

## Section A

You must answer Question 1.

### The United States and Cuba

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

#### Source A

[Kennedy explained, 'if we allow their missiles to remain, they have offended our prestige, and are in a position to pressure us. On the other hand, if we attack the missiles or invade Cuba it gives them a clear line to take [West] Berlin,' Khrushchev's highest priority since 1958. That 'leaves me only one alternative, which is to fire nuclear weapons – which is a hell of an alternative.'

To complicate the situation further, he continued, 'our blockade of Cuba will give Khrushchev an excuse to blockade [West] Berlin, which will infuriate our allies. We will be blamed for jeopardising the city because we overreacted ... When we recognise the importance of Berlin to Europe, and recognise the importance of our allies to us, that's what has made this thing be a dilemma for three days. Otherwise, our answer would be quite easy.'

*Excerpts from a magazine article published in 2020, describing a meeting between Kennedy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff\* on 19 October 1962.*

\*The Joint Chiefs of Staff is the body of the most senior leaders in the United States Department of Defence that advises the US President on military matters.

#### Source B

Representatives of 30 of the 34 US sugar mills in Cuba have visited the Embassy to discuss the effects of the Agrarian reform law on their individual companies. While all agree the effect will vary company to company, all are deeply concerned:

- (1) About the alleged adverse effect law will have on their interests and on Cuba's overall economy;
- (2) That the net result will be a substantial loss production sugar next few years;
- [...]
- (6) A real fear that in addition to provisions present, future regulations and interpretations of the law by the present Leftist Directorate may become so onerous as to be real confiscation\* rather than a just expropriation\*

*Excerpts from a telegram from the US Embassy in Cuba to the Department of State, 23 May 1959.*

\*Expropriation is the act of seizing property and paying compensation to the private owner, while in the case of confiscation, property is seized but no compensation is paid.

**Source C**

It is clear that the forces of communism are not to be underestimated, in Cuba or anywhere else in the world. The advantages of a police state – its use of mass terror and arrests to prevent the spread of free dissent – cannot be overlooked by those who expect the fall of every fanatic tyrant.

Secondly, it is clear that this nation, in concert with all the free nations of this hemisphere, must take an even closer and more realistic look at the menace of external Communist intervention and domination in Cuba. The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than 90 miles from our shores. The evidence is clear, and the hour is late. We and our Latin friends will have to face the fact that we cannot postpone any longer the real issue of the survival of freedom in this hemisphere.

*Extract from a speech by John F. Kennedy addressing a media gathering on 20 April 1961.*

**Source D**

The requirements of the Cold War crusade compounded the problem of moving Cuba back within the North American orbit. [This is because] Cuba's 'proper' place was not only inside the free world but also inside the historical relationship with the United States that Washington had fashioned for the island. This explains the decision to remove Castro as soon as he began to step outside the bounds of what was historically permissible. True, Castro later broke Washington's Cold War guidelines also – and with a vengeance. But by that time, having exceeded the limits of the historic relationship, he had already triggered Washington's efforts to overthrow him.

*Extract from a journal article published in 1989.*

**Source E**

Fidel Castro said, we are absolutely convinced that Kennedy is preparing some big provocation against Cuba. From the first days the new American government has taken an even harsher and more hostile line with respect to the Cuban revolution than the Eisenhower Administration. The main efforts of the Kennedy government are being directed along two lines at the present time: first, through an all-round stepping up of the internal Cuban counterrevolution and second, through isolating Cuba from the countries of Latin America. [...]

Fidel Castro noted, the USA will try to keep us in constant tension and direct its main efforts at undermining the Cuban revolution from within. Only after this will they probably move the forces of the external counterrevolution, who get direct American support, against Cuba.

In the course of further conversation I asked Fidel Castro's opinion about the advisability of inviting some state and public figures to visit the USSR in 1961 for familiarisation with the life of the Soviet people. Fidel Castro said in reply that he would be very grateful if these people were invited to the Soviet Union. These ministers ought to become acquainted not only with the life of the Soviet people, but also with the work of Soviet ministers so that they could adopt the best Soviet practices, which Cuba needs very much. Fidel Castro stressed further that, in his opinion, a trip by Cuban ministers to the Soviet Union will also be useful in political terms. This would help Cuba to implement even closer political cooperation with the USSR, and also help the ministers look at individual international problems more broadly.

*Extracts of a record of a conversation with Castro on 3 March 1961, from the journal of the Soviet Ambassador to Cuba*



Source F



Cartoon entitled 'Trojan Horse', from a Western newspaper, 1960.

\*The words on the hat translate to 'Yankee Go Home'.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources E and F on Soviet actions in Cuba. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A – F support the assertion that American interests in Cuba were mainly shaped by Cold War concerns? [30]

**Section B**

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

**EITHER**

- 2 To what extent were the oil crises of the 1970s a turning point in the development of the global economy? [30]

**OR**

- 3 How far was the economic miracle of South Korea a result of favourable circumstances? [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4 To what extent was the United Nations a victim of circumstances in its failures to maintain international peace and security after 1989? [30]

**OR**

- 5 Assess the view that it was the Cold War that crippled the United Nations General Assembly. [30]