

Section A

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

THE UNITED STATES AND VIETNAM

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 war in Vietnam truly divided the nation. Between 50,000 and 150,000 opponents of the war in Vietnam protested at the Lincoln Memorial before moving on to the Pentagon on October 21, 1967. In the words of Jerry Rubin, an organizer of the March: "We were throwing red paint on the Pentagon. People were breaking into the Pentagon. They were running into the sides of it. People were getting clubbed, and it was bloody."

Many people were dismayed by the loss of life in Vietnam, and not just by the deaths of Americans. Protest groups mourned the loss of life among Vietnamese civilians, particularly women and children. Pamphlets distributed by many groups—especially women's groups—before and after the march portray the grief of Vietnamese parents for their children, with graphic images of napalm injuries, and call upon the sympathy of many.

From a history article on the 50th Anniversary of the March of the Pentagon, 19th October 2017.

Source B



Political cartoon published in a US newspaper on October 1967.

Source C

The essential fact is that the situation in the United States makes it imperative to put our relationship on a new basis. It is obvious that we face a situation of most extreme gravity where a refusal by your Government of reasonable peace terms would make it impossible to continue aid.

If you cannot give me a positive answer to sign the Agreement jointly with us, I am authorising Dr. Kissinger to initial the Agreement even without the concurrence of your Government. In that case, even if you should decide to join us later, the possibility of continued Congressional assistance will be severely reduced. This Agreement, I assure you again, will represent the beginning of a new period of close collaboration and strong mutual support between the Republic of Vietnam and the United States.

Adapted from President Nixon's letter to President Thieu, 19 January 1973.

Source D

We today have concluded an agreement to end the war and bring peace with honour in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Within 60 days of the ceasefire, all American held prisoners of war throughout Indochina will be released.

The people of South Vietnam have been guaranteed the right to determine their own future without outside interference. The United States will continue to recognize the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam. We shall continue to aid South Vietnam within the terms of the agreement, and we shall support efforts for the people of South Vietnam to settle their problems peacefully among themselves.

Now that we have achieved an honourable agreement, let us be proud that America did not settle for a peace that would have betrayed our allies, that would have abandoned our prisoners of war or that would have ended the war for us but would have continued the war for the 50 million people of Indochina.

From President Nixon's address to the nation, 23rd January 1973.

Source E

Interviewer: In his memoirs, America's chief negotiator, Henry Kissinger, describes at length how you, as President of South Vietnam, undermined his efforts to bring peace in a war that had lasted for many years. Why were you obstructive?

Thieu: That is complete nonsense. If I had been obstructive, there would have been no peace settlement in 1973 — although, as everyone knows, it was not a good peace. Kissinger represented the policy and interests of the American Administration. As President of Vietnam, I had the task of defending my country's vital national interests.

Interviewer: When you proposed the troop withdrawal, did you really believe that you could win the war on your own — a war that the mighty US military machine had been unable to win?

Thieu: No, I did not in fact propose it. I merely acquiesced. I agreed to the initial withdrawal of American troops because President Nixon told me that he had domestic problems and that the withdrawal would be purely symbolic. He had to have public opinion and Congress behind him. I could never imagine that America would leave altogether and abandon South Vietnam. I told President Nixon that the reduction should be made gradually depending on the military and economic aid that would enable Vietnam to stand on its own feet.

Interview with former South Vietnam President Nguyen Van Thieu on Kissinger's memoirs and the Vietnam War, 10 December 1979.

Source F

What are the prospects for peace? The war had been going on for 4 years. 31,000 Americans had been killed in action. The war was causing deep division at home and criticism from many of our friends as well as our enemies abroad. The great question is: Now that we are in the war, what is the best way to end it?

My fellow Americans, I am sure you can recognize that we really only have two choices open to us if we want to end this war. I can order an immediate, precipitate withdrawal of all Americans from Vietnam without regard to the effects of that action. Or we can persist in our search for a just peace through a negotiated settlement if possible, or through continued implementation of our plan for Vietnamization if necessary--a plan in which we will withdraw all of our forces from Vietnam as the South Vietnamese become strong enough to defend their own freedom.

I have chosen this second course. It is not the easy way. It is the right way. For the future of peace, precipitate withdrawal would be a disaster of immense magnitude. A nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends.

Adapted from President Nixon's address to the nation, 3rd November 1969.

Now answer the following questions.

- a. Compare and contrast Sources A and B on the perception of the anti-war movement in the US. [10]
- b. How far do Sources A to F support the view that US had achieved an honourable withdrawal in Vietnam? [30]

[Turn over]

Section B

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

EITHER

2. How far do you agree that trade restrictions were the main deterrent to the growth of the global economy from 1945 to 2000? [30]

OR

3. "Private enterprises were key drivers in Taiwan and South Korea's economic miracle from 1970 to 1990". How far do you agree? [30]

AND EITHER

4. Assess the claim that the Security Council dealt the most fatal blow to the United Nations in its first fifty years. [30]

OR

5. To what extent was the success of United Nations' peacekeeping during the Cold War dictated by local circumstances? [30]

END OF PAPER