*; Marxism and Anti-Imperialism in Africa/Patrice Lumumba Archive; 1960.
Question 1 Source D © *New York Review of Books*; 20 December 2001.
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